THE UTOPIA

OF

SIR THOMAS MORE
THE

UTOPIA

OF

SIR THOMAS MORE

IN LATIN FROM THE EDITION OF MARCH 1518, AND IN ENGLISH FROM THE FIRST EDITION OF RALPH ROBYNSON'S TRANSLATION IN 1551

WITH

ADDITIONAL TRANSLATIONS, INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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WITH FACSIMILES

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AND TO
FREDERICK W. WALKER, M.A.
HIGH MASTER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL
THIS EDITION OF THE 'UTOPIA'
IS DEDICATED WITH GRATITUDE AND ESTEEM
PREFACE

AN attempt has been made, in this edition of Sir Thomas More's work, to treat it with something of the same exact care that is looked for, as a matter of course, in editing a classical author. The text has been revised, the variations made in it by the author himself noted, and the readings of different editions compared. The allusions to persons and events, real or imaginary, have also, as far as possible, been traced out.

How much remained, and I fear still remains, to be done in this respect, a single example will show. More's narrator, Hythloday, is made to speak in one place of having with him on board ship a companion, whom he calls Tricius Apinatus. No commentator hitherto, so far as I am aware, has taken the trouble to ascertain what the author meant by this name, or to recall the

'Sunt apinae tricaeque et si quid vilius istis'

of Martial. In endeavouring to discover the origin of other names of More's invention I may very probably have gone too far; but it seemed proper at any rate to make the attempt.

I have endeavoured to illustrate the bearing of the
Utopia on some of the great questions of the day, by studying the circumstances amidst which it was composed. It is now the fashion, in some quarters, to try to detach More as far as possible from the great movement known as the Humanist. And certainly, if the only accredited representatives of that movement were such men as Poggio and Filelfo, or even as Politian and Valla, More could have had but small sympathy with it. But that great tide of reawakening thought and energy flowed in many channels. Many others besides those mentioned drank of its streams, and found them not Circean. And if it is fair to cite More's later writings to prove that he never could have really held some of the opinions which he seems to advocate in the Utopia, it is at least as fair to lay stress on the time and circumstances of its origin. It was written—the greater part of it, at least—at Antwerp, a city than which no other in the Netherlands, according to Ullmann, was more deeply imbued with the spirit of the Reformation. If it was not a true child of the Renaissance, it was ushered into the world with all the credentials of such a birth. It had commendatory verses hung about it by Cornelius Schreiber of Alst, who five years later was in prison at Brussels for heresy; and by Gerhard Geldenhaur of Nimeguen, who had already published what More calls biting satires upon the religious orders, and who, after being himself a monk, embraced the reformed faith, and died a married layman. On its second appearance, the Utopia was prefaced by a long letter from Budé, the restorer of Greek learning in France; who, as such, was suspected by many of a leaning to heretical opinions; and who had at any rate inserted, in a work preceding More's by a year or two, a very bitter, and not very generous, invective on the lately deceased Pontiff, Julius II.

That this setting, so to call it, of the Utopia may be
brought into due prominence, I have translated the letter of Budé, as well as some other pieces not included by Robynson. There is no need to specify which these are. The style of the older translator speaks for itself. Whatever is not his, is mine.

The reader will find in the present edition everything comprised in the original one of 1516, excepting the letter and verses of Joannes Paludanus. These were deliberately omitted from the second edition, probably as having no intrinsic merit, and so are properly omitted here. Nothing is here left out which was in the second edition of the Latin, or in the first edition of the English translation. The reason for adopting different editions of the Latin and English is simply this. In the Latin, the later one was more complete and accurate than its predecessor, and evidently more what the author designed to make it. His wish is entitled to respect. On the other hand, our interest in Robynson's translation is chiefly due to its representing an early period of English; and for this purpose the earlier edition is the better. Moreover, while the second edition of Robynson has been often reprinted, the first has never been so, and it thus has the advantage of freshness. It will be seen from the various readings, which are all carefully noted, that, except in matters of spelling, the differences between the two are not really important.

In obtaining texts suitable to print from not a little difficulty was experienced. It was not thought advisable to reproduce the contractions, with which the old typography abounds. And so, after losing some time in trying expedients, I wrote out the whole of the Latin, from a copy of the edition of March, 1518, kindly lent me by Mr. Seebohm. A transcript of the first edition of Robynson's translation was also made for me, by the obliging permission of Dr. Sinker, from a copy in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.
these transcripts, the only alteration permitted has been expanding the contractions, and occasionally readjusting the division of sentences.

No student of the period of English history in which More lived can fail to own his obligations to the Calendars of Letters and Papers of Henry the Eighth's reign made by the late Professor Brewer, and to the valuable Introductions prefixed to them. For my special subject I have, besides these, found great assistance in Dr. Lumby's excellent edition of the *Utopia*, and in the bibliographical Introduction to Professor Arber's reprint. Both of these, however, deal only with the English translation. To Mr. Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers* I am much indebted, not now for the first time. The edition I have used of it is the second. I have also derived much benefit from Father Bridgett's recently published *Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More*. It is the work of one well acquainted with his subject, and is pervaded by a candid spirit. I could wish that the chapter on the *Utopia* had been fuller.

For the loan of scarce books my thanks are due in several quarters. The use of a copy of the rare folio edition of More's English Works has been allowed me by the kindness of the Master of the Library of Gray's Inn, John Archibald Russell, Esq., Q.C. For the like use of a copy of Robynson's second edition, and of the Paris edition of 1517, I am indebted to the kindness of Professor John E. B. Mayor, and the Librarian of my own College, Mr. J. Bass Mullinger. Through the courtesy of the late Dr. Sieber and his assistants, I had the privilege, in the autumn of 1891, of inspecting some early copies of the *Utopia* in the University Library at Basle; among them being one that had belonged to Froben's old masters in his craft, the Amerbachs, bearing their autographs and a few annotations. I have to thank Bodley's Librarian
for allowing the three facsimiles given in this volume to be made from a copy of the edition of March, 1518, in his charge. To Dr. F. J. Furnivall, who has contributed to our knowledge of More's time by his editions of its ballad literature; to Mr. R. W. Douthwaite, the Librarian of Gray's Inn; and lastly to my son, Mr. J. M. Lupton, assistant master in Marlborough College, my acknowledgements are due for kind help in various ways, which has greatly lightened my task.

J. H. L.

St. Paul's School:
Easter, 1895.
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ERRATA

P. lxxii, n. 2, *after* Vol. ii. *insert* of the Kennet Collection,
P. lxxv, line 6, *for* 1887 *read* 1878
INTRODUCTION.

§ 1.—Early Life of the Author.

The latter part of the life of Sir Thomas More is so closely interwoven with the general history of his country, that it need not be re-told here. But the reader may be better able to appreciate the ensuing work, if he has presented to him a brief outline of the earlier portion, especially in so far as it bears on the production of the *Utopia*.

Thomas More was the second child, and eldest son, of John More, gentleman, afterwards a judge in the Court of King’s Bench, and Agnes, daughter of Thomas Graunger. He was born, February 7, 1478, in Milk Street, in the City of London, ‘the brightest star,’ as Fuller has it, ‘that ever shined in that *Via Lactea*.’

His family, ‘non celebris, sed honesta,’ was well descended. His father, and also his grandfather before him, appear to have filled successively the offices, then accounted honourable, of butler and steward at Lincoln’s Inn, and thence to have become, as students, members of the society¹. Judge More received the coif, and in consequence left the Inn, in 1503; was made one of the Judges of Common Pleas in 1518; was thence transferred to the King’s Bench in 1520; and died in 1530.

More’s connexion with Lincoln’s Inn, of which he himself afterwards became a member, and, not being made a Serjeant,

never left, was thus hereditary. And the circumstance helps to account for the attachment which he always manifested for his Inn. Coming down to 'Lincoln's Inn diet, where many right-worshipful and of good years do live full well,' was the first step of the descent in his broken fortunes that he playfully discussed with his family in later years. And the arrangements for dining at the public tables, in the communal life of the Utopians, would seem to have been suggested by the dining in Hall of the Benchers and other members of his Inn.

The school to which young More was sent is said to have been St. Anthony's, attached to the hospital of that name in Threadneedle Street. The foundation was due originally to Henry III, but had been increased and endowed by Henry VI and Edward IV; and, just about the time when More would enter, had been annexed to the Collegiate Church of St. George at Windsor, which proved the beginning of its dissolution. Colet is said to have been at the same school; but, if so, he would have left before More's entry, being twelve years older. The master was Nicholas Holt, a scholar of some eminence. Here More laid the foundation of a knowledge of Latin, which was both copious and accurate. St. Anthony's school was, by its constitution, designed to be a feeder of Eton College, its scholars having exhibitions provided to take them afterwards to Oxford. Whether More was ever at Eton does not appear. Probably he was not, as his school-days were shortened by his entrance into the household of Cardinal Morton. Here he would have the advantage of being trained in a school of manners under one of the leading men of his time. And, like Bentley long afterwards at the table of Bishop Stillingsfleets, he seems to have impressed his patron

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1 See below, p. 164. A statue of More was erected in 1889 by George Arnold, Esq., at the corner of Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn. Father Bridgett speaks of this as being the first statue of him erected in London. But there is one outside the new building of the City of London School, on the Victoria Embankment, which had been placed there some years before.

2 Stow's Survey, ed. 1720, i. p. 120.

3 According to Johnson, in his Life of Linacre, 1835, p. 20 n., this Holt was himself the author of an Accident, but he is not to be confounded with the John Holt, author of the Lac Puerorum, for whom see Bloxam's Register...of Magdalen College, iii. p. 15.
with a conviction of his own future greatness. 'This child here waiting at the table,' Morton is reported to have said, 'whoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man'. More's own opinion of the Cardinal, in the language of affectionate recollection, is put into the mouth of his speaker, Hythloday.

Morton united again the broken thread of More's education by sending him to Oxford. We are, unfortunately, unable to ascertain at what college he entered, or whether he remained long enough to take any degree. His father seems to have looked with a jealous eye on the attractions of literature as a rival of the law, and to have given him but a stilted allowance. But More secured the great object of his residence at the University. He perfected his acquaintance with the Latin tongue, practising the art of composition in it, as Erasmus tells us, in every form; and, above all, entering on the then new and enthralling study of Greek. For this, he had the great advantage of Grocyn's instruction, as well as that of Grocyn's younger friend Linacre. According to his own testimony, he attended Linacre's lectures on a work of Aristotle's in Greek. Could it have been the Politics? More

1 Life by Roper, ed. 1822, p. 4.
2 Infr. pp. 41-43. Lord Campbell's opinion of Morton is not so favourable. It is on a judgement of his as Lord Chancellor, that he makes the caustic remark: 'Equity decisions, at this time, depended upon each Chancellor's peculiar notions of the law of God, and the manner in which Heaven would visit the defendant for the acts complained of in the bill.'—Lives of the Lord Chancellors, 1845, i. p. 425.
3 See the passage from Stapleton, quoted by Seebom, p. 26 n. For the hardness of the life at Oxford, at this period, and the general poverty of students, see Boase's Register of the University of Oxford, 1885, Pref. p. xii., and the same writer's Register ... of Exeter College, 1879, p. x. There is, unfortunately, a gap in the University Register between 1463 and 1505.
5 In his letter to Dorpius, 1515, More refers to his attendance on these lectures, and adds that a translation of Aristotle might soon be expected from Linacre's pen, which had only been delayed by the claims of Galen.—See Th. Mori Lucubrationes, 1563, pp. 416-7. It is worth noticing that the first lecture delivered in the newly opened University of Alcala was upon Aristotle. Prescott: Ferdinand and Isabella, ed. 1886, p. 660.
was undoubtedly familiar with the *Republic* of Plato. His knowledge of Greek enabled him to bear Lily equal company in translating epigrams from the *Anthologia*; and the fictitious names in the *Utopia* are almost all, as it will be observed, of Greek formation. But, in fact, his proficiency in Greek became an influence that modified all his future life, making him at one with Erasmus, and Lily, and Colet, and other like-minded men of the New Learning.

We must hasten quickly over the period of More's stay at New Inn—an Inn of Chancery, affiliated to Lincoln's Inn—which he entered after leaving Oxford. In the 'mootings' there, to which he alludes long afterwards in his controversy with Tindal, his vigorous intellect would be still further whetted and strengthened. On February 12, 1496, being then just eighteen, he was admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn. His life there would naturally be uneventful, and we do not know even the date of his call to the Bar. But it is worth while to pause a moment, and recall the stirring scenes which were then being exhibited in the great drama of the outer world.

Just four years before More went into residence at Lincoln's Inn, the last Caliph of the Moors in Spain had signed a capitulation, by which the banner of Castile waved over the highest tower of the Alhambra. The same year that saw the expulsion of the Moors from Granada, witnessed the discovery of the new world by Columbus. The bounds of Christendom were being enlarged. Commerce felt her fetters loosed, and the *Intercursus magnus* of 1496 was but one sign of the reviving energies of peace. In 1497 John Cabot sailed from Bristol and discovered Newfoundland.

With what eager interest the mind of the young law-student would follow these events, it needs no stretch of imagination to conceive. His perusal of the narratives of Vespucci is in itself sufficient evidence. But we may possibly find, in the excitement of those eventful years, an explanation of one proceeding on More's part which has generally been thought singular. That is, his delivering a course of lectures on Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, in the church of St. Lawrence,
Jewry. The subject and the place alike (though his old tutor, Grocyn, was rector of the parish) have seemed unusual for a young student of an Inn of Court to choose. If we connect it with More’s former studies at Oxford, and with the tidings ever pouring in of discoveries in a new world, we may perhaps discern more reasons for the choice. The subject of an ideal commonwealth was doubtless working in More’s mind years before the Utopia took form.

After his call to the Bar, More was made ‘reader’ at Furnivall’s Inn for three years or longer; and it must have been about this time that he passed through a period of suspense and inward struggle, as to his ultimate choice of a profession. His success in legal studies, no less than his father’s strong wish, might seem to have already decided this for him. But it is no uncommon experience for a season of doubt and unsettlement to ensue, when the excitement is over of working for a high degree at the University, or surmounting the first barriers of a learned profession. At any rate, More was now strongly drawn to the priesthood, and for ‘about four years,’ Roper tells us, lived as a sort of unprofessed brother of the London Charterhouse. He had thoughts of being ordained, Stapleton tells us, along with his friend Lily. What diverted both the friends from this course, we can only conjecture. Colet, we are expressly told, advised More to marry. His own feelings, Erasmus tells us, prompted him to that as the wiser and safer, though not the ideally loftier, course. And so in 1505 he married Jane Colt, of Newhall, in Essex. Lily also married, probably before his friend.

More’s home was now in Bucklersbury, where for a time he passed what must have been a happy and prosperous life. Children were born to him in rapid succession: his beloved Margaret at the end of 1505, Elizabeth in 1506, Cicely in 1507, and John in 1509. He was a rising barrister, much employed in commercial cases. Moreover, in the spring of 1504, when

1 Meditabatur sacerdotium cum Lilio suo.’
2 Lily’s wife, Agnes, died before him, having been married, as her epitaph tells us, seventeen years. He died in 1522.
3 Bishop Stubbs, Lectures on . . . Medieval and Modern History, 1887,
only twenty-six, he had been summoned as a burgess to parliament. In that capacity, indeed, he incurred some danger, by the boldness with which he resisted the unconstitutional demands of the ministers of Henry VII. Roper tells us that the king, to show his displeasure, imprisoned his father in the Tower, till he should pay a fine of £100. And it has been conjectured that a visit to Louvain and Paris, in the year 1508, was only a prudent retirement, for a short time, from political life.

But these events did not seriously disturb More's happiness, which centred in his home. There, at the latter end of 1505—his marriage year—he had Erasmus for a guest. The converse of two such spirits may be imagined better than described. The tangible form it took was the composition of epigrams, and the translation of some dialogues of Lucian from the Greek into Latin. As far as Erasmus was concerned, this may have been only so much literary work, of a kind likely to be read, which promised to bring him in much-needed remuneration. But More's selection from the old Greek satirist was probably made with a deeper object. The very titles of two of the three dialogues chosen are suggestive: Cynicus and Philopseudes. His attraction to the first of these he justifies by the example of St. Chrysostom, who had incorporated a large portion of it in a homily on St. John. The second he commends as specially useful for his own generation. 'This profit, at any rate,' he says in his dedicatory letter to Ruthall, afterwards Bishop of Durham, 'the Dialogue will bring us, that we shall

p. 416, points out that no parliament was held in 1502, the year in which More is sometimes said to have opposed the demand in question. As the grant was actually made in 1504, he thinks that More 'probably was instrumental in limiting the sum.'

1 See Bridgett's Life, p. 44.
2 These were printed at Paris, 'in aedibus Ascensianis,' in the following year, 1506, under the title of Luciani compluria obusula, &c. See the Bibliotheca Erasmiana, now being compiled by M. Vander Haeghen, Librarian of the University of Ghent. They were reprinted in 1512 and 1516. The first edition of Erasmus's Epigrammata was also in 1506, at Strasbourg.
3 The letter is included in the Lucubrationes, 1563, pp. 273–7. Bishop Ruthall was the founder of Cirencester school.
not put faith in impostures (*magicis praestigiis*), and that we shall be free from the superstition which is everywhere creeping over us under the guise of religion. Moreover [it will make us] spend a less solicitous life; I mean, one less terrified by gloomy and superstitious falsehoods'—the confident and authoritative assertion of which he goes on to denounce. 'Cease to wonder,' he continues, 'if the minds of the uneducated multitude are impressed by these fictions. The men they come from only think they have achieved a success, or won the lasting favour of Christ, if they have invented an untrue story about some saint, or a tragic tale of those in hell (*de inferis tragoediam*), for poor old women to cry hysterically over, or shudder at in terror. There is hardly any life of a martyr, or of a virgin, that they have passed by, without inserting some lies of this description—piously, of course; for otherwise there would have been a danger of truth not being self-sufficient, unless propped up by falsehoods! They have not shrunk from polluting with figments a religion founded by Him who was the very Truth; whose will it was that it should stand in naked truth. They have not perceived that fables of this description, so far from being of service to it, are of all things the most dangerous obstacle.'

I have given these extracts at some length, as being expressive of More's feelings then and long after. In these first-fruits of his studies in Greek, as he calls his productions later on in the same letter, we have the spirit of the New Learning in its better and purer aspect. When Étienne Dolet, on reaching the word 'Literae' in his great *Thesaurus*, paused to take a review of contemporary men of letters, it was not without reason that he cited More, with Linacre, as representatives of English enlightenment. As he viewed in thought the long procession sweeping past, with Bembo and Sadolet to carry the banner of Italy, Erasmus that of Holland, and the rest, he could well exclaim: 'Quels hommes, et de quel cœur ils combattent pour la cause de la liberté.'

INTRODUCTION.

Animated as he was with such a spirit as his early epigrams and translations show, the accession of Henry VIII in April, 1509, must have seemed to More the earnest of a new and brighter era. In a long congratulatory ode which he wrote on the coronation, he calls the day that witnessed the ceremony 'the end of bondage, the beginning of freedom.' 'Now the magistracies and public offices, that were wont to be sold to bad men, were freely bestowed on the good.' And, quoting Plato’s thought of the recurrence of aeons, he avers that now at length, after an iron age, the age of gold has come back again ¹.

In the following year, however, sorrow came. His young wife, the 'Ioanna uxorcula Mori' of his tender epitaph, died in 1510, and the happy household in Bucklersbury passed through their first great trial together. If More seems to have been comforted full soon, marrying a second wife before the year had run out, it is not for us to judge him. He was absorbed in professional and other work. He had just been made Under-Sheriff² of London, an office which would bring him much labour of a judicial kind. His young children must have needed a mother's care. And so he married Alice Myddelton, a widow with one daughter of the same name, who thus became added to the household. The stepmother did her duty by the children, and her husband trained her assiduously, as he had done his first young wife, in literature and music. But one trace of the sorrow of his heart may perhaps be found in the publication about this time of a Life of Johan Picus, Erle of Myrandula, which he had before drawn up, with a selection from his Letters, and a translation of his touching Prayer ³.

The next few years of More's life must have been years of

¹ Lucubrationes, pp. 182-9.
² On the title-page of the Utopia More is called Viccomes, as if Sheriff, for which that is the recognized Latin term. This perplexed Burnet, who could not find More's name in the lists of Sheriffs. See the Preface to his Translation, 1753, p. ix.
³ The book was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in small quarto, without date. A barrister of More's Inn, Mr. J. M. Rigg, lately reprinted it with a valuable Introduction and notes, Lond. 1890.
inceissant activity. He was made a Bencher of his Inn, and in 1511 was called upon to 'read' there. His practice at the Bar had so increased that he made 'without grief,' as Roper tells us, from it and from his appointments together, an income of more than £400 a year, equivalent to at least ten times as much now. In the letter to Peter Giles, prefixed to the Utopia, he has drawn a picture of this busy life. And yet, in the midst of it all, he found time to write, or translate, the History of Richard III, and thus earn a title to be considered the first writer of English prose, properly so called.

It should have been mentioned that in 1508 he had been made free of the Mercers' Company, and would thus be drawn into the current of that communal life, as it existed in this foremost of the city guilds, which in those days had something of reality about it, and may have suggested some of the features of his communistic romance. In the council-chamber of that Company he would meet his friend Colet, now Dean of St. Paul's, a Mercer and the son of a Mercer, and with him would often talk over the foundation of his great school, the walls of which were rising at the east end of the cathedral. That school of St. Paul's, the first in this country in which Greek was publicly taught, was an embodiment of the principles of Humanism at its best. For it Erasmus wrote text-books, and for it, when sharing the obloquy to which its founder was exposed, More stood forth as a champion. His words in its defence have been prophetic. The enemies of good learning

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1 See below, p. 3.
2 Mr. Archbold, the author of the article on Cardinal Morton in the Dict. of National Biography, comes to the conclusion that Morton probably wrote the history in Latin, and More translated it into English.
3 Account of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acons by Mr. John Watney (privately printed), 1892, p. 87. The evidence, though not absolutely certain, seems to leave no reasonable doubt that the Thomas More, then made free of the Company was the future Chancellor.
4 It is worthy of note that the late Dr. Karl Hartfelder, of Heidelberg, whose works entitle him to speak with high authority on such a subject, singled out St. Paul's as the type of a Humanist school—'das Ideal einer Humanistenschule'; and read a paper on it, under this title, before a conference of professors at Munich, in May, 1891. See the Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen. Berlin, 1891, p. 711.
perceive, he wrote to Colet, that 'just as there came forth from the Trojan horse Greeks, who laid waste barbarian Troy, so from your school are coming forth scholars, who refute and overthrow their ignorance.' It was but the length of Chepe that separated St. Paul's School, at one end, from More's house at the other. And not often has that busy thoroughfare borne a greater share in the history of learning than when, in 1510, Lily began to teach under the shadow of the cathedral, and Erasmus wrote his *Praise of Folly* under More's roof.

Whether it be true, or not, that between the date of his leaving Bucklersbury, and that of his forming a larger household at Chelsea, he resided for a while at Crosby Place, Bishopsgate, More's life was in the fullest sense that of a citizen. His reputation as a lawyer, his office of under-sheriff, and his connexion with the guild of the Mercers, combined to point him out as a fit person to defend the legal rights and privileges of his fellow-citizens.

And so when, in 1514, disputes were becoming acute between the London merchants and their foreign competitors, who were quartered among them, and a commission was talked of for settling these disputes, it was earnestly desired that More might be a member of it. In Roper's words, he was, 'at the suit and instaunce of the English Merchautes,' sent as an ambassador 'in certaine great causes betweene them and the Merchautes of the Stilliard.' But the matters in dispute were not merely the rival interests of the English and Hanseatic merchants in London, but the interests of all English exporters of wool, then the staple commodity of our trade. As far back as the thirteenth century, it had been asserted that 'all the world was clothed from English wool wrought in Flanders.' Henry III had

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2 The earliest edition of the *Encomium Moriae* yet discovered by M. Vander Haeghen (see *Bibliotheca* before mentioned) is that of Strasbourg, 'mense Augusto,' 1511. An 'édition douteuse,' of the same year, at Antwerp, is also mentioned. This seems to point to 1510, or the early part of 1511, as the date of the composition of the piece.
4 See Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ch. ix. pt. ii.
given the Hanse traders a guildhall or factory in London; and their successors enjoyed many privileges, in what Hallam calls 'the capricious vacillations of our mercantile policy.' It was doubly important, therefore, that if cloths of Flemish manufacture were freely introduced into England, Flemish ports should not be closed against the admission of English wool. This untoward event had now come about. The breaking-off of the proposed marriage between Prince Charles, the son of Philip, Archduke of Austria (afterwards Charles V), and the Princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII, had caused the English government, as a mark of displeasure, to forbid the exportation of wool to Holland and Zealand. This was soon felt to be as injurious to the native as to the foreigner, and so a legation, of which More was junior member, was sent to the Low Countries in May, 1515, to re-adjust the commercial relations. It was evidently a case in which great tact would be necessary. Hence so able a man as Tunstall was chosen for the chief of the embassy. It is sufficient here to add, that the objects of the mission were attained, and More returned to London towards the end of the year. It was during the enforced leisure of the months spent in the Low Countries in 1515, that More composed the Second Book (the one first written) of his Utopia. The First Book, meant to be a setting to the other, was written in the spring or summer of 1516, when Wolsey was trying hard to draw its author into the immediate service of the court.

Now that we have reached this point, there is no necessity for following out the life of More in detail. Our object was merely to show from what antecedents the Utopia sprung. The immediate causes of its appearance will be discussed more particularly in the next section. The dates of a few succeeding events may be just indicated in conclusion.

On Evil May-day, 1517, More was requested by the Privy Council to use his influence with the excited mob, who had...
attacked the houses of the foreign merchants. In this arduous task, for one moment, it seemed as if he would have succeeded, and become an illustration of the fine simile of the poet:

\[ \text{Ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est} \]
\[ \text{Seditio, &c.} \]

But popular passions were too strong.

In 1518, if not before, he was made Master of Requests, and sworn of the Privy Council; in 1520 he attended the King to the Field of the Cloth of Gold\(^1\), where he would have abundant opportunity for recalling some of the sentiments expressed in his romance; in 1521 he was knighted\(^2\) and made Under-Treasurer; in 1523 he removed to his final home at Chelsea, where he lived the almost Utopian life that Erasmus has so charmingly described\(^3\); the same year he was made Speaker of the House of Commons; in 1529 (Oct. 29) he was made Lord High Chancellor, an office which he resigned in 1532 (May 6); in 1534 came his refusal of the Oath of Supremacy, and committal to the Tower; and in 1535 his trial and execution (July 6)\(^4\), an act which will ever be a stain on the memory of Henry VIII.

\(^1\) See the Rutland Papers (Camden Society’s Publications), 1842, p. 33, where More’s name comes among the Esquires. On June 6, 1522 (ib. p. 95 n.), he is ‘one Sir Thomas More, Knight, and well learned.’

\(^2\) For the date, which has often been incorrectly given, see the correspondence in Notes and Queries, July 18, 1891, p. 46; and also the preceding note.

\(^3\) The date of Erasmus’s letter to Budé, in which this description occurs, is given as 1521 (Jortin, i. 260; iii. 68). This, if correct, would make the letter too early to refer to Chelsea. But a date two years later would remove the difficulty caused by calling young John More a boy of ‘about thirteen.’—See Bridgett’s Life, p. 114 n. The description of Judge More as ‘non minorem annis octoginta,’ while in any case an exaggeration, would suit the later date better than the earlier.

For the subsequent history of More’s house, see Beaver’s Memorials of Old Chelsea, 1892, pp. 118-140, and Mr. Sidney Lee’s article in the Dictionary of National Biography. The grounds extended across the line of the present Beaufort Street, formerly Beaufort Row.

\(^4\) I do not remember to have seen quoted, on this subject, a letter of Tielman Gravius, or a Fossa, dated 16 Cal. Sep. (August 17), 1535. It is at p. xxiii. of Burscher’s Spicilegia, 1784-1802. After giving some particulars of the death of Fisher and More, the writer adds: ‘Nec tutum est percontari in toto regno quam ob causam boni illi Viri capitis supplicio affecti sunt.’ His informant was Arnold Birkmann, who was in England at the time, and in part an eye-witness.
§ 2. CIRCUMSTANCES THAT GAVE RISE TO THE UTOPIA.

The events that led to More's embassy into Flanders, where the greater portion of the *Utopia* was written, have been partly related in the last section. With regard to this embassy, he tells us himself that he and his fellow envoys first met with the deputies of the Flemish government at Bruges; that, after due conference, when they could not agree on all points, these deputies withdrew to Brussels, 'to know their Prince's pleasure'; and that he himself, 'for so his business lay,' went on to Antwerp. As it is in Antwerp that he lays the scene of his meeting with Hythloday, we need not speculate further as to his movements in the Low Countries.

Though this was not More's first visit to the continent, there would be much to excite his curiosity in the busy towns of Flanders. We have seen that his thoughts had long been turned to the subject of civil communities; and here he would find the tide of social life flowing vigorously, and in new channels. Bruges was famous for the splendour of its buildings, and the extent of its foreign trade, in which it had surpassed Ghent. It contained, if Guicciardini's statement be not incredible, 35,000 houses. Though Antwerp, its younger rival, had begun to draw much of its trade away from it, it was still one of the four depots of the Hanseatic league, London being another. We can thus easily imagine that More, who had, besides the general business of the embassy, matters to settle with which he had been individually charged by the London merchants, would find much to occupy him both at Bruges and Antwerp. He would be inevitably led to compare the methods of business, the forms of municipal government, the manners and customs, of these flourishing towns with those of his own city. Even such details as the width and cleanliness of the streets were evidently carefully studied by him; and the results, as he idealized them, were shadowed forth in his City of Amaurote.

1 See note above, p. xxii.
2 Quoted by Hallam: *Middle Ages*, ed. 1869, p. 616.
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The circuit of the walls of Bruges is said to have been more than 15,000 yards, or nearly nine miles. If so, it must have had much open space within it, and so have presented a great contrast to the closely-built city of London, with its narrow, ill-paved, unsavoury streets, at times little better than open sewers. More had, no doubt, often compared those noisome alleyes with the fair dwellings of the nobility along the Strand, with their gardens stretching down to the shining Thames, and their open view across the river on to the Surrey hills. And as he mentally compared them now with the broad wharves of the ‘city of many bridges,’ the thought came into his mind of what should be in his ideal Amaurote. And so it is ordained that in that city all the streets shall be of ample width. In the rear of every house is to be a garden, with ‘all maner of fruites, herbes and flowers;’ so that every street there must have been as sweet-smelling as his own Bucklersbury in ‘simple-time.’

But municipal life, at least in these its outer forms, was not the only thing then forcing itself upon More’s thoughts. As he had once before had to choose, after a severe mental struggle, between the clerical life and the lay, so now he must decide whether to abide by the profession he had chosen, or be drawn into the vortex of a court. His being sent at a youthful age

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1 Guicciardini, as before.
2 Writers who have studied the subject seem at a loss for language uncomplimentary enough to describe the state of the streets in London during this period. Even after the middle of the century they are said to have been ‘little better than narrow lanes, undrained, often unpaved, and the nightly receptacle of filth of all kinds.’—Select Works of Robert Crowley, ed. by J. M. Cowper, 1872, Introd., p. xiv. See also Brewer: Reign of Henry VIII, i. p. 266 n. What Prof. Brewer there says of the beauty of the situation of the noblemen’s houses on the north bank of the Thames, must be understood of the view in front. The Strand which flanked them was in such a bad state that ‘in 1522-3 an act was passed for the paving of that “very noyous, foul, and jeopardous” highway, the Strand, by the owners of houses and lands along its course.’ Eccleston: English Antiquities, 1847, p. 287.
3 Twenty feet, which is what More allows (infra. p. 130), may seem to us now a very modest width. But it may be remembered that the upper end of Ludgate Hill, one of the busiest thoroughfares in London, was, until a few years ago, only about a third wider.
as a burgess to parliament, his being chosen to serve on the present commission, and now the urgent solicitations of Wolsey, must all have appealed to the spirit of vanity or ambition, if there were any such within him. In his desire to escape from service at court, More was perfectly sincere. 'No one,' writes Erasmus, 'ever strove more eagerly to gain admission there than More did to avoid it.' But it would be idle to suppose that such a decision would not cost him anxious thought. And, as he turned over in his mind the ways of kings and courts, as they must then have presented themselves to a close observer, what were likely to be his reflections?

The two princes he was most nearly concerned with, at the moment, were those betwixt whom he was going as an ambassador, his own sovereign and Prince Charles. What had been Henry's exploits during the past two or three years? There had been an expedition against France, in the summer of 1512, conjointly with Ferdinand of Spain, in which the English contingent had miserably failed. A second expedition, to retrieve the disgrace, had been organized at great cost the following year, but with so little approval on the part of thoughtful men, that Dean Colet, who preached the Lent sermons before the court in 1513, was denounced by the war party as damping the spirits of the soldiery. The result gained by this was the capture of Tournay and Terouenne, an empty success; while the Scots, under James IV, had tried to serve England as England was serving France, and some of the best blood of both countries had reddened the field of Flodden.

'The right highe and mightye Kyng of Castell,' as More styles him, was, at the time of his writing the words, a youth of fifteen. He had been proclaimed King of Castile when a mere child. On the death of his father, the archduke Philip, in September, 1506, he was left, the heir of splendid prospects, with a mother, deranged in mind, as her grandmother had been before her, unable to bring herself to sign a state paper, or take any interest in public affairs. A few years later, an absolute jealousy of the boy prince took possession of the mind

1 Prescott: Ferdinand and Isabella, ed. 1886, p. 642.
of his grandfather Ferdinand, who looked on him as a rival rather than as an heir. So that, when the English embassy reached the Low Countries in the spring of 1515, instead of being able to address themselves to a responsible sovereign, they had to deal with a regency, swayed by many conflicting interests.

If he extended his survey beyond the concerns of England and Castile, a keen observer like More would find presented to him, in the aspect of Europe at large, a political chess-board, affording ever fresh matter for satirical, if not sardonic, reflection. In 1508, by the League of Cambray, some of the chief pieces on the board—the Emperor, the Pope, King Ferdinand and King Louis—had been combined together against the unhappy republic of Venice. When the victory of the French at Agnadello had satisfied the ambition of Julius II, he was disposed to rest content with his gains, and made it his object, in turn, to keep the power of France from growing too high. If this meant a dissolution of existing treaties, what were treaties made for, but to be broken? 'A Prince that is wise and prudent,' writes Machiavelli, 'cannot nor ought not to keep his parole, when the keeping of it is to his prejudice, and the causes for which he promised, removed.' Unfortunately, while the chief players, like Xerxes in Atossa's dream, retained their thrones, whether successful or unsuccessful, the pawns, their subjects, were swept away unpitied. Their cries could not yet make themselves heard. 'Regi dissentit nemo,' wrote More, 'malum hoc gravius.'

The domestic life, no less than the public policy, of the reigning sovereigns would in many cases have afforded equal matter for sarcastic comments. In particular, the selfish and

1 Prescott: Ferdinand and Isabella, ed. 1886, p. 685. By her will, dated Oct. 12, 1504, Queen Isabella had left the regency of the kingdom of Castile, during the minority of her grandson, and the mental incapacity of his mother, to her husband Ferdinand. He died in January, 1516, leaving Cardinal Ximenes regent, who at once had Charles proclaimed afresh in Madrid.

2 Works (English translation), 1675, p. 223.

3 Epigram on 'Quis optimus reipublicae status?' The similarity of this title to that of the Utopia should be noticed. They stand in the relation of question and answer.
unscrupulous arrangements often made for the marriage of
their children, the utter disregard of human affections, the
matrimonial bartering of mere infants, may have roused
the spirit of Democritus in More, and suggested to him, in
a mocking humour, the custom by which the intending bride
and bridegroom in Utopia might at least enter into their con-
tract with eyes open.

Arthur, Prince of Wales, 'could hardly have been more than
a twelvemonth old, when a proposal was made by Henry to
Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain for his marriage, as soon as he
should reach a suitable age, to their infant daughter Katherine,
who was just nine months older.' At the beginning of 1502
the marriage actually took place, and in April, four months
after, the boy-bridegroom died. Prince Charles of Castile
was barely out of his cradle, when he was betrothed to the
little daughter of Louis XII of France. But this project,
though ratified at least twice afterwards by formal treaties,
ever came to anything. When the Duke of Brittany died in
1488, he left two daughters, of whom the elder, Anne, was not
quite twelve. She had for suitors Charles VIII of France,
and the Emperor Maximilian, whose own daughter, by the
treaty of Arras, was betrothed to this same Charles. After
being married by proxy to Maximilian, whom she had never
seen, and assuming, as his consort, the title of Queen of the
Romans, she was persuaded to repudiate the unreal union,
and in 1491, a girl of fourteen, became the queen of Charles.
To find a suitable bride for James IV of Scotland, a man of
thirty, a treaty was made for the hand of Margaret of England,
then a child of eleven. This was on January 24, 1502. Being
still of such tender years, it was stipulated that 'her father
should not be obliged to send her to Scotland before the first
of September, 1503.' But her dowry was carefully provided
for, whatever contingencies might arise. The year before

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1 Gairdner: *Henry the Seventh*, History, 1887, pp. 387, 418.
2 *Ib.*, p. 86. Compare also Stubbs: *Lectures on Medieval and Modern

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3 Tytler: *History of Scotland*, 1864, ii. p. 269, quoting Rymer.
More wrote, her sister Mary, whose early affections had been won by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was sold, at the age of sixteen, to be a bride to the old King of France, as one of the conditions of a treaty for peace. She was ‘consigned to age and decrepitude, instead of to the most gallant of English knights.’ But nature avenged herself in this case also. On November 5, 1514, she was crowned Queen of France. On the New Year’s day following, Louis XII was dead; and Mary, after this humiliation, became the wife of Brandon.

As More called to mind such instances, and reflected on the disappointments and misery thus caused, he may well have felt impelled to raise a protest for the personal liberty of the human being in this important act of his life, and his freedom, if but his animal freedom, to choose or refuse his mate.

But a thing of far more importance in his eyes than the ways of kings or emperors must have been the condition of the people. At home, in his earlier years, he had witnessed the extortions of Empson and Dudley. In his Epigrammata, which are the chips from his workshop, we may see how actively his thoughts had been employed on the subject of greed, public or private; on the difference between a good ruler and a bad, between a lawful king and a tyrant. More’s own sentiments are perhaps most tersely summed up in the lines:

‘Tutus erit, populum qui sic regit, utiliorem
Ut populus nullum censeat esse sibi.’

In his own country he had seen but too many instances in which the interests of king and people did not seem to coincide, where the people must have doubled the utility of their rulers. The sight of the prosperous weavers of Bruges and Antwerp must have increased his compassion for the farm-labourers at home, ever more and more dispossessed of their homesteads,

1 Epigrams ‘In Avarum’ begin the Progymnasmata, and such titles as ‘Dives avarus pauper est sibi’ occur among the Epigrammata. The number of those on ‘Tyranni,’ ‘Principes,’ &c. is considerable.

2 End of the epigram headed ‘Regem non satellitium sed virtus reddit tutum.’
that fresh land might be turned into pasture, and wool produced for the consumption of the foreign looms. The subject is so familiar, that I am ashamed to quote authorities that to many of my readers must be commonplace. A very few shall suffice.

The preamble of an Act passed almost while More was writing (7 Hen. VIII, cap. 1), \(^1\) recites that 'greate ynconvenyentes be and dayly encrease by desolacyon, pollyng downe, & destruction of houses & townes wythin this realme, and leyng to pasture londes which customably have been manured \(^2\) & occupied wyth tyllage and husbandry, wherby Idelnes doth encrease.' Examples are then cited of the extent to which this depopulation had gone on. Townships of 200 people had been minished and decreased; husbandry greatly decayed, churches destroyed, and the service of God withdrawn. In the temperate Dialogue, which Starkey, a chaplain of Henry VIII, composed as appropriate to be put into the mouths of Pole and Lupset as interlocutors, there are many references to the disorders from which the country was suffering. And this decay, writes the editor, summing up the spirit of their colloquy, 'is generally attributed to sheep-farming and the enclosure of lands. Wherever the finest wool was grown, there noblemen and abbots enclosed all the land for pasture. They levelled houses and towns, and left nothing standing except the church, which they converted into a sheep-house.\(^3\)

These evictions, as we should now call them, could only lead to one of three endings. Men must either starve, or steal, or beg. The severity of the laws against vagabondage was powerless, as More points out below,\(^4\) to remove or even extenuate the evil. 'Thys multytyd of beggarys here in our countrey,'

\(^1\) Quoted in Ballads from Manuscripts, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, 1868–72, i. p. 6.

\(^2\) That is, manœuvred, or tilled by hand.

\(^3\) See J. M. Cowper's Introduction to the Dialogue (Early English Text Society's publications), p. cvi. This is almost a quotation from More's own description below, pp. 51–56. Much more to the same effect may be seen in the various Supplicacyons, edited in the same series by Mr. Cowper, 1871, pp. xvii, 95 sqq., and in the Introduction to Gascoigne's Loci by Prof. James E. Thorold Rogers, 1881, pp. xxiv–v.

\(^4\) Page 44.
Poole is made to say in the *Dialogue*¹, ‘schowyth much pouerty, ye, and, as you say, also much idulnes and yl pollycy.’ The cry was no mere factious cry, raised by reformers like Simon Fish. But it gathered strength and bitterness as the Reformation went on, because the dissolution of so many religious houses at one and the same time dried up springs of charity, and increased the number of those dependent on them.

Hence Lever, preaching before Edward VI in 1550², could exclaim: ‘O mercyfull Lorde, what a numbre of Poore, Feble, Haulte, Blynde, Lame, sycklye, yea, with idle vacaboundes, and disemsembling kaityffes mixt among them, lye and creepe, beggyng in the myrie streates of London and Westminster.’

So far as remedies could be provided by law, More, through his spokesman Hythloday, is at one with the Parliament of 1516. ‘Make a lawe,’ says he ³, ‘that they whiche plucked downe fermes and townes of husbandrie, shal re-edifie them, or els yelde and upreder the possession therof to suche as wil go to the cost of buylding them anewe.’ This was almost identical with the language of the Act (7 Hen. VII, cap. 1) already quoted. It is there ordained that ‘all suche townes, villages, etc. shalbe by the said owner or owners . . . within oon yeare next after suche wyllfull decaie, re-edified & made ageyn mete & convenyent for people to dwelle.’ But the evil was too deep and far-reaching, being, to some degree, one inseparable from a period of transition, to be cured by Acts of Parliament.

¹ *Dialogue*, as before, p. 91. See also the ballad *Nowe-a-Dayes*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, lines 157 sqq.

² *Sermons* by Thomas Lever, ed. by Arber, 1870, p. 77.

³ Page 57. The writer of an able article on the *Utopia* in *The Month and Catholic Review*, 1874, p. 168, has some sensible remarks on the subject.

‘There is no denying,’ he says, ‘the accuracy of More’s description of pampered abundance and helpless destitution, those two plague-spots on the face of society. But it is one thing to identify a disease, another thing to devise a remedy that shall be adapted to the strength of the patient. Human nature is too sickly to be taken for change of air to Plato’s city of Man-soul, or More’s island of Utopia. Some people are fond of the text: they had all things in common. But they forget the beginning of it: the multitude of believers had one heart and one soul (Acts iv. 32). Union of faith and charity preceded the union of property. And still through faith and charity lies the only road to a salutary and practical communism, that of the city of God on earth.’
And so More, whose sagacious eye foresaw the rapid approach of that state of things which we find Starkey and others lamenting, a few years later on, as having actually come to pass, could devise no more effectual remedy than the spread of a wide spirit of communism. He professes, indeed, to argue against this opinion, which he puts into the mouth of Hythloday. But, as desperate diseases require desperate remedies, it is pretty certain that he wished these doctrines to work in the minds of the thinkers of his age, if only as an antidote to the policy, as blind as it was selfish, which turned adrift farm-labourers and discarded serving-men to steal or beg, and then hanged them, by twenty on a gallows, for stealing.

§ 3.—Framework of the Story.

There can be no doubt that for the groundplan of his story More was indebted to the Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci. He himself says of his imaginary narrator, Hythloday, that 'for the desire he had to see and knowe the farre countreyes of the worlde, he joyned himselfe in company with Americke Vespuce, and in the iii. last voyages of those iii. that be nowe in printe and abrode in every mannes handes, he continued stylly in his company, savyng that in the last voyage he came not home agayne with him. For he made suche meanes and shift... that he gotte licence of mayster Americke (though it were sore against his wyll) to be one of the xxiii. which in the ende of the last voyage were left in the countrey of Gulike.' After the departure of Vespucci from this last-mentioned settlement, Hythloday is represented as starting, with five Gulikian natives, in quest of fresh adventures. He roams through many countries, and at last, 'by merveylous chaunce,' reaches Taprobane (Cyprus), whence he gets to Caliquit on the Malabar coast, and at last, meeting with a Portuguese vessel, reaches home, contrary to every one's expectation.

It is in these wanderings through many countries that the imaginary traveller is supposed to discover and visit Utopia.

1 For the origin of the name Gulike, see the note below, p. 28.
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But besides the general suggestion thus derived, a slight inspection of those four Voyages, 'that be nowe in printe and abrode in every mannes handes,' will show how attentively More had studied them, and how many accessories for his picture he had borrowed from them.

In a little tract of four leaves, without date or place of publication, but simply entitled Mundus nouus, Vespucci gives an account of his second voyage, on which he started from Lisbon, May 14, 1501. He wrote it originally in Italian, as a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, and this has been turned by a 'iocundus interpres' into Latin. The voyage was past the Canary islands to Cape Verde. In those regions—the voyager names them very vaguely—'the people live according to nature, and may be called Epicureans rather than Stoics... Property they have none, but all things are in common. They live without a king, without any sovereignty, and every one is his own master.' And a little later on: 'No kinds of metals are known there except gold, in which those regions abound. This fact was told us by the inhabitants, who asserted that in the inland parts was a great quantity of gold, and that it was not prized or held of any account there.' This account was repeated, and expanded in some particulars, in the later treatise referred to by More, in which an account is given of the first four voyages of Vespucci. 'Gold, pearls, jewels,' the traveller relates, 'and all other such like things, which in this Europe of ours we count riches, they think nothing of; nay, they utterly despise them, and care not to have them.' Compare with this what More says of the Utopians:—'And these metalles [gold and silver], which other nations do as greviously and sorrowfully forgo, as in a manner their owne lives, if they should altogether at ones be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinke that he had lost the

1 The press-mark of the copy I have seen in the British Museum is G. 6534. 2 Leaf iii. 'Nulla ibi metallorum,' &c. 3 Quattvror Americi Vespvtii Navi- gationes, appended to Cosmographiae Introductio, 4°, printed at St. Dié in the Vosges, iiiij. Kal. Sept. 1507. A copy in the British Museum is press-marked C. 20 b. 39. 4 Leaf A. viii. 5 Infra, p. 176.
worth of one farthing. They gather also pearles by the sea-side, and diamondes and carbuncles upon certen rockes, and yet they seke not for them; but by chaunce finding them they cut and polish them. And therwith thei deck their yonge infauntes.'

It is in the account of the fourth voyage that the incident occurs, which more than anything else suggested the historical setting for the *Utopia*. A few words about this voyage may therefore be fitly premised.

According to his own account, Vespucci started on the 10th of May, 1503; but Varnhagen has shown good reasons for regarding this as a slip for the 10th of June. After reaching the Cape Verde islands, where they stayed a month, the consort ships struck out SW., in search of Serra Leoa (Sierra Leone). They crossed the line, and on Aug. 10, when now in lat. 3° south, they sighted an island, which may be identified as Fernando de Noronha. Here the chief vessel, of 300 tons, struck on a reef, and was wrecked. Vespucci, who was in command of a ship four leagues off, was ordered to go in search of a harbour. In this quest he got permanently separated from his consorts, with the exception of one vessel, which waited with him a considerable time at Bahia in hopes of news of the rest. The two captains then determined to go on exploring the coast southwards, and at length reached a harbour, which, according to Varnhagen, could be no other than that of Cape Frio. Here they took in a quantity of brazil wood for dyeing, and determined to leave on the spot a small garrison, or factory, of twenty-four men, with arms and provisions; which done, they sailed away, and finally reached Lisbon on June 28, 1504.\(^2\)

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1 Amerigo Vespucci, *Ses caractères, ses écrits, etc.* par F. A. de Varnhagen, ministre du Brésil ... Lima, 1865, p. 114. M. de Varnhagen remarks that the voyager's name was accented Amerígó, as still at Florence, and not Amérigo. Dibdin has the odd notion that he was called Americanus, from being the first writer who gave an account of America. See p. 27 n. of his edition of the *Utopia*, 1808.

2 As the passage is important, from its bearing on More's conception, it may be worth while to give it in the original:—'Relictis igitur in castello prefato Christicolis xxiiiij. et cum illis xij. machinis ac aliis pluribus armis, vna cum prouisione pro sex mensibus
On this suggestive hint the imagination of More had fastened, and out of it he constructed the first framework of his romance. Vespucci had described their penetrating some forty leagues inland, before leaving for home, and ascertaining the disposition of the inhabitants to be friendly. Hythloday is made to relate how the settlers dwelt among the natives ‘not only harmlesse, but also occupying (trafficking) with them verye familiarly.’ He adds, that in the course of lengthy journeys, like Vespucci’s of forty leagues, they found ‘townes and cities and weale publiques, full of people, governed by good and holsome lawes.’

One of these ‘weal publiques’ was Utopia, and it is needless to attempt to define its situation more closely. More places it between Brazil and India, ‘beyond the line equinoctial’; but to give its latitude and longitude would require the genius of a Ptolemy, who could discover a Siatutanda in his Tacitus, and then assign to it a local habitation.

Utopia, and its eponymic King Utopus, bore names expressive of the nonentity of the imaginary islanders. By-and-by it became an obvious play on the Latin form of the word to make U. represent Eu, and so convert this Nusquamia into a sort of Island of the Blest¹. Hence the poet laureate of the islanders is made to say:

Utopia priscis dicta ob infrequentiam,
Nunc civitatis aemula Platonicae . . .
Eutopia merito sum vocanda nomine;

while Budé, in his letter to Lupset, chooses to call it Udepotia, as if Nunquamia, not Nusquamia.

Having thus found a stage sufficiently removed in Cloudland, sufficiente, nec non pacata nobiscum telluris illius gente . . . introiuiimus.’ Leaf F iii. vers. of the Quattuor Navigations. In 1511 the factory was found still stationed on an island in the harbour.—See Major’s Life of Prince Henry of Portugal, 1868, p. 379.

¹ The subject was re-discussed in Notes and Queries, Seventh Series, v. pp. 101, 229, 371. Sir James Mackintosh sums up the matter rightly, in saying that ‘all the names which he invented for men or places were intimations of their being unreal, and were perhaps, by treating with raillery his own notions, intended to silence gainsayers.’ — Miscellaneous Works, 1851, p. 197. He adds the remark of Joseph Scaliger that Ovroma is a word not formed according to analogy.
More brings his actors upon it. But the dramatic element in his romance is of the simplest. In the portion of the work first composed—the Second Book—there is none at all. It is merely a series of essays, under some eight or nine headings, in which, under the thin disguise of a fictitious narrative, he gives utterance to his own views on various social, political, or religious questions. That these views are all alike seriously propounded, as held by himself, it would be preposterous to maintain. Such a notion would be to crystallize what More purposely left in a state of solution. Much more sensible is the view of Sir James Mackintosh, that the writer regarded the theories he started 'with almost every possible degree of approbation and shade of assent; from the frontiers of serious and entire belief, through gradations of descending plausibility, where the lowest are scarcely more than the exercises of the ingenuity, and to which some wild paradoxes are appended, either as a vehicle, or as an easy means, if necessary, of disavowing the serious intention of the whole of the Platonic fiction.' If the reader should complain that, on this showing, it is impossible to be sure what More really meant, the remark would have been equally true of much of his conversation, when it was often hard to make out whether he spoke in jest or in earnest. Socrates and More would have understood each other¹. Much of what he committed to writing in his enforced

¹ Through want of perception of this, writers have been found to draw the most opposite conclusions as to the real nature and purport of the Utopia. The late Dean Hook held that the Second Book was intended 'to expose the impracticability of those proposed reformations which lollardism had advanced, all founded on communism'... 'He showed that he was satirizing the lollards by the very title that he gave to his work, and to his chief speaker' (Lives of the Archbishops, v. p. 482 n.). A Roman-catholic writer, on the other hand, Reinhold Baumstark, can see nothing in the theological part of the Utopia, but what is plainly anti-Christian, for which the author must be held up as a warning:—'Allein abgesehen von dieser socialistischen Grundlage, ist der hochwichtige, das Religionswesen betreffende Theil des Buches, dessen Bedeutung abzuschwächen man sich vergebens bemüht hat, geradezu widerchristlich.' As for More, he was 'in Leben und Wandel ein unverbrüchlich treuer Anhänger der katholischen Kirche,' but for ordinary mortals 'ein warnendes Beispiel' to keep them from being lured away by force of imagination from the right path.—Thomas Morus, Freiburg, 1879, p. 108.
leisure at Antwerp had probably been in his thoughts for years; may even have found partial expression in his Lectures on the *Civitas Dei* of Augustine. Its now taking definite form may have been hastened, as before suggested, by the life he saw about him in the Flemish towns, by the news from Spanish and other foreign merchants he would meet in the factory at Bruges, by the conversation he would have with Tunstall on the matters of State policy ever coming under that statesman’s eye ¹, by the letters that would reach him from home.

It only remained, when More had thus embodied his theories in the practice of an imaginary people, to give an air of *vraisemblance* to the whole; which he did by a fiction not unworthy of his favourite Lucian, of Rabelais or of Swift. He had met at Antwerp with a citizen of that town named Petrus Aegidius, or Giles. More’s description of him might almost have served for one of himself. One day, after hearing mass at St. Mary’s Cathedral, he espied his friend in conversation with a stranger, by his appearance a seafaring man ². Being introduced to him by Giles, More had some talk with the new-comer; whom he found so interesting a companion, that he took him, with Giles, to his own house. There, in a garden at the back, seated on a grassy bank, the conversation was resumed. The stranger’s name was Raphael Hythloday ³; he was one of the twenty-four left by Vespucci, as above related, in the fort on the Brazil coast. Moreover he had sojourned in other days in England; he had sat at the table of More’s friend and patron, Cardinal Morton, and had many anecdotes to tell of him. This led on the conversation to subjects dear to More’s heart, the causes of destitution and crime, the administration of laws, the merits of various forms of civil government. In many of these respects, things were far better managed by the Utopians, whose institutions Hythloday had seen at work, than they were by the nations of Europe. More pressed him to

¹ Much State correspondence was at this time constantly passing through Tunstall’s hands. See Brewer: *Letters and Papers*, ii. pt. i. p. cclxix.

² The incident is told in a most life-like manner below, p. 25.

³ For the name, see the note below, p. 27.
describe this strange country and its ways minutely to them; and to this Hythloday consented. But as it was now midday, they would adjourn to dinner, and after that the relation should begin.

This relation forms the Second Book, already written. The setting to it, just described, forms the First Book, probably composed by More, when back again in London, in the spring or summer of 1516. In the mystification which his Swift-like verisimilitude produced, More was well assisted by two or three friends. Chief of these was Giles, who, as he tells us himself¹, contributed, besides a commendatory letter to Busleyden, the Utopian alphabet, the 'meter of iii. verses in the Utopian tongue,' and some of the marginal notes which appeared in the second edition. In fact, Giles's account² of the accident which prevented him from catching what Hythloday said about the exact situation of Utopia, is conceived in the same spirit, though not so artistically worked up, as the masterly touches of More himself, where he professes to want settled a point in dispute with John Clement, as to the exact width of the bridge over the Anyder. Other helpers in the first edition were Gerhard of Nimiguen, and Cornelius Grapheus, or Schreiber, of Alst; an account of whom will be found in its proper place below³.

§ 4.—Comparison of the Utopia with Other Ideal Systems.

The constitution of the Utopians, according to the description given, dated back to the conquest of the country by Utopus, 1760 years before the time of Hythloday's visit. Its name was then Abraxa, and it was not an island but a peninsula. Utopus made it an island by cutting through an isthmus of fifteen miles. Since that time the prosperity of the community had steadily increased; so that instead of cottages with mud walls and roofs of thatch, and a people weakened by religious dissension,

¹ Infra, p. xcvi. ² Page xcix. ³ Pp. 320, 322.
nothing was now to be seen but 'houses curiously builded, after a gorgeous and gallant sort,' with a happy and united population.

Their polity was a confederation of free states, each sending representatives to the general council of the central city, Amaurote, which thus ranked as the capital. There were in the island, including Amaurote, fifty-four of these states, each consisting of a city with its shire, or adjacent territory. No two cities were less than twenty-four miles apart, nor more than a day's journey on foot. In each were six thousand 'families,' besides an indefinite number of persons living in farmsteads out in the shire. The households in these farmsteads consisted of forty persons each, with two bondmen, under the rule of the goodman and his wife; the members coming in rotation from the number of the townspeople, in such a way that every one of them got two years of country life in turn. The city families were composed of members usually of the same kindred, but not all the children of two parents. Each family was to have not fewer than ten, nor more than sixteen, children of the age of fourteen or thereabouts allotted to it. Should the numbers in any one family become excessive, the superabundance was to be transferred to another that might be deficient. So with the total in one city as compared with another. If it should chance that the population in the whole island became excessive, unoccupied lands in adjacent countries were to be colonized; war being made on any people that resisted such an arrangement. 'For they count this the most just cause of war, when any people holdeth a piece of ground voyd and vacant, to no good nor profitable use.'

For their government, every thirty families are under a 'head bailiff,' anciently called a Syphograunt, but now a Phylarch. Every ten Syphograunts are under a superior officer, once called a Tranibore, but now in like manner a Chief Phylarch. All these are subject to annual election, but the Tranibores are not changed lightly. As there are six thousand families in each city, it follows that there will be in each two hundred
Syphograunts. These elect the Prince,1 ancietly called Barzanes, now Ademus, out of four candidates sent up to them, one from each of the four quarters or wards, by the inhabitants at large. The election is secret, and the office is held for life, 'unless he be deposed or put down for suspicion of tyranny.' The municipal council of each city is formed of the Tranibores, with the 'Prince' or mayor; two Syphograunts (fresh ones at each meeting) being summoned to their deliberations. These municipal councils are held every third day, or oftener if need be. The national council of the island meets once a year at Amaurote, and consists of representatives, three in number, from each of the cities.

The great principle on which the life of the Utopians is based, is community of goods. There is no private property; no use of money, except as a means of commercial intercourse with other nations. In this, More seems to have taken his idea from what he had read of Solon or Lycurgus. At intervals along each street the traveller would come to a 'great hall,' in which dwelt the Syphograunt and his wife. Hither, for the daily meals, would resort the members of the thirty families attached to each, as the members of the City Companies in London might have resorted to their Halls. More draws the picture of the social gathering, as it might often have presented itself to his eye in the Hall of his own Guild, or in that of Lincoln's Inn. There is the high table 'overthwart the over end of the hall.' At every table they sit 'four in a mess.' The Syphograunt and his wife—for there the women attend as well as the men—are in the place of honour, supported on either side by two of the 'auncientest and eldest.' Due provision is made for the young people, for children, for

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1 The use of the word Prince by the translators for the Latin princeps, seems to have led to the notion that the government in Utopia was monarchical; that there was a king over the whole island. Thus Morris speaks of there being 'bondslaves and a king' (Reprint of Robynson's Translation, 1893, pref., p. vi). But Utopia is expressly called a Republic. Its epo- nymic king, Utopus, vanished, like Lycurgus, after giving it a constitution, and left no successor. The princeps (mayor?) is the head of each city alone.
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infants and their nurses. The food, which is plain but ample, has been fetched from the common market earlier in the day by stewards, but with a reservation of the very best for the hospitals, one of which, outside the walls, is provided for each of the four wards of the city.

To provide the necessary supplies for maintaining this course of life, but very moderate labour is needed. And this for two reasons. First, there is no object in hoarding, or in superfluous expense, when all eat and dress alike; and secondly, the number of those excused from active labour is very small. Scarce five hundred in each city with its shire, not counting the aged and impotent, are so exempt. These form the learned class, from which are to be chosen ambassadors, the various public officers, and the priests. The privilege of admission to it comes from the people, 'persuaded by the commendation of the priests, and secret election of the Syphograunts.' If any one so privileged grows idle, he is 'plucked back,' and put to manual labour again. Contrariwise, if any artisan, by good employment of his leisure hours, has made profit in learning, he may be admitted among the scholares; not to have an easier life, but to have the opportunity of cultivating better his own proper talent.

Under these conditions, six hours' work a day is found to be sufficient, or even more than sufficient. Three hours are so devoted before dinner; after that comes a rest of two hours; and then another short spell of three hours brings them to supper-time. At eight o'clock all go to bed, to rise (two hours later than More is said himself to have done) at four. Lectures, and music, and honest games fill up the intervals of the day. For in the institution of that weal public 'this end is only and chiefly pretended and minded, that what time may possibly be spared from the necessary occupations and affairs of the commonwealth, all that the citizens should withdraw from the bodily service to the free liberty of the mind, and garnishing of the same.'

In their foreign policy the Utopians are not chivalrous. War they detest. With them bellum, whatever philologists
may say, is *res belluina*. The abhorrence of bloodshed, which at home makes them class the hunter with the slaughterman, and leave both occupations to their serfs, prompts them, when forced to enter on a campaign, to resort to almost any means sooner than have recourse to a pitched battle. It is not that they are unprepared. They train themselves to martial exercises, and not their men only, but their women. If money be the sinews of war, of that, as spending none upon themselves, they have always plenty. But they prefer fighting with brain to fighting with muscle. And so, if driven to take the field, which is more often to help an oppressed neighbouring country than for their own interest, they try every expedient to save shedding the blood of their own people. They have no objection to let the Zapoletes shed their own in their cause; for of those objectionable mercenaries the more killed the better; and so they hire them in great numbers. But chiefly they endeavour to make away with the leaders of the nation they are at war with. And so they incite, by offers of immense rewards, any of their own subjects to compass their assassination. They are even ready to lure an invading fleet to its destruction by 'translating' the marks and signs which pilots have to guide their ships through the dangerous channels leading to their great harbour.

If some of these practices are repellent to us, we may be sure that they would seem not less so in the age of Bayard. More's plea might have been that, as the world then was, it was ever the old story: *delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.* He would now turn the tables, and let it be seen whether there would be the same reckless eagerness for war, if the crowned head were sure to be the one first struck at.

More's last, and one of his longest chapters, is headed 'Of the religions in Utopia.' The space given to this subject is what we might have expected from one in whom the theologian predominated over the statesman. As the Utopians have very few laws, and of them the interpretation is so plain that every man is a cunning lawyer, so have they very few priests. These are men 'of exceeding holiness'; 'and therefore,' says the author
somewhat sardonically, 'exceeding few.' The religion, or rather religions—for 'there be divers kinds' in the island—are described as various forms of nature-worship, culminating in a kind of deism, in which the more part worship 'one chief and principal God, the maker and ruler of the whole world, whom they all commonly in their country's language call Mithras.' Before the coming of Utopus they had been torn by religious dissensions. It was chiefly that which had weakened their resistance, and given him the victory over them. He, consulting more wisely for them, than they had done for themselves, ordained that 'it should be lawful for every man to favour and follow what religion he would, and that he might do the best he could to bring others to his opinion, so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly, and soberly, without hasty and contentious rebuking and inveighing against others.' The only exception to this toleration was that, in case any denied the immortality of the soul, or the existence of a controlling providence, he should be 'deprived of all honours, excluded from all offices, and rejected from all common administrations in the weal public.' This, of course, was punishment; but no direct penalty, in the way of death or fine, was inflicted.

For the curious and instructive details of their public worship, with its prayers 'so made that every man may privately apply to himself that which is commonly spoken of all'; its priesthood, to which women of due age were admissible; and its music, 'for the most part of other fashions than these that we use in this part of the world'; the reader must be referred to the work itself.

In comparing the ideal thus briefly sketched with others that have preceded or followed it, our object must be, not to set these out in any detail, but simply to notice any points in which they markedly resemble, or differ from, the Utopia.

Of these, there is one that will attract us in the first place, not from its presenting any close parallel, but because More is known to have lectured upon it; I mean, the De Civitate Dei of St. Augustine. What line More took, in his discourses on
this work, we can only conjecture ¹, as unfortunately no record of them has been preserved.

But a short study of the *De Civitate* will disclose some features, common to it and the *Utopia*; on which, therefore, we may suppose that More would have dwelt, when lecturing to his City audience in the Church of St. Lawrence, Jewry.

The origin of Augustine's great work is too well known to need any preface. In 410 Rome was taken and sacked by the western barbarians ². This appalling event, which no human language seemed adequate to describe, save by similitudes drawn from the Day of Judgement itself, was ascribed by numbers to the wrath of the older gods. Christianity had drawn men away from their worship; therefore Christianity was the guilty cause. To learn what answer could be made to this charge, a soldier, Marcellinus, applied to Augustine. His bishop's reply was expanded in time into the *De Civitate Dei*, in which both the accusations of the heathen were refuted, and the beginning and growth of that City of God described, which was to flourish and endure when every earthly Rome should have been destroyed. As this heavenly City has a dual existence, its citizens being at once the saints who have passed from human sight, and those who are still treading the earth; and as, moreover, this mundane side of it has always coexisted with an earthly rival, the City of the World ³, it has not in itself such a local and separate habitation as would make it easy to be compared with More's ideal republic. In the conception, however, of a perfect order, as it prevailed in the City of God; in the due subordination of every member of the society, each being glad to do his own work and fall into his own place; in the community of goods, and in the

¹ See above, p. xxi.
² It was strange that More should himself live to relate another capture and sack of Rome. But this was so. The Imperialist forces took it in 1527. Their excesses, which More ascribes as much as he can to Lutherans, were such, at least in his description, as to make the blood run cold to hear of. See the *English Works*, pp. 258-9.
³ 'Quas in hoc interim saeculo perplexas quodam modo diximus invicemque permixtas.' Lib. xi. cap. 1.
use and limitation of bond-service, we may perhaps trace a derivation of ideas from the *De Civitate* to the *Utopia*.

'Peace in the household,' says St. Augustine, 'springs from an agreement among the dwellers therein as to rule and obedience. They who provide for the welfare of others, bear rule; as husband over wife, parents over children, masters over servants. They who are thus provided for, obey ... And yet even those who rule are the servants of those over whom they seem to rule.'

These principles are reproduced and expanded in the *Utopia*. There every 'family' is under the rule of the oldest member, unless he be too infirm; if so, then under the next in age. Before divine worship, wives confess to their husbands what faults they have committed, children to their parents. In church, and at the daily meals, the younger sit or stand before the eyes of their elders, that decorum may be ever observed. The principle of order, in short, is rigid and all-pervading. So with the idea of membership of the body politic. In *Utopia*, if any one is found best fitted for the pursuit of learning, he passes into the class of those so occupied; not to be idle, but to work in the sphere that suits him best. If any others, not being fitted by nature for the contemplative life, desire the practical, the course is open to them. They enter it, and are happy and contented in their work. So it was in the polity drawn by Augustine, after the pattern traced out for him by St. Paul. No inferior, there, felt jealous of a superior. The hand complained not that it was not an eye. Whatever gift a member was endowed with, that he prized, and coveted not the gift of another.

On the community of goods, which indeed More may have taken directly from Plato, rather than from Augustine, something will be said further on. A few words may be added on the subject of bondage, before we leave the Christian Father. Bondage, says St. Augustine, came in with sin. No bond-slave

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1 Lib. xix. cap. 14.
2 Lib. xxii. cap. 30 'Nulli superiori inferior invidebit,' &c.
3 See below, p. 105.
is mentioned in Scripture, till Noah pronounced serfdom to be the future doom of his undutiful son. *To whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants (bond-slaves) ye are to whom ye obey*¹. Hence sin is the primal cause of servitude. Men chose the service of sin. Now they suffer the penal servitude which is its consequence. Being penal, and working reformation of character, let those under the yoke bear it patiently ².

Now it is noticeable that, in the *Utopia*, the slaves are not people of any subject race; not even those taken in war, excepting such as have been made prisoners in an actual encounter. ‘The slaves among them are only such as are condemned to that state of life for the commission of some crime, or, which is more common, such as their merchants find condemned to die in those parts to which they trade; whom they sometimes redeem at low rates, and in other places have them for nothing³.’ They are thus taken into Utopia from motives of humanity; or, at least, their example is used to show that a humane policy is also the most profitable. In the first Book, where Hythloday is made to relate the customs of the Polylerites (Utopians under another name), the subject of slaves is treated at considerable length. And when we read how that ‘every year divers of them be restored to their freedom, through the commendation of their patience,’ we find More combining Augustine’s theory of bondage, as the proper punishment of sin, with the most modern theories as to the alleviation of penal servitude. He may be looked on as the first suggester of the ‘ticket of leave.’

To the *Republic* of Plato More’s indebtedness is obvious and avowed. That ‘ancient and sage philosopher’ is the one whom Hythloday had copied in his observant voyagings. The judgement of Plato on ‘weal publics’ is more than once quoted. But the *Utopia* is by no means a mere copy of the *Republic*.

The second, though later, title of Plato’s dialogue is ‘concerning Justice.’ In the endeavour to discover what justice

¹ Rom. vi. 16.  
² *De Civit. Lib. xix. cap. 15.*  
³ Burnet’s Translation, ed. 1753, p. 112.
is, the object under scrutiny is magnified, so to speak. A civil polity so far corresponds to a living human organization, that the constitution and working of the one will illustrate those of the other. They will do more. So close is the analogy, that for the purposes of the inquiry, the commonwealth may be safely regarded as a vaster man. In it, then, as in an enlarged shadow cast upon the canvas, we may see that which, in the smaller organism, our eyes could not discern. To have its perfect form, a state must possess three classes of citizens: rulers, guardians, and producers. The two former are two divisions of one great class, answering to the rational and courageous elements in the human soul. The third is of a lower order, and answers to the concupiscent element. It may possess property, and may live its life in its own way. But the rulers who have to control, and the guards who have to defend, the common state, must be carefully and laboriously trained. No study, no preparation, is too great for them. Their wives must be such among the women as are fitted by mental and bodily qualifications for propagating the lofty race. That being the only object, no private attachments, no permanent unions, must be allowed. The children born to them must be separated from their parents, and brought up as the children of the state. ‘In this way, and only in this way, is it possible for the rulers and guardians to lose all sense of private property, and thus become conscious of a perfect unity of interest.’ To bring about this state of harmony, the supreme power must, by some means, be vested in philosophers. Only when that is achieved will the members work together in proper subordination. And only then will the lineaments of justice be discerned. We shall then recognize her as that which defines the office each member has to fulfil, and which teaches him to fulfil it without encroaching on that of his neighbour.

It is obvious to any reader that Plato adopted many things from the institutions of the Spartans. Their public meals, their

¹ See the Analysis of the Republic, prefixed to Davies and Vaughan's translation, ed. 1892, p. xxi.
discarding the use of the precious metals for money, the garrison life led by their men, the hardy, gymnastic training of their women, the severe discipline of their children, are familiar topics, which reappear in the Republic. Nowhere else was the subjection of the individual to the state so completely realized. Nowhere else did the machinery employed work so efficiently for the production of that which it was intended to produce—the fighting man, or soldier. Plato tempers this, in his ideal state, by an admixture of Athenian freedom, of wisdom and philosophy; but still his ideal citizen has very much of the soldier. Music for him is placed under a strict censorship, poetry under a ban. Commerce is a thing beneath him; art, if not jealously guarded, will lead to effeminacy. In Plato’s aristocracy the old idea of aristas still survives.

To the mind of More, on the other hand, the thought of war was only repulsive. His typical citizens, therefore, were not to be soldiers, splendidly equipped. His Utopia was not to be a camp. Hence, while he borrowed much from Plato, or from Lycurgus—the community of goods, the public meals, to some degree the equality of the sexes—he did so with another end in view. Instead of the training of the body for war (though this, as a collateral object, was not neglected), he set before him the training of the intellect for peace. To this end, instead of the barracks, he established the lecture-hall; instead of the exercises of the palaestra, he had books, and music, and games of mental skill. In particular, while approving, and that not in Utopia only, but in his own family, of the education of women being similar to that of men, he opens to them an avenue, of which Plato in the Republic gives no hint, but for which a precedent was to be found in the religious systems both of Greece and Rome. He admits them to the priesthood. Like their sisters in ancient Sparta, they are trained to martial exercises. Like the Pythian priestess, or the priestesses of Vesta, they administer the rites of the Utopian religion. Very few are so privileged; the number

1 See the Introduction to Professor Jowett’s translation, 1888, p. clxx.
of priests altogether is very few; but still they are eligible with the men.

It would be idle to connect this with any approval or disapproval by More of the state of the Christian Church in his own time. It is simply a touch of paganism which he introduces, to illustrate better his own views on the education of women. He was giving his own daughters a learned education. The ‘Moricae,’ like the ‘Bilibaldicae,’ soon became known as scholars with whom an Erasmus might correspond. In the Utopia he shadows forth, of course with some humorous exaggeration, the parts such women might come to play in a state. If he could have foreseen the mighty power for good or evil two daughters of his own sovereign, reared on the same mental food as his own Margaret, would come to wield in the state, he might perhaps have stayed his hand.

Imitations of the Republic by writers later than More have only a comparatively slight interest for us. But it may be well to notice a few of them, if only to see how far they fall short of his standard.

In 1643 there was published at Utrecht a little volume containing three treatises, in Latin, on ideal commonwealths. These were: the Mundus alter et idem of our countryman, Joseph Hall; the Civitas Solis of Campanella; and the Nova Atlantis of Sir Francis Bacon. Of these we will give a short account, in the order in which they stand.

Joseph Hall, successively bishop of Exeter and Norwich, was born in 1574, and educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. In 1597 he published a volume of satires, in English verse, under the title of Virgidemiarum Libri. It was a jest of Plautus to turn Vindemia, ‘vintage,’ into Virgidemia, ‘a harvest of rods’; and so these satires were to be rods for the fool’s

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1 It would be an interesting subject of speculation, to try to measure the influence on the history of their country exercised by two ladies of a little later date, but trained by their father as More’s children were trained by him; I mean, the two daughters of Sir Anthony Coke: one of whom became the second wife of Sir William Cecil, and the other the wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and mother of Sir Francis Bacon.
back. Little of them is remembered now except a couple of lines from the prologue:

I first adventure; follow me who list,
And be the second English satyrist.

From this we shall not be surprised to find a like tone of satire pervading the *Mundus alter et idem*, the work we are here concerned with, which appeared in 1607. Visions of an austral continent seem to have flitted across his mind, as they did across that of his great contemporary, Bacon. His voyager sails in quest of it, in the good ship Phantasy, and returns after all his discoveries with the wise man’s conclusion that there is nothing new under the sun. He has seen another world; but after all it is but the same as the one he left;—the same weaknesses, and follies, and vices of men.

This, then, is the great distinction between Hall’s imaginative structure and that of Plato; that whilst in the *Republic* we see embodiments of the higher faculties of the human soul: its reason in the Rulers, its spiritedness in the Guardians: in the *Mundus* we have only localizations of its baser appetites and passions. The *terra incognita* of Hall is mapped out like a cranium as seen by a phrenologist. Here is the region of acquisitiveness; there the region of gluttony; there of combativeness; and the like. The good qualities alone have no territories to represent them. The chief humour is shown in the proper names; some of which are happily chosen. The first land at which the voyager touches is Crapulia, ‘Sick Headache’ land, with its two provinces of Pamphagonia (Gluttony) and Yvronia (Drunkenness). Its capital is Ucalegon¹, past which steals softly the lazy river Oysivius; where birds bring the people their food, and where the only exertion called for is that of cooking and eating it. For coin, they exchange birds, at a fixed rate. One starling is worth two sparrows, one fieldfare two starlings, and so on. As to their religion, ‘they hate Jove because his thunder turns the wine sour and he spoils

¹ As Juvenal uses the name of the Trojan chief for his house, so Hall uses it for a city. It is evidently chosen for its etymological meaning, ὄβις ἄλτραυ, to express this sort of city of Laish, or N Importe.
ripe fruit by raining on it. Their god is Time, who eats everything.

The next land visited is Viraginia, the country of the Viragoes. This is really Gynia Nova, in books of geography mistakenly written New Guinea. Of its many provinces the chief is Linguadocia, with Garrula for its capital. Here the lionesses are the painters; and man, the less noble animal, is treated with much the same consideration as women used to be, in the days when Judge More had his jest about the eels in the bag, or Erasmus thought it natural to put *mulierum loquacitas* as an obvious illustration of the shorter class of proverbs.

The reader will see from this specimen, which it is needless to extend, that the *Mundus alter et idem* has little in common with the *Utopia*.

The next piece on the list is of a much more serious character. Its author, Thomas Campanella, was born at Stilo, a village in Calabria, in 1568, and entered the Dominican order. In 1590 he went to Naples for the purpose of publishing some work, the opinions in which were considered heterodox, and got him into trouble with the Inquisition. In 1599 he was arrested on a charge of treason, and is said to have been seven times put to the rack, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. From this he was delivered by the interposition of Pope Urban VIII, and ultimately died in a Dominican monastery in Paris, in 1639. His *Civitas Solis* was first published in 1623.

The *City of the Sun* is thrown into the form of a dialogue between a Grand Master of the Knights Hospitallers and a Genoese sea-captain, his guest. This latter is an evident reminiscence of Hythloday. There is a trace, too, of allusion to More in the region assigned to the Solar City. In the *Utopia*, when Hythloday travelled with his little company from the Castellum, they got after a while to the ‘line equinoctiall,’ where everything was barren and dried up. Only when they

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1 See the late Professor Morley’s *Ideal Commonwealths*, 1890, p. 269. A translation is there given of part of Hall’s work, found among the papers of Dr. William King (b. 1663), a kindred spirit.
had got some distance past it, did they begin to find cities of human habitation. Campanella fixes on this torrid zone for the site of his ideal City. In Taprobane (Ceylon), which prosaic geographers make to be many miles north of the equatorial line, his navigator, who has landed, is led to 'a large plain immediately under the equator.' There stands the City of the Sun, compassed by seven encircling walls, like the orbits of the planets; each wall having depicted on it scenes from the history of mankind, the contemplation of which would be of use for the education of the young. In the centre is the temple, itself like the rest of a circular pattern, with altar and dome. Over the altar are two globes, the celestial and terrestrial. Inside the dome are painted the stars of the firmament. From the top outside hangs a revolving flag, 'marked with figures up to thirty-six; and the priests know what sort of year the different kinds of winds bring, and what will be the changes of weather on land and sea.'

As it has been remarked, the organization of the city is based on the monastic pattern with which the writer was familiar. 'The great ruler among them is a priest whom they call by the name of Hoh, though we should call him Metaphysicus.' He has three assistant princes. The office of Hoh is conferred on the one who has shown the greatest aptitude for acquiring knowledge. He must understand 'all the mechanical arts, the physical sciences, astrology, and mathematics.' 'Not too much attention is given to the cultivation of languages, as they have a goodly number of interpreters who are grammarians in the state... but beyond everything else it is necessary that Hoh should understand metaphysics and theology.'

It is in this way that Campanella would fulfil the aspiration of Plato that philosophers should be kings. His theory of higher education is a remarkable protest, considering the age in which he lived, against the notion that 'he was the most

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1 See p. 220 of Morley's *Ideal Commonwealths* before quoted. The analysis of the work is also given by Professor Jowett, in his Introduction to the *Republic*, pp. ccxxvi-vii.
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learned who knew most of grammar, or logic, or Aristotle, or any other author. Such an one has 'contemplated nothing but the words of books, and has given his mind with useless result to the consideration of the dead signs of things.' For these reasons they consider that their rulers should have been 'philosophers, historians, politicians, and physicists.'

War is an occupation to which they are much more given than the Utopians. But, as with them, their women are trained in martial exercises. Minute directions are given as to their dress. The hours of work are but four a day; for, 'as every one likes to be industrious,' the labour is quickly dispatched. As with Plato, all things are in common; and they reverence the lives of the Apostles, being told that they practised a community of goods. They hold, moreover, the community of wives and children, as Plato did, and for the same reason. 'They say that all private property is acquired and improved for the reason that each of us by himself has his own home and wife and children.' When the Grand Master brings the same objection to this doctrine of communism that Aristotle brought against Plato, and More against his spokesman, Hythloday, that 'under such circumstances, no one will be willing to labour, while yet he expects others to labour,' the Captain can only reply that the objection is one he cannot answer; but that, in some way, there is such a strong spirit of brotherly love among the citizens that all works well.

Want of space forbids longer extracts. The close imitation of the Republic, in several points, will however have been made sufficiently plain. As More interwove the Platonic theory with that of a peaceful, half learned, half industrial, community, so Campanella wove across the same warp the weft of educational reform, and of a purified life of the cloister. At the public meals, with him, as with More, 'on one side sit the women, on the other the men; and as in the refectories of the monks, there is no noise. While they are eating, a young man reads a book from a platform, intoning distinctly and sonorously.'

With much that is whimsical, there is much that is of value in Campanella’s romance. He felt strongly the necessity of training the mind on a knowledge of facts, and not of mere words only, of mitigating the labour of the working classes, of keeping the race from degenerating by undesirable unions. That a Dominican monk should have written as he did in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, is remarkable. Still more remarkable is it that reforms should have been suggested so temperately by one whose best years were spent in unjust imprisonment.

The New Atlantis of Bacon is but a fragment. According to his biographer, Dr. Rawley, ‘his lordship thought also in this present fable to have composed a frame of laws, or of the best state or mould of a commonwealth; but, foreseeing it would be a long work, his desire of collecting the natural history diverted him, which he preferred many degrees before it.’ What we possess is therefore but one wing, so to speak, of an extensive building. It was designed to be ‘a model or description of a college, instituted for the interpreting of nature, and the producing of great and marvellous works for the benefit of men, under the name of Solomon’s House, or the College of the six days’ works.’ Though this short piece was not published till 1629, three years after its author’s death, the subject was one which had long occupied his mind. When, in 1611, Thomas Sutton died, leaving his munificent endowment of the Charterhouse, Bacon tendered his advice to the king on the form which the endowment should take. He grudged that it should be made into a mere hospital for the poor. As for grammar schools, ‘there are already too many, and therefore no providence to add where there is excess.’ What ‘Mr. Sutton meant for teachers of children’ he would have the king devote to ‘teachers of men.’ And he ends by indicating a threesifold scheme for the application of the bequest, of which the first part was to provide ‘a college for controversies,’ and the second

1 See Rawley’s Preface in vol. iii. of Bacon’s Works, ed. 1730, p. 235.
'a receipt' ("for I like not the word "‘seminary’") for converts from Spain, Italy, and other foreign countries, to the reformed faith.  

The experiment of a College of Polemical Divinity was tried, about the time when Bacon wrote, by the foundation of King James’s College at Chelsea. This did not long survive its founder. But we may now discern better what had been in Bacon’s thoughts, and how his romance of Solomon’s House may have been connected with these designs of the ‘English Solomon,’ as part of a wider scheme of politics as well as education.  

The New Atlantis opens abruptly. A company of voyagers, fifty-one in number, sail from Peru, for China and Japan, by the South Sea. We see again the instinctive belief that a southern continent existed. Atlantis had been realized in America. The New Atlantis was to be—as it afterwards proved—an Austral land. After long buffeting by storms, they reach a land ‘flat to our sight, and full of boscage.’ After an hour and a half’s sail they enter a good haven, ‘being the port of a fair city,’ and are there hospitably received. The island is Bensalem, the people are Christians, and the chief glory of the place is the Society of Solomon’s House, ‘which house, or college, is the very eye of this kingdom.’ The king who founded it was Salomona, who reigned ‘about one thousand nine hundred years ago.’ But as for the name, the writer inclines to think that ‘our king, finding himself to symbolize in many things with the King of the Hebrews, honoured him with the title of this foundation.’  

Hence its other appellation of the College of the Six Days Works; for it was to investigate ‘the true nature of all things’ created, ‘whereby God might have the more glory in the workmanship of them, and men the more fruit in the use of them.’ In keeping with this, the visitors are informed that

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1 Works, ib. vol. iv. p. 412.  
2 As More made Utopus to have lived 1760 years before the scene of his romance opens, and as Bacon wrote a century later, it would almost seem as if in this date there was a designed allusion to the Utopia.
some parts of Solomon's works are still preserved in Bensalem, which had been lost to the rest of the world: 'namely, that natural history which he wrote of all plants, from the cedar of Lebanon to the moss that groweth out of the wall, and of all things that have life and motion.'

Without entering into more details, it seems clear that what Bacon wished most to promote, in his theory of education, was the study of Natural Science. What projects he would have struck out, if he had finished his design, and made a political as well as educational *Utopia*, we can only conjecture. His treatment of this section, it must be admitted, is a little stiff and pedantic. In one place he evidently refers, though not by name, to his great predecessor. This is where his speaker finds fault with More's device for preventing disappointment after marriage, and proposes another in its stead.

It does not seem worth while to pursue this analysis further. As we approach modern times, the field widens so immensely, that it would be impossible even to recount the names of those who have taken a lead in advocating socialist theories. In the 380 years that have passed since More wrote, the difficulties of the problem that occupied him have become, through the growth of population, at once more complex and more pressing. Some of the revolutionary forces, which he discerned to be even then in motion, have since that time gathered, and burst, and spent themselves; or at least transfused their energy into other movements. He saw the end of feudalism, the disbanding of the retainers of feudal lords, the clearing away of cottagers, that great sheep-farms, reminding us of the old *latifundia*, might bring in increased revenues. He saw the middle class rising into power, and the poor made still poorer by the dissolution of the religious houses.

Later generations have seen the influence of the middle class reach its height, and in turn begin to decline; while the vast body of wage-earners, now strong by combination as well as numbers, is pressing forward to take their place. Meantime changes have taken place in the implements and modes of
labour analogous to those which have arisen in the social and political condition of the labourer. The weaver working at his own loom in his own cottage, or his wife spinning at her own wheel, gave place first to the master employing as many workers as his dwelling would accommodate; and these in turn disappeared to make room for the factory, with its hundred-handed machines. And if in the political world, with its gradual change from absolutism to democracy, what are called the lower classes seem threatening to swamp the higher, they are themselves exposed to a like fate, as workers, from the very machinery they employ. No one can stand long hours each day tending a machine, or more probably some single part of a machine, without becoming dwarfed and stunted in his faculties as a man. Unlike the old weaver at his loom, he can have no interest in the machine he tends. The raw material it works upon has not been procured by any effort of his; he has no hand in the disposal of it when finished. He receives the wages necessary to ensure his working there regularly, just as the machine receives its share of the steam or other motive power. If any alleviations of another kind fall to his lot, they come, not from the strict conditions of business, but from motives exterior to business, in the employer or in fellow-workers.

That discontent should arise among those whose lives are spent under such conditions is but natural. More had the discernment to perceive that, for men to remain happy and contented, they must have periodical change of occupation. And so in Utopia the dwellers in towns spend some time in rotation in agricultural labour. If any way could be found for such alternation in the crowded towns of our own day, who can doubt that it would be a blessing—a blessing not to one side only? The sedentary student would be the better, physically and mentally, for working some time as a farm-labourer; the ditcher and delver, whose hands have grown horny with the

1 See, for an illustration of this, the Life of the Rev. Samuel Lewis, by Mrs. Lewis, 1892.
spade and mattock, would have a chance of saving one-half of his nature from death by atrophy, if he could pass for a little while to a life of comparative leisure; the loutish boy, if taken possession of for public gymnastic training, during the hours when he would otherwise be hanging about the streets, might grow up into a soldier-like man, possessed of qualities which, if we had an army of such like, would make it a backbone of strength to the nation.

That attempts made to bring about results of this kind should have failed, from time to time, is less to be wondered at than regretted. The societies of Robert Owen, the phalansteries of Fourier, the *ateliers nationaux*, which travestied rather than carried out the ideas of Louis Blanc, have all had their trial and failed. Selfishness, and the timidity begotten of selfishness, in those who opposed, and want of purity of motive in many of those who advocated, such schemes, have alike contributed to their failure. Above all, the appeal to violence, or the fear of it, has closed the ranks of those who might otherwise have been disposed to give new theories a trial. More, like Budé and Colet, had much to say in favour of an abstract communism. But if any one had tried to put into practice the maxim of Proudhon¹, 'la propriété c’est le vol,' he would have found scant indulgence if brought before Sir Thomas on the bench. So far as effecting any great or sudden changes in society at large was concerned, the *Utopia* was a failure. During the author’s lifetime it remained, as it began, simply a philosophical romance. But its value should not, on that account, be now described as ‘rather historic than prophetic,’ or the author himself as ‘the last of the old rather than the first of the new’². Its influence has sunk deep into the minds of many generations.

In his own practice, in the patriarchal life led under his rule by the combined households at Chelsea, we seem to see an

¹ According to Woolsey, the saying should really be ascribed to Brissot de Warville, in 1782. See his *Communism and Socialism*, 1879, p. 102.

² See the Foreword by Mr. William Morris to his edition of the *Utopia*, 1893, p. iii.
approximation to the solution of the problem. There every one was busy, every one was happy. The servants varied their menial labour by cultivating allotments of garden ground, and, if they had any capacity for it, by the study of music. The daughters of the family were trained in learned pursuits as well as the sons; the Moricae became as famous as the Bilibaldicae. Works of charity were the delight of all. In the diffusion of such a spirit of Christian brotherhood as this we may hope to see a remedy for some of the crying evils of our time. A pluto-cracy, grasping far more than its share of the good things of this life; an unbridled competition in business, where the race is too keen for the weaker followers to get their due; the determination to amass a fortune at all costs, quocunque modo rem, till in the effort even our quiet country glades, and the national monuments of the capital, are made vehicles for advertisements of wares:—these things, which are our disgrace, may indeed be abolished by nihilism and anarchy. But those forces, however they might succeed in producing chaos, have no power to bring light and order out of it again. 'There is nothing that conquers evil,' said Colet¹, 'but good'; and Colet's Master had said the same before him.

§ 5.—Early Editions of the Utopia.

The first edition of the Utopia, in Latin, was printed by Thierry Martin, at Louvain, towards the end of 1516. The work of printing appears to have been very expeditious. On Nov. 12, Gerhard of Niméguen writes to Erasmus that Martin will undertake the task ². A week later, we hear of the work being in the printer's hands ³. By February 24, 1516–17, the book is out; as Erasmus, in a letter to Cope, begs him to send for a copy ⁴. Its title-page is as follows:—

1 Lectures on Romans, 1873, p. 86. ² Brewer: Letters and Papers, ii. no. 2549. ³ Ib. no. 2558. ⁴ Ib. no. 2962. These references are collected by Prof. Arber in the bibliographical Introduction to his reprint of the Utopia.
Libellus vere Aureus nec MINUS SALUTARIS QUAM FESTI-

uus de optimo reip. statu, deq3 noua Insula Vtopia
authore clarissimo viro Thoma Moro inclytæ
 ciuitatis Londinensis ciue & vicecomiti cu-
 ra M. Petri Aegidii Antuerpiësis, & arte
 Theodorici Martini Alustensis, Ty
 pographi almæ Louaniensium
 Academiæ nunc primum
 accuratissime edi
tus. . .

Cum Gratia z Privilegio.

The book is in small 4to, 36 lines to a page. There is no pagination. The first four leaves and the last two have no signatures. The rest are numbered a 1, a 2, &c., to m iv. The printed surface measures a little more than 6¾ inches by 3¾. On the reverse of the title is a rough woodcut sketch of Utopia, headed VTOPIAE INSVLAE FIGURA, representing a tract of land, shaped like a horse-shoe, the opening being at the bottom, washed on all sides by the sea. In the middle of the entrance a fort is erected, off which lies a ship. A river follows the inner line of the curve, its source on the left being labelled fons anydri, and its mouth on the right ostium anydri. Temples, or public buildings, are dotted about at intervals, on the highest of which is the inscription civitas amabrotû.

The second leaf has on the obverse the Utopian alphabet, represented below, with the Tetrastichon Vernacula Utopiensium
INTRODUCTION.

lingua, and on the reverse the Hexastichon Anemolii. On the third leaf begins the letter of Peter Giles to Busleyden, dated Nov. 1, 1516, 'Superioribus his diebus,' etc., ending on the obverse of leaf 4. On the same page begins the letter of Joannes Paludanus Cassiletensis to Peter Giles, 'Utopiam Mori tui,' etc., followed by a set of ten elegiac verses by the same writer, ending on the fifth leaf (the first with signature, a 1). Then follow the Latin verses of Gerhard and Cornelius Grapheus, the letter of Busleyden to More, and More's prefatory letter to Peter Giles. This preliminary matter ends on the reverse of a iv. The Sermo Raphaelis begins on b i, and ends on the reverse of e iii. On the same page begins the second book, ending on what would be, if signed, m vi; on the back of which leaf is the printer's device, two leopards with human faces, holding between them a shield with the monogram of Thierry Martin. The printing, which is in Roman letter, is close and unattractive to the eye, and full of contractions. The marginal notes are in black letter.

What was meant by the author to be a revised and corrected edition, was entrusted to the care of Froben, to be printed at Basle, and did in fact appear there, in two issues, dated March and November, 1518. But before that edition, of which we will speak more fully presently, was brought out, there appeared one from the press of Gilles de Gourmont at Paris, about the end of 1517, which, as being actually the second in point of time, must take the precedence. Its title is:

1 Joannes Paludanus (Van der Broeck) was a professor of rhetoric in the University of Louvain, an intimate friend of both Erasmus and Martin Dorp. It has been thought that the epitaph on the Bishop of Cambray, included among the printed works of Erasmus, iii. 287 (Leyden edition), is his. The omission of Paludanus's letter and verses from the edition of 1518 was due to the judgement of Erasmus, or perhaps of Beatus Rhenanus. 'De Utopia rem tuo permissu judicio,' writes Erasmus to his friend, Dec. 6, 1517; 'Paludanica possum omitti.'—See p. 99 of the Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus, by Horwitz and Hartfelder, 1886. The compositions have little intrinsic merit; the verses especially being rhetorical, not poetical; such as might be expected from an 'academiae [Lovaniensis] rhetor.'
§ 5.]

EARLY EDITIONS.

Ad lectorem.

HABES CANDIDE LECTOR
opusculum illud vere aureū Thomae Mori nō min⁰ vtile ŋ elegās de opti-
mo reipublice statu, deq noua Insula Vtopia, iam iterū, sed mucho correcti⁰
₦ pri⁰, hac Enchiridij forma vt vides multolk tū senatorū tū aliorū grauissi-
morū virolk suasu æditū. quod sane ti-
 bi çdiscèdum nō modo in manib⁰ quo
 tidie habendū cēseo. Cui quidē ab
 innumeris mēdis vndequaq pur
 gatio¹ pter Erasmi annotatiōes
 ac Budaei eplam:virorū sane
 qui hoc sæcülo nostro extra
 omnē ingenij aleam po
 siti sunt : addita est
 etiā ipsius Mo-
 ri epla eru-
ditissima
 Vale.
+
C Cum gratia & priuilegio.

This little book is in small 8vo, the measurement of the
printed surface being 4 by 2½ inches². It is in Roman letter,

¹ It is amusing that there should
be this slip (for purgato) in the very
word in which credit is claimed for
the elimination of errors.
² A fine copy, in the original stamped
leather binding, is in the Library of St.
John's College, Cambridge. Another,
said to have been Henry VIII's own

copy, is in the British Museum,
formerly marked 714 a 26, but now
C 65 e 1. In the old Catalogue it is
assigned conjecturally to 1520. But
I can detect no difference between it
and the previous ones of 1517. In the
wrong numbering of the last three
leaves, the broken pagination of the

e 2
25 lines to a page. In spite of its profession of being 'multo correctius editum,' it has a long list of errata at the end, and the execution generally shows signs of haste. The following is the collation: Leaf A i, title, as above; on the reverse, the Hexastichon Anemolii. On A i i begins the long letter of Budé, ending on A v i i vers., with the date 'pridie calend. Aug.' [1517]. Then follows the letter of Peter Giles to Busleyden (A vi i i j to B i j); the letter and verses of Paludanus (B i j vers. to B iii i j), and More's letter to Peter Giles (B iii i j vers. to B vi i i j). On leaf C i (from which point onwards the leaves are paged as well as signed) begins the Utopia, ending on Q i i j. On Q i i i j vers. comes a second letter of More to Peter Giles, now first printed, 'Impendio me, charissime Petre,' etc., ending on Q v vers. On Q vi is the letter of Busleyden to More, dated Mechliniae, M.D.XVI, which ends on R i, followed by the verses of Gerardus Noviomagus and Cornelius Grapheus. After these, on R i vers. comes 'Sermonis pomeridiani Raphaelis ... finis.' A page and a half of errata extend to the bottom of R i j, and on the back is the fine printer's device of Gilles de Gourmont. No date is added. We are enabled to refer the book to the end of 1517, or the beginning of 1518, because Erasmus, in a letter to More dated March 5, 1517-8¹, speaks of having seen a French edition of the Utopia, which must be this.

The additional matter in this edition consists of the letter of Budé, and the second letter of More to Peter Giles. From the wording of the title it might appear that the marginal notes of Erasmus were now first appended. But nothing of this kind appears here which was not in the previous edition of 1516. The additions just described were included in that of 1518, and are reprinted below.

What More himself thought of Lupset's proceeding, in getting this printed in Paris, we have no evidence to show. It would seem that Budé, with his usual impetuosity, had urged on the young English scholar, then staying in the French capital, to

¹ Brewer: Letters and Papers, vol. ii. no. 3991.
get printed a smaller and more handy edition (‘Enchiridii forma’), which might serve to popularize a work he thought so useful to the men of his time. Probably also he and other admirers of the *Utopia* were impatient at Froben’s delay in reprinting it as Basle. This delay can be in some measure explained.

There is in the Grenville Library of the British Museum a volume (No. 2398), in binding probably contemporary, which contains (1) the *Utopia*, ending with Froben’s device on p. 165; (2) *Querela Pacis* . . . autore Erasmo Roterodamo, with the *Declamatio de Morte*, and some other short pieces of Erasmus; and (3) *Epigrammata Thomae Mori Britanni*, which begins, on the reverse of the title, with p. 166, thus being plainly meant to continue on with (1). On the last page of (3) is the date: ‘mense martio, 1518.’ A note by Froben on p. 643 of the *Querela Pacis* accounts for this dislocation. He meant, he said, to have issued together all the treatises just described. But finding that they would make too bulky a volume, he had resolved to publish the *Utopia* and *Epigrammata* together as soon as possible, ‘nitidissime et quamprimum’; the *Querela Pacis* and the other tracts of Erasmus being already out of the press. The date of this letter is ‘postridie Nonas Decembris (Dec. 6), M.D.XVII.’ The imprint on the *Querela* is also ‘Mense Decembri, 1517.’

It thus appears that, had not Froben lost time by attempting to include too much in one volume, and by thus having to change his plans, the *Utopia* would have been printed at Basle before the end of 1517, and this would have been the second edition. As things were, it was delayed till March of the following year; and thus, while in the author’s intention the second edition, it is in point of actual time the third.


2 The last numbered page is 164; then comes one unpaged leaf, on the back of which is the printer’s device.
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Of this edition of 1518 there were two issues, one in March, the other in November. The copy in the Basle Library, formerly belonging to some of the Amerbach family, bears date 'Mense Novembri.' But that from which the ensuing reprint has been made, is 'Mense Martio.' I add a brief collation of this, though its contents will be seen from what follows 1.

On the reverse of the title, given below 2, is the letter of Erasmus to Froben, 'Cum antehac,' etc.; on leaf a 2 (paged 3) is Bude's letter to Lupset, ending on p. 10; on p. 11 is 'Hexastichon Anemolii'; p. 12 the woodcut of Utopia; p. 13 the Utopian alphabet; p. 14 the letter of Peter Giles to Busleyden, ending p. 16; p. 17 the letter of More to Peter Giles, 'Pudet me,' etc., ending on p. 24; p. 25 begins the 'Sermo,' headed by a woodcut drawing of the friends conversing in the garden at Antwerp, and ending on p. 163; on the same page begins the letter of Busleyden to More, 'Non sat fuit,' etc., ending on the obverse of the unpaged leaf (165), followed by the verses of Gerhard and Cornelius Grapheus; and on the reverse of this leaf the imprint before described.

As compared with the first edition (1516), it will be observed that this omits the letter and verses of Paludanus 3; while as compared with the French edition (1517?) it leaves out the second letter of More to Peter Giles, 'Impedio me,' etc. In typographical execution it is much superior to its predecessors. The Roman letter is used throughout. The size is small 4to, the printed surface being 5⅛ by 3⅝ inches. The woodcut of Utopia is better engraved, and has more details introduced. In the foreground three figures are brought in, to represent Hythloday, More himself, and (probably) Peter Giles. The

1 I quote from a copy kindly lent me by Mr. Seebohm. The division of the words in the imprint of the November issue is slightly different: 'Basileae apvd Ioannem | Frobenium mense Novembri | M. D. xviii.'

2 See the facsimile facing p. lxxvi.

3 See the note above, p. lxxvi. The omission of his complimentary tribute does not seem to have been taken in ill part by Paludanus. Erasmus, writing to Botzhem in 1524, refers to him as 'hospes meus,' and calls him 'vir, si quis alius, exacto judicio.' Still, it must have seemed a little unkind, especially as it was to Paludanus (whose lectures he had attended at Louvain) that Listrius dedicated his commentary on the Moriae Encomium of Erasmus.
drawing of the garden at Antwerp represents four figures; 'Io. Clemens' (John Clement, tutor to More's children) making the fourth with the preceding three.

A very brief notice of some later editions must suffice. In 1519 the *Utopia* was issued from the Juntine press at Venice, in 8vo, as an appendix to *Opuscula Erasmo roterodamo interprete*. An edition appeared at Louvain, in the italic letter, in 8vo, in 1548, and one at Cologne, 8vo, 1555. In 1563 the *Utopia* was included in the *Lucubrationes* published by Episcopius at Basle; and in 1565 and 1566 in the *Opera* at Louvain. In 1591 there appeared a small edition 'ex officina Cratoniana' at Wittenberg.

It is not necessary to go beyond the end of the century. That no edition should have been published in English during the author's lifetime, and that no English translation of it should have been made till 1551, would be thought strange, if we did not consider the political circumstances of the time.

§ 6.—Ralph Robynson, and the English Translations.

Our debt to Robynson is so great, for having been the first to translate the *Utopia* into English, that he seems to deserve something more than a passing mention.

Ralph Robynson, a Lincolnshire man, was born in 1521, the son of poor parents who had a large family. He was educated at Grantham and Stamford grammar schools, and was thus a schoolfellow of William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley. On the acquaintance or friendship thus formed he based a claim to consideration, in more than one urgent petition to the great Secretary later on in life. Being the only one of his family destined for a learned profession, he entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1536, at the age of 15. He took his B.A.

1 Besides those named, Mr. Sidney Lee, in the article before quoted, cites an edition at Basle, 1520, in 4to, which I have not been able to trace.

2 'Cum Robynsonum Granthamien-

in 1540, was made Fellow of his College, June 16, 1542, and in
March, 1544, supplicated for his M.A., but whether he proceeded
is not certain. He afterwards obtained the livery of the Gold-
smith’s Company¹, and received some appointment as clerk in
Cecil’s service. This he sought to have assured to him by
letters patent, and also to have the stipend attached to it
increased.

There are preserved among the Lansdowne MSS.² two letters
and a copy of elegiac verses, all in Latin, addressed at various
times by Robynson to his patron, from which we learn several
particulars of his life, and of his struggles for a subsistence.
In the first of these letters, endorsed May, 1551, he speaks
of both his parents as still living, and needing help from him.
He had moreover been lately saddled with the maintenance of
two brothers, and had in consequence to run into debt. In the
verses, endorsed ‘his New Year’s gift,’ written apparently before
1571 (as he does not yet address his patron as Baron of Burgh-
ley), he speaks of the burden of advancing years, and hints at
having been serviceable to Cecil in their school-days:—

’Si bene quid de te merui puerilibus annis,
Quolibet officio si tibi gratus eram;
Id mihi pauperie nunc atque senilibus annis
Oppresso prosit, vir venerande, precor.’

There is something pathetic, and at the same time humiliating,
in these repeated applications. It does not appear that either
they, or the dedication of the Utopia in 1551, produced much
effect; as the last letter, which is addressed to Cecil as Lord
High Treasurer, and therefore was not written before July,
1572, is drily endorsed: ‘Rodolphus Robynsonus. For some
place to receive his poverty.’ In what year Robynson died,
I have not been able to discover. He must not be confused
with a Ralph Robinson, of Lincoln College, Oxford, who was
B.A. in 1609, nor with a Cambridge man of the same name, but

pt. i. p. 548.
² Vol. ii. nos. 57-59. The style is
pretentious, as Robynson naturally
wishes to show off his Latinity to
Cecil, and quotations from Greek and
Latin authors are unsparingly intro-
duced.
of a still later date, who was minister of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, and died in 1655.

Robynson’s style as a translator has undoubted merits. It is idiomatic and picturesque. In many points it illustrates, and is illustrated by, the English of the Book of Common Prayer, which, in its earlier form, had appeared only two years before the Utopia. Its chief fault is redundancy, or rather a constant effort to express the sense of the Latin by an accumulation of partial equivalents. We are reminded, in reading it, of the Prayer for the Queen’s Majesty, with its ‘health and wealth,’ ‘vanquish and overcome,’ ‘joy and felicity.’ Thus the single word instat, in the Latin, becomes with Robynson ‘draweth neare and is at hand’; seruanda, ‘to be fulfyllied, observed and kept.’ Armis is rendered ‘their armoure or harneis whiche they weare’; while auguria, in one place, has for its equivalent a whole sentence. Nor is this characteristic feature subdued in the later edition. On the contrary, the striving to attain greater accuracy now and then leads to a yet more dictionary-like definition, instead of a translation. Thus sine omni prorsus hostimento, which in the first edition is ‘without anye gage or pledge,’ appears in the second as ‘without any gage, pawne or pledge.’

The first edition of Robynson’s translation was published by Abraham Vele, at the sign of the Lambe in St. Paul’s Churchyard, 1551. It is in black letter, small 8vo size, the

1 Wood’s Fasti (Bliss), pt. i. col. 334. See also the Preface to Christ the All and in All, by Ralph Robinson, 1656. Dr. Lumby, p. 184, identifies our Ralph Robynson with one who translated Leland’s Ancient Order... of Prince Arthur; but that is a mistake. The translator of Leland was a Richard Robinson, citizen of London, who in 1583 put forth in 4to ‘The Auncient Order, Society and Unitie laudable of Prince Arthure,’ &c., translated and collected by himself, under the initials R.R. He had, in 1576, published a treatise of ‘A moral Methode of Ciuile Policie,’ abridged from Patricius, Bishop of Gaicta. Hence perhaps the confusion. There is a full account of him in Watt’s Bibliotheca; and Sir S. E. Brydges in The British Bibliographer, vol. i. p. 109, art. iii, distinctly speaks of him as Richard Robinson. He was a voluminous writer.

2 P. 279.

3 An account of Abraham Vele, or Veale, with a long list of works published by him, will be found in Watt’s Bibliotheca. He was a Draper and Stationer.
height of the page being about 5\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches, the breadth 3\(\frac{1}{4}\)\(^1\).

It has no marginal summaries, as the second edition has. It contains 142 leaves, unpaged.

The Epistle 'To the right honourable, and his verie singuler good maister, maister William Cecylyle esquire,' occupies leaves \(\mathcal{K}\) ii–vi. On the reverse of \(\mathcal{K}\) vi begins the Letter of More to Peter Giles, ending on A iv. The reverse of this last leaf is blank. 'The fyrste Boke' begins on B i, and ends on G iv vers. The second begins on G v and ends on S iv. No translation of verses, or any other matter, is added.

The second edition, of 1556, resembles the first in size and style of printing, being also in black letter, but has six leaves fewer. The leaves, excepting the last five, are paged as well as signed. The most noticeable change in the contents is the omission of the dedicatory letter to Cecil.\(^2\)

After the title comes an address of the Translator to the gentle Reader (a ij–a iij vers.); then the letter of More to Giles (a iiij–B i vers.); the first book (B ij–K iii); the second book (K iiij vers.–S iiij vers.); Giles' Letter to Buslyde (S iiij–S vi); 'A meter of iiij verses' and others (S vj vers.–S vij vers.); the address of the Printer to the Reader, explaining why no reproduction of the Utopian alphabet is given (S viij), with the imprint below. The last page of all is blank.

The third edition of Robynson's translation was printed by Thomas Creede, London, 1597, in small 4to. Signatures to T iv. The body of the work is still in black letter, but the preface in Roman.

The fourth was by Bernard Alsop, at the sign of the Dolphin in Distaff Lane, London, 1624, in small 4to, pp. 138, besides eight at the beginning and six at the end not paged. It is dedicated by Alsop to 'the honourable descended Gentleman, Cresacre More, of More-Place in North-Mimes, in the Countie of Hereford, Esquire; next in Bloud to Sir Thomas More . . .', and

\(^1\) The copy from which this description is taken is in the Grenville Library of the British Museum, marked G.2288.

\(^2\) Are we to infer that by 1556 Robynson had grown weary of courting Cecil's favour? If so, he made another attempt, as we have seen above, in 1572 or soon after.
professes to be 'now after many Impressions, newly Corrected and purged of all Errors hapned in the former Editions.'

The work has been often reprinted since; notably by Dibdin, 'with copious notes and a Biographical and Literary Introduction,' London, 1808, 4to (edited afresh, and printed in a handsome style by Robert Roberts, Boston, 1887, 8vo, with facsimiles and notes); by Professor Arber in his 'English Reprints,' 1869, and Professor Lumby, at the Pitt Press, in 1879; and, quite recently by Mr. William Morris, at the Kelmscott Press, in 1893. This last is a sumptuously printed book, in black letter type, with rubricated marginal notes; pp. i–xiv, 1–283, size 9 inches by 5. The text is revised by F. S. Ellis, on the basis of the second edition. It has a 'Foreword' of six pages by Mr. Morris.

Until 1684 Robynson's was the only English translation of the Utopia. But in that year, Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, published a new version. His motives for undertaking the work, as he tells us, were want of diversion and the having on his hands too much leisure. Accordingly, he thought it 'no unkind nor ill Entertainment to the Nation' to give it the 'fine and well-digested Notions' of 'one of the greatest Men that this Island has produced.' His opinion of the older translation is curious: 'It was once translated into English not long after it was written; and I was once apt to think it might have been done by Sir Thomas More himself: For as it is in the English of his Age, and not unlike his Style; so the Translator has taken a Liberty that seems too great for any but the Author

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1 Dibdin professed to reproduce the text of the first edition:—'The text of the present edition is taken from the first English one, which was translated by Raphe Robinson, and printed by Abraham Vele, in 1551' (The Epistle to the Reader). But later on (p. clxxx), he finds it 'proper to observe, that the text of the present edition of the Utopia is, in fact, printed from Alsop's edition of 1639; as being the most convenient ancient edition for the composer to execute.' As Alsop's was a gradually modernized form, embodying the alterations of the second and subsequent editions, and with the spelling modified, it may easily be judged how far Dibdin's reprint was from representing accurately the first edition. As the reprints of Arber, Lumby, and Morris all follow the second edition, it is believed that the present is, as was said in the Preface, the only exact reproduction of the first edition yet made.
himself, who is Master of his own Book, and so may leave out or alter his Original as he pleases: Which is more than a Translator ought to do, I am sure it is more than I have presumed to do.'

Bishop Burnet's translation was often reprinted. It is undoubtedly closer to the Latin and more correct than Robynson's, but wants the racy English which gives a charm to the older book. The reader will, however, be able to form his own opinion, from specimens given from time to time in the notes.

Another translation was made in 1808 by Arthur Cayly the younger. His work appeared in two vols. 4to, of which the first was occupied by Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, while the second contained the new version of the *Utopia*, the History of Richard III, and a rendering of some of More's Latin poems. The translation for the most part closely follows Burnet's, and has never been reprinted.

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1 A list of these reprints is given by Professor Arber. The most noticeable of them is that appended by Dr. F. Warner, in 1758, to his *Memoirs of Sir Thomas More*. 
DE OPTI
MO REIP.STATV DEQVE
noua insula Vtopia libellus uer
re aureus, nec minus salutaris
quām festiuus, clarissimi diertis
simīq uiri THOMAE MORI in
dytāe ciuitatis Londinensis ciuis
& Vicecomitis.
EPIGRAMMATA clarissimi
disertissimiq uiri THOMAE
MORI, pleraq e Grācis uersa.
EPIGRAMMATA. Des.Eral-
mi Roterodami.
Apud indlytam Basilēam.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF
THE EDITION OF MARCH, 1518
ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM
TO HIS DEAR GOSSIP JOHN FROBEN

GREETING.

I have hitherto been pleased beyond measure with all that my friend More has written, but felt some distrust of my own judgment, by reason of the close friendship between us. But now that I see learned men to be all unanimously of my opinion, even outdoing me in the warmth of their admiration for his transcendant genius,—a proof of their greater discernment, though not of their greater affection; I am quite satisfied that

ERASMVS Roterodamvs IOAN
NI FROBENIO COMPATRI SVO
CHARISSIMO S. D.

CVM antehac omnia Mori mei mihi supra modum semper placue-rint, tamen ipse meo judicio nonnihil diffidebam, ob arctissimam inter nos amicitiam. Caeterum ubi uideo doctos uno ore omnes meo subscribere suffragio, ac uhehementius etiam diuinum hominis ingenium suspicere, non quod plus ament, sed quod plus

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1 John Froben, the printer, was a native of Hammelburg in Franconia, born in 1460. After studying in the university of Basle, he entered the printing-house of John Amerbach, and in time became himself a printer in that city. Erasmus, many of whose works issued from his press, was an intimate friend, and was godfather to his son John Erasmus, or Erasmius. Hence the term compater used in the superscription of this letter. Froben died in 1527. His widow, Gertrud, is mentioned in a letter of Beatus Rhenanus to Boniface Amerbach, dated Aug. 20, 1536. Erasmus's godson was married in that year.—See the Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus, ed. by Horawitz and Hartfelder, 1886, pp. 421, 430; and Erasmi Epist. 922.
I am in the right, and shall not shrink in future from openly expressing what I think. What would not such marvellous natural gifts have accomplished, if his intellect had been trained in Italy; if it were wholly devoted to literature; if it had had time to ripen for its proper harvest, its own autumn? While quite young, he amused himself with composing epigrams, many of them written when he was a mere boy. He has never gone out of his native Britain, save once or twice, when acting as ambassador for his sovereign in the Netherlands. He is married, and has the cares of a family; he has the duties of a public office to discharge, and is immersed in the business of the law-courts; with so many important affairs of state distracting him besides, that you would wonder at his having leisure even to think of books.

So I have sent you his *Prolusions* and *Utopia*. If you think fit, let them go forth to the world and to posterity with the recommendation of being printed by you. For such is the reputation of your press, that for a book to be known to have been published by Froben, is a passport to the approbation of the learned.

cernant; serio plaudo meae sententiae, nec uerebor posthac quod sentio palam eloqui. Quid tandem non praestitisset admirabilis ista naturae felicitas, si hoc ingenium instituisset Italia? si totum Musarum sacris uacaret, si ad iustam frugem ac uelut autumnum suum maturuisset? Epigrammata lusit adolescens admodum, ac pleraque puer. Britanniam suam nunquam egressus est, nisi semel atque iterum, Principis sui nomine legatione fungens apud Flandros. Praeter rem uxoriam, praeter curas domesticas, praeter publici muneris functionem et causarum undas, tot tantisque regni negotiis distrahitur, ut mireris esse ocium uel cogitandi de libris.

Proinde misimus ad te progymnasmata illius, et Utopiam; ut si uidetur tuis excusa typis orbi posteritatisque commendentur: quando ea est tuae officinae autoritas, ut liber uel hoc nomine placeat eruditis, si cognitum sit e Frobenianis aedibus prodiisse.

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1 This seems to be a mistake on the part of Erasmus. More, in his letter to Dorp, written in 1515, expressly says that, seven years before, he had been in the universities of Paris and Louvain, though not for long—'non diu quidem.' More's second embassy, to Calais, was in the very month in which Erasmus wrote these words.
Farewell, and greet for me your good father-in-law, your charming wife, and the darling children. Mind you bring up in good learning my little godson Erasmus, in whom I have a claim as well as you; for learning has rocked his cradle.

Louvain:
Aug. 25th, 1517.

Bene uale cum optimo socero, coniuge suauiissima ac mellitissimis liberis. Erasmum filiolum mihi tecum communem, inter literas natum, fac optimis literis instituendum cures.

GUILLAUME BUDÉ

TO HIS ENGLISH FRIEND THOMAS LUPSET

GREETING.

I owe you many thanks, my learned young friend Lupset, for having sent me Thomas More's *Utopia*, and so drawn my attention to what is very pleasant, and likely to be very profitable, reading.

It is not long ago since you prevailed upon me (your en-

GVILLIELMVS

BVDAEVS THOMAE LV-

PSETO ANGLO S.

RATIAM SANE INGENTEM A NOBIS INIISTI, LUPSETE ADOLESCENTUM DOCTISSIME, QUI ME, PORRECTA MIHI VTOPIA THOMAE MORI, AD IUCUNDISSIMAE SIMUL ET USUI FUTURAЕ LECTIONIS INTENTIONEM AUERTISTI. NAM CUM A ME DUDUM PRECIBUS ID CONTENDISSES, ID QUOD,

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1 Thomas Lupset († 1498–1530), a scholar whom Colet had educated under William Lily, was at this time in Paris, where he graduated in arts. He was superintending the publication of works by more than one of his friends.—See more in the Introduction, § 5, and, for the scanty details of his life, Cooper's *Athenae Canta-

2 The name of Guillaume Budé is too well known in the world of letters to need much said about him here. He was born in 1467, and was thus a close contemporary of Erasmus and Colet. He died in 1540. Many characteristics of the man are illus-

trated in this letter: his vehemence, his aversion from the law (to the pro-

fession of which he was originally destined), his fondness for displaying his command of Greek, and the like. He was invited to the court of the French king as urgently as was More to that of the English, and showed the same disinclination to the service; complying only when he believed that the cause of learning would be bene-

fited by his presence at court. At one period of his life, to counteract the effects of too sedentary habits, he devoted himself to active work in building and planting on his two country estates, at Marly and Saint-
treaties seconding my own strong inclination) to read the six books of Galen *On the preservation of the Health*, to which that master of the Greek and Latin tongues, Dr. Thomas Linacre¹, has lately rendered the service—or rather, paid the compliment²—of translating them from the extant originals into Latin. So well has the task been performed, that if all that author's works (which I consider worth all other medical lore put

meapte ipse sponte magnopere exoptaturus eram, ut Thomae Linacri, medici utraque lingua praestantissimi, libros sex *De sanitate tuenda* legerem, quos ille ex Galeni monumentis latinate nuper ita donavit, uel quibus ipse potius latinitatem, ut, si omnia eius autoris opera (quae ego instar omnis medicinae esse puto) latina tandem fiant,

Maur. When so occupied, he loved, says his biographer (in *Batesii Vitae*, p. 234), in words that will illustrate an expression in his letter, 'cursu corpus fatigare.'

As, besides these country villas, he purchased a house in the Rue Saint-Martin, then accounted the best part of Paris, which he pulled down and rebuilt from top to bottom, and lived in such style there that Vives, the Spanish scholar, when he paid him a visit, 'fut ébloui du train que menait l'illustre helléniste,' it is obvious that his invectives against private property must be taken with some qualification.

How far, or whether at all, Budé was inclined to the principles of the Reformation, has been much disputed. He appears to be very guarded in respect of anything said about doctrine. But in the *Epistolae Postiores* he animadverts, as bitterly as Erasmus might have done, upon the obtrusiveness of the haters of the new learning. His great treatise *De Asse*, 1514, was judged by the Spanish Inquisition to require expurgation (Tribbechovius, *De Doctoribus Scholasticis*, 1719, p. 89); and we can hardly wonder at this, after reading the fierce attack (fol. xci vers.) upon the late pope, Julius II.

It is certain that, after his death, his widow and some of his many children migrated to Geneva, and made profession of the reformed faith. And some not unnaturally thought, as Mélanchthon tells us, that this pointed to counsel given in that direction by Budé, before his death.—See Bayle, i. p. 751, note L, and the monograph by M. Rebitte, 1846. p. 147.

¹ Thomas Linacre († 1460-1524), the founder of the Royal College of Physicians, had for some time been engaged in translating treatises of Galen into Latin. His version of the six books *De sanitate tuenda* was first printed at Paris by Guillaume Rubé in 1517.—See Johnson's *Life of Linacre*, 1835, p. 208.

² In the Latin a nice distinction is drawn between the two constructions of *donare*: *donare aliquid aliqui*, and *donare alicuem aliquum re*. As Valla points out, the latter has more the notion of supplying a deficiency, or giving a 'consolation prize,' as in the well-known line of Virgil:

*Nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abit.*

The former more expresses a voluntary or complimentary gift. See the *De linguae Latinae elegantia*, 1529, leaf 87 vers.
together) be in time translated, the want of a knowledge of Greek is not likely to be seriously felt by our schools of medicine.

I have hastily skinned over that work, as it stands in Linacree's papers (for the courteous loan of which, for so long a time, I am very greatly indebted to you) with the result that I deem myself much benefited by the perusal. But I promise myself still greater profit when the book itself, on the publication of which at the presses of this city you are now busily engaged, shall have appeared in print.

While I thought myself already under a sufficient obligation to you on this account, here you have presented to me More's Utopia, as an appendix or supplement to your former kindness. He is a man of the keenest discernment, of a pleasant disposition, well versed in knowledge of the world. I have had the book by me in the country, where my time was taken up with running about and giving directions to workpeople (for you know something, and have heard more, of my having been occupied for more than a twelvemonth on business connected with my country-house); and was so impressed by reading it, as I learnt and studied the manners and customs of the Utopians, that I well-nigh forgot, nay, even abandoned, the management of my family affairs. For I perceived that all the theory and

non magnopere tum medicorum schola Graecae linguæ cognitionem desideratura uideatur.

Eum librum ex schedis LINACRI tumultuaria lectione ita percurri (quarum mihi usum tantisper a te indultum summi loco beneficí duco), ut ea lectione multum me profecisse existímem; sed ex libri editione quæ nunc a te sedulo procuratur in officinis huius urbis, ego maiorem etiam profectum mihi spondeam.

Hoc nomine cum me tibi obstric|tum esse satis crederem, ecce tu 4 mihi, uelut prioris beneficíi uel appendicem uel auctarium, Vtopiam illam Mori donasti, hominis in primis acris, ingenioque amoeno, et in rerum humanarum aëstimatione ueteratoris. Eum librum cum ruri in manibus cursitando, satingendo, operis imperitando haberem (partim enim nosti, partim audisti, pullaticis me negociis alterum iam hunc annum multum operaie impendisse), usque adeo eius lectione affectus sum, cognitis et perpensis Vtopinorum moribus et institutis, ut paene rei familiaris procurationem intermiserim atque etiam abie-
practice of domestic economy, all care whatever for increasing one’s income, was mere waste of time.

And yet, as all see and are aware, the whole race of mankind is goaded on by this very thing, as if some gadfly were bred within them to sting them. The result is that we must needs confess the object of nearly all legal and civil qualification and training to be this: that with jealous and watchful cunning, as each one has a neighbour with whom he is connected by ties of citizenship, or even at times of relationship, he should be ever conveying or abstracting something from him; should pare away, repudiate, squeeze, chouse, chisel, cozen, extort, pillage, purloin, thief, filch, rob, and—partly with the connivance, partly with the sanction of the laws—be ever plundering and appropriating.

This goes on all the more in countries where the civil and canon law, as they are called, have greater authority in the two courts. For it is evident that their customs and institutions are pervaded by the principle, that those are to be deemed the high-priests of Law and Equity, who are skilled in caveats—or capiats, rather; men who hawk at their unwary fellow-citizens; artists in formulas, that is, in gudgeon-traps; adepts in con-

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1 If it is impossible to impart elegance to such a string of expletives, I must plead that they are only a close reproduction of the Latin.
cocted law; getters up of cases; jurisconsults of a controverted, perverted, inverted *jus*. These are the only fit persons to give opinions as to what is fair and good; nay, what is far more, to settle with plenary power what each one is to be allowed to have, and what not to have, and the extent and limit of his tenure. How deluded must public opinion be to have determined matters thus¹!

The truth is that most of us, blind with the thick rheum of ignorance in our eyes, suppose that each one’s cause, as a rule, is *just*, in proportion to its accordance with the requirements of the *law*, or to the way in which he has based his claim on the *law*. Whereas, were we agreed to demand our rights in accordance with the rule of truth, and what the simple Gospel prescribes, the dullest would understand, and the most senseless admit, if we put it to them, that, in the decrees of the canonists, the divine law differs as much from the human; and, in our civil laws and royal enactments, true equity differs as much from law; as the principles laid down by Christ, the founder of human society, and the usages of His disciples,

callentissimi, et litium concinnatores, iurisque contrauersi peruersi inuersi consulti, antistites esse iusticiae aequitatisque existimentur; solique digni qui de aequo bonoque responsent, atque etiam (quod maius est multo) qui cum imperio ac potestate statuant quid unumquemque habere, quid non habere, quatenus quamduique liceat; hallucinantis id utique sensus communis judicio.

Quippe cum plerique hominum, crassis ignorantiae lemis caecuntentes, tam aquissimam fere causam unumquemque putemus habere, quam maxime ius postulat, aut iure subnixus est; cum, si ad ueria normam et ad simplicitatis Euangelicae praescriptum exigere iura uelimus, nemo sit tam stupidus quin intelligat, nemo tam uaecors quin fateatur si urgeas, tam ius et fas hodie ac tamdiiu in sanctionibus pontificiis, et ius atque aequum in legibus ciuilibus et principum placitis dissidere, quam Christi, rerum humanarum conditoris, instituta, eiusque discipulorum ritus, ab eorum decretis et placitis, qui

¹ With these denunciations of the law as then administered may be compared the not less severe strictures of Dean Colet in his *Exposition of Romans* (edited with the *Letters to Radulphus*, 1876), p. 162; and in his *Lectures on Corinthians*, pp. xviii, 45. Both he and Budé had probably in their minds the language of Cicero, *De Oratore*, i. 55.
differ from the decrees and enactments of those who think the *summum bonum* and perfection of happiness to lie in the money-bags of a Croesus or a Midas. So that, if you chose to define *Justice* now-a-days, in the way that early writers liked to do, as the power who assigns to each his due, you would either find her non-existent in public, or, if I may use such a comparison, you would have to admit that she was a kind of kitchen stewardess: and this, alike whether you regard the character of our present rulers, or the disposition of fellow-citizens and fellow-countrymen one towards another.

Perhaps indeed it may be argued, that the law I speak of has been derived from that inherent, world-old justice called *natural* law; which teaches that the stronger a man is, the more he should possess; and, the more he possesses, the more eminent among his countrymen he ought to be: with the result that now we see it an accepted principle in the Law of Nations, that persons who are unable to help their fellows by any art or practice worth mentioning, if only they are adepts in those complicated knots and stringent bonds, by which men’s pro-

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1 'Quae animi affectio, suum cuique tribuens, . . . iusticia dicitur.' Cic. *de Fin.* v. 23.

2 'The good old rule' of Wordsworth:

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Croesi et Midae aceruos bonorum finem esse putant et felicitatis cumulum. Adeo si iusticiam finire nunc uelis, quomodo priscis autoriibus placuit, quae ius suum unicumque tribuat, uel nullibi eam in publico inuenias, uel (si dicere id mihi permettam) culinariam quamdam dispensaticaem esse ut fateamur necessesit; siue nunc imperiantium mores spectes, siue ciuium inter se et popularium affectus.

Nisi uero a germana mundique aequali iusticia (quod ius naturale uocatur) manasse ius id contenderint, ut quo quisque plus polleat, eo etiam plus habeat; quo autem plus habeat, eo plus eminere inter ciues debeat. Quo fit ut iam iure gentium receptum esse uideamus, ut qui nec arte nec industria memorabili iuuare ciues suos et populares possunt, si modo pactiles illos nexus et contractiles nodos teneant, queis nominum patrimonia obstringuntur, quosque uulgus ignarum hominesque literis humanioribus dediti, ac procul foro,
Properties are tied up (things accounted a mixture of Gordian knots and charlatanry, with nothing very wonderful about them, by the ignorant multitude, and by scholars living, for the sake of recreation or of investigating the truth, at a distance from the Courts)—that these persons, I say, should have an income equal to that of a thousand of their countrymen, nay, even of a whole state, and sometimes more than that; and that they should then be greeted with the honourable titles of wealthy men, thrifty men, makers of splendid fortunes. Such in truth is the age in which we live; such our manners and customs; such our national character. These have pronounced it lawful for a man’s credit and influence to be high, in proportion to the way in which he has been the architect of his own fortunes and of those of his heirs: an influence, in fact, which goes on increasing, according as their descendants in turn, to the remotest generation, vie in heaping up with fine additions the property gained by their ancestors; which amounts to saying, according as they have ousted more and more extensively their connections, kindred, and even their blood relations.

But the founder and regulator of all property, Jesus Christ, left among His followers a Pythagorean communion and love; and ratified it by a plain example, when Ananias was condemned to death for breaking this law of communion. By laying down

animi causa aut ueritatis indagandae ergo agentes, partim Gordii uincula esse ducent, partim circulatoria nec magnopere miranda, ii millenorum ciuium censum, et saepe singularum ciuitatum aut etiam ampliorem habeant; iidemque tum locupletes, tum frugi homines, tum magnifici conquisitores honorifice uocitentur: quippe iis seculis, iis institutis, iis moribus, in iis gentibus, quae id ius esse statuerunt, ut tam summa fide atque autoritate quisque sit, quam maximis opibus penates suos architectatus est ipse haeredesque eius; idque eo magis atque magis, quo eorum adnepotes, horumque rursus abnepotes, patrimonia a maioribus parta luculentis certatim accessionibus cumuluerint; id est, quo longius latiusque confines, affines, cognatos, consanguineos summouerint.

At uero Christvs, possessio num conditor et moderator, Pythagoricam communionem et charitatem inter asseclas suos relictam luculentus sanxit exemplo, damnato capitis Anania ob temeratam communionis legem. Quo certe instituto Christvs omne iuris istius
this principle, Christ seems to me to have abolished, at any rate among his followers, all the voluminous quibbles of the civil law, and still more of the later canon law; which latter we see at the present day holding the highest position in jurisprudence, and controlling our destiny.

As for the island of Utopia, which I hear is also called Udepotia, it is said (if we are to believe the story), by what must be owned a singular good fortune, to have adopted Christian usages both in public and in private; to have imbibed the wisdom thereto belonging; and to have kept it undefiled to this very day. The reason is, that it holds with firm grip to three divine institutions:—namely, the absolute equality, or, if you prefer to call it so, the civil communication, of all things good and bad among fellow-citizens; a settled and unwavering love of peace and quietness; and a contempt for gold and silver. Three things these, which overturn, one may say, all fraud, all imposture, cheating, roguery, and unprincipled deception. Would that Providence, on its own behalf, would cause these
cuiuis pontificiique adeo recentioris argumentosa uolumina inter suos quidem abrogasse mihi uidetur; quod ipsum ius hodie arcem tenere prudentiae uidemus, ac fata nostra regere.

UTopia uero insula, quam etiam Vdepotiam appellari audio, mirifica utique sorte (si credimus) Christianos vero ritus ac germanam ipsam sapientiam publice priuatiisque hausisse perhibetur, intemerratamque ad hunc usque diem seruasse: utpote quae tria diuina instituta, hoc est, bonorum malorumque inter ciues aequalitatem, seu malis ciuilitatem, numeris omnibus absolutam; et pacis ac tranquillitatis amorem constantem ac pertinacem; et auri argentiique contemptum, consertis (ut aiunt) manibus retinet: tria (ut ita loquar) cuertica omnium fraudum, imposturarum, circunscriptionum, uersutiarum et planicarum improbitatum. Superi suo nomine facerent ut

As much as to say Nunquamia, as well as Nusquamia; Kennaquhan, as well as Kennaquhair.—On the meanings which the name Utopia can be made to bear, see the Introduction, p. xi.

I do not feel sure what Budé exactly meant by ciuilitas, but have taken it to signify the title to share, as citizens, in the common property.

Lat. suo nomine: unless the reading should be suo numine.
three principles of Utopian law to be fixed in the minds of all men by the rivets of a strong and settled conviction. We should soon see pride, covetousness, insane competition, and almost all other deadly weapons of our adversary the Devil, fall powerless; we should see the interminable array of law-books, [the work of]\(^1\) so many excellent and solid understandings, that occupy men till the very day of their death, consigned to book-worms, as mere hollow and empty things, or else given up to make wrapping-paper for shops.

Good heavens! what holiness of the Utopians has had the power of earning such a blessing from above, that greed and covetousness have for so many ages failed to enter, either by force or stealth, into that island alone? that they have failed to drive out from it, by wanton effrontery, justice and honour?

Would that great Heaven in its goodness had dealt so kindly with the countries which keep, and would not part with, the appellation they bear, derived from His most holy name! Of a truth, greed, which perverts and sinks down so many minds, otherwise noble and elevated, would be gone from hence once for

\[1\text{ If } \text{detinentia} \text{ in the Latin be correct, this is the only way in which I can understand the passage. But it seems more likely that } \text{detinentium} \text{ was originally written:—'law-books, that keep so many excellent and solid understandings occupied on them, till the very day of death.'}\]
all, and the golden age of Saturn would return. In Utopia one might verily suppose that there is a risk of Aratus and the early poets having been mistaken in their opinion, when they made Justice depart from earth, and placed her in the Zodiac. For, if we are to believe Hythloday, she must needs have stayed behind in that island, and not yet made her way to heaven.

But in truth I have ascertained by full inquiry, that Utopia lies outside the bounds of the known world. It is in fact one of the Fortunate Isles, perhaps very close to the Elysian Fields; for More himself testifies that Hythloday has not yet stated its position definitely. It is itself divided into a number of cities, but all uniting or confederating into one state, named Hagnopolis; a state contented with its own customs, its own goods, blest with innocence, leading a kind of heavenly life, on a lower level indeed than heaven, but above the defilements of this world we know, which amid the endless pursuits of mankind, as empty and vain as they are

Saturniumque rediret. Hie enimuero periculum esse quispiam autumarit, ne forte Aratus et poetae prisci opinione falsi fuerint; qui iusticiam e terris decedentem in signifero circulo collocauerunt; restitisse enim eam in Vtopia insula nefesse est, si Hythlodaeo credimus, necdum in coelum peruenisse.

Verum ego Vtopiam extra mundi cogniti fines sitam esse percunctando comperi, insulam nimiram fortunatam, Elysiis fortasse campis proximam (nam Hythlodaeus nondum situm eius finibus certis tradidit, ut Morus ipse testatur), multas quidem ipsam in urbes distractam, sed unam in ciuitatem coeuntes aut conspirantes, nomine Hagnopolin, suis utique ritibus bonisque acquiscentem, innocentia beatam, coelestem quodammodo uitam agentem, ut infra coelum, sic supra mundi huius cogniti colluionem; quae in tot mortalium studii, ut acribus

1 'Sic iusta in populos mox Virginiis inculpatae
Exarsereodia, et caelum pernicibus intrat
Diua alis.'
Festi Avieni Aratea Phaenomena.
The allusions to Astraea are common in the poets.

2 As Budé had suggested that the island was also called Udepotia, he here takes the further liberty of calling the imaginary state Hagnopolis, 'Holy City,' or 'City of the Saints.' Compare the last words of the passage quoted above, p. xxxvi, n. 3, and what was said before about More's lectures on the Civitas Dei, p. xliv.

3 See Colet's Lectures on 1 Cor., p. 30.
keen and eager, is being hurried in a swollen and eddying tide to the cataract.

It is to Thomas More, then, that we owe our knowledge of this island. It is he who, in our generation, has made public this model of a happy life and rule for leading it, the discovery, as he tells us, of Hythloday: for he ascribes all to him. For while Hythloday has built the Utopians their state, and established for them their rites and customs; while, in so doing, he has borrowed from them and brought home for us the representation of a happy life; it is beyond question More, who has set off by his literary style the subject of that island and its customs. He it is who has perfected, as by rule and square, the City of the Hagnopolitans itself, adding all those touches by which grace and beauty and weight accrue to the noble work; even though in executing that work he has claimed for himself only a common mason's share. We see that it has been a matter of conscientious scruple with him, not to assume too important a part in the work, lest Hythloday should have just cause for complaint, on the ground of More having plucked the first flowers of that fame, which would have been left for him, if he had himself ever decided to give an account of his adventures to the world. He was afraid, of course, that Hythloday, who was residing of his own choice in the island of

et incitatis, sic inanibus et irritis, turbide et aestuose in praecipitium rapitur.

Eius igitur insulae cognitionem Thomae Moro debemus, qui beatae uitae exemplar ac uiuendi praescriptum aetate nostra promulgauit, ab Hythlodaeo, ut ipse tradit, inuentum, cui omnia fert accepta. Qui ut Utopianis ciuitatem architectus sit, ritusque illis et instituta considerit, id est, beatae uitae argumentum nobis inde mutuatus sit et importarit; Morus certe insulam et sancta instituta stilo orationeque illustrauit, ac ciuitatem ipsam Hagnopolitanorum ad normam regulamque expoluit, omniaque ea addidit, unde operi magnifico decor uenustasque accedit et autoritas; etiam si in ea opera nauanda sibi tantum partes structoris uendicauit. Videlicet religio fuit maiores sibi partes in co opere sumere, ne Hythlodaeus iure queri posset, gloriam sibi a Moro praecertam praefloratamque reliqui, si quando suos ipse labores literis mandare constituisse: ἐνλαβομένον δήθεν ἀντοῦ, μὴ ἰδλόδαιος ἀντός, ὁ τῇ ὑδεπετίαγε νήσῳ ἐμφιλοχωρῶν, ἐπιφανείς ποτε
Udepotia, might some day come in person upon the scene, and be vexed and aggrieved at this unkindness on his part, in leaving him the glory of this discovery with the best flowers plucked off. To be of this persuasion is the part of good men and wise.

Now while More is one who of himself carries weight, and has great authority to rest upon, I am led to place unreserved confidence in him by the testimony of Peter Giles of Antwerp. Though I have never made his acquaintance in person apart from recommendations of his learning and character that have reached me—I love him on account of his being the intimate friend of the illustrious Erasmus, who has deserved so well of letters of every kind, whether sacred or profane; with whom personally I have long corresponded and formed ties of friendship.

Farewell, my dear Lupset. Greet for me, at the first opportunity, either by word of mouth or by letter, Linacre, that pillar of the British name in all that concerns good learning; one who is now, as I hope, not more yours than ours. He is one

δυσχεράνει καὶ βαρύνοιται τά τινες ἄγνωσταιν ἄντω τοῖγε ἐγκαταληφθόντως ἀντω προαπηρθομένου τὸ κλέος τοῦ ἐυφέματος τοῖτον. ἄνω γὰρ πιστεύθαι, πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν ἄγαθώτης καὶ σοφῶν.

Moro autem homini per se graui et autoritate magna subnixo, fidem plane ut habeam, efficit Petri Aegidii Hantuerpiensis testimonium; quem urum | nunquam coram a me cognitum (mitto nunc doctrinae morumque commendationem), eo nomine amo, quod ERASMI clarissimi uiri, ac de literis sacris, profanis omneque genus meritissimi, amicus est iuratissimus; quicum etiam ipsum iamdiu societatem amicorum contraxi, licetis ultro citroque obsignatis.

Vale, Lupsete mi dilectissime, et LINACRUM Britannici nominis column (quod quidem ad literas bonas attinet) non magis iam uestrum (ut spero) quam nostrum, uerbis meis saluta, uel coram uel epistola internuncia, idque primo quoque tempore. Is enim unus est

1 The Greek is here printed as it stands, with the breathings over the first vowels of diphthongs. It is quite in keeping with Bude’s general style, to branch off in this way into Greek. Perhaps he was tempted by the occurrence to his mind of ἄβηθεν, as a word specially suited to the irony of his tone in this passage.
of the few whose good opinion I should be very glad, if possible, to gain. When he was himself known to be staying here, he gained in the highest degree the good opinion of me and of Jehan Ruelle, my friend and the sharer in my studies. And his singular learning and careful industry I should be the first to look up to and strive to copy.

Greet More also once and again for me, either by message, as I said before, or by word of mouth. As I think and often repeat, Minerva has long entered his name on her selectest album; and I love and revere him in the highest degree for what he has written about this isle of the New World, Utopia.

In his history our age and those which succeed it will have a nursery, so to speak, of polite and useful institutions; from which men may borrow customs, and introduce and adapt them each to his own state. Farewell.

From Paris, the 31st of July.

Joannes Ruellius is mentioned in a letter of Erasmus, dated Antwerp, 1517, as a physician who, like Linacre, had had the good fortune to learn Greek in early life. Epist. ed. 1642, col. 629. He published in 1536 a treatise De natura stirpium, printed at Paris by Colnaeus, in folio; 'a magnificent book,' as it is called by Greswell: View of the Parisian Greek Press, i. 91 n.

No year is given; but it must have been 1517.
A shorte meter of Utopia, written by Anemolius poete laureate, and nephewe to Hythlodaye by his sister.

ME Vtopie cleped Antiquitie, Voyde of haunte and herboroughe. 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 briefly In naked wordes, as in a glasse, The same haue I perfourmed fully, With lawes, with men, and treasure fyttely. Wherfore not Vtopie, but rather rightely My name is Eutopie: A place of felicitie.

HEXASTICHON ANEMOLII POETAE LAV REATI, HYTHLODAEI EX SORO- RE NEPOTIS IN VTOPI- AM INSVLAM.

Vtopia priscis dicta ob infrequentiam, Nunc ciuitatis aemula Platonicae, Fortasse uictrix, (nam quod illa literis Deliniauit, hoc ego una praestiti, Viris et opibus, optimisque legibus) Eutopia merito sumi uocanda nomine.

1 The name is familiar from the use of the word in Homer, ἀνεμώλιος, in its figurative sense of 'braggart,' lit. 'windy.' Ventosus is used in a similar way in Latin, as in Cicero's 'homo ventosissimus' (Epp. ad Fam. xi. 9). So the name of Anemolians (inf. p. 177) is given to a vain, boastful people. It is probable that, in calling Anemolius 'poet laureate' here, a hit is intended at John Skelton, who bore that title in More's time. See the references in Dyce's ed. of Skelton's works (1843), vol. i. p. xii. Skelton was the great opponent of More's friend Lily.

2 Hythlodaye would thus be his avunculus, not patruus; a distinction that may have been here intended. For Hythlodaye see note below, p. 26.

3 The sense of this word is defined by 'platted' in the next line, and that by the Latin 'deliniauit,' 'marked out,' 'plotted out,' as is said of an estate in the hands of surveyors.

4 See the Introduction, p. xl.
A meter of iiii. verses in the Utopian tongue, briefly touchinge aswell the straungeth beginning, as also the happie and wealthie continuance of the same common wealth.

My kinge and conquerour Vtopus 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 pleasure and solas.
I one of all other without philosophie
Haue shaped for man a philosophicall citie.
As myne I am nothinge daungerous to imparte,
So better to receaue I am readie with al my harte.

HORVM VERSVVM AD VERBVM HAEC
EST SENTENTIA.

Vtopus me dux ex non insula fecit insulam.
Vna ego terrarum omnium absque philosophia
Ciuitatem philosophicam expressi mortalibus.
Libenter impartio mea, non grauatim accipio meliora.

Note to the Utopian Alphabet.—In the first edition this is printed on the obverse of leaf 2, the 'Hexastichon Anemolii' being on the reverse. In the first edition also the shape of the Utopian letters is a little simpler, the curves not being turned in at the extremities. Some of the words, as 'gymnosophon,' are evidently reminiscences of Greek; but I have not discovered any key to them, if indeed they were ever intended to have any meaning. The alphabet is not printed in the editions of 1517 or 1548. Robynson prefaces his rendering of the lines, given on the facsimile opposite, by the words: 'Whiche verses the translator, according to his simple knowledge, and meaned understanding in the Vtopian tongue, hath thus rudely englised.'

1 That is, fraught, or laden.
2 That is, I make no obstacle. 'Difficultas,' 'mora,' are among the interpretations of 'dangerium' given by Maigne d'Arnis.
VTOPIENSIVM ALPHABETVM

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u x y

TETRASTICHON VERNACULAE VTOPIENSIVM LINGVA.
Vtopos ha Boccas peula chama.

Bargol he maglomie baccan

Agrama gymnosophon labarem

Voluala barchin heman la

HORVM VERSVM AD VERBVM HAECESTSENTENTIA.

Vtopus me dux ex non insula fecit insulam.
Vna ego terrarum omnium ab filo philosophia.
Ciuitatem philosophicam expressi mortalibus.
Libenter impartio meae, non grauamin accipio meliora.
To the right honourable Hierome Buslyde, prouost of Arien, and counselloure to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles ¹
Citzein of Antwerpe, wisheth health and felicitie ².

Thomas More the singular ornamenté of this our age, as you your self (right honourable Buslide) can witnesse, to whome he is perfectly wel knowne, sent vnto me this other day the ylande of Vtopia, to very few as yet knowne, but most worthy which, as farre excelling Platoes commen wealthé, all

CLARISSIMO DÆ

HIERONYMO BVSLIDIO PRAEPOSITO
ARIENSI. CATHOLICI REGIS CA
ROLI A CONSILIIS, PETRVS
AEGIDIVS ANTVERPI-
ENSIS S. D.

Superior BVS hisce diebus, amantissime Buslidi, misit ad me Thomas ille Morus, te quoque teste, cui notissimus est, eximium huius aetatis nostrae decus, Vtopiam insulam, paucis adhuc mortalibus cognitam, sed dignam imprimis quam ut plusquam plato-

¹ For Peter Giles, see below, p. 1.
² The translation of this letter is taken from Robynson's second edition, where it occupies leaves S iii. and v., ending on the obv. of S. vi. It did not appear in his first edition.

Hierome Busleyden, or, as Robynson variously calls him, Buslyde, Buslide, and Buslid, was, at the time when this letter was written, Provost (Propst) of the church of Aire, a town now reckoned in the Pas de Calais, at the confluence of the Lys and the Laquette. He was of a good Luxembourg family. One of his brothers, Francis, had been tutor to the Archduke Philip. Another, Giles, held a position in the Spanish Exchequer.
people shoule be willinge to know: specially of a man most eloquent so finely set furth, so conningly painted out, and so euidently subject to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me thinketh that I see somewhat more, then when I heard Raphael Hythloday\(^1\) himselfe (for I was present at that talke aswell as master More) vtteryng 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 onelye by hearesay, but which he had with his own eyes presently sene, and throughly vewed, and wherin he had no smal time bene conuersant and abiding: a man trulie, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experience,uche passinge, yea euen the very famous and renowned traualier Vlysses: and in dede suche a one, as for the space of these viij. c. yeres past I think nature

nicam omnes uelint cognoscere, praesertim ab homine facundissimo sic expressam, sic depictam, sic oculis subiectam, ut, quoties lego, aliquanto plus mihi uidere uidear, quam cum ipsum Raphaellem Hythlodaeum (nam ei sermoni aequae interfui ac Morus ipse) sua uerba sonantem audirem; etiam si uir ille haud uulgari praeditus eloquentia sic rem exponeret, ut facile appareret eum non ea referre quae narrantibus aliiis didicisset, sed quae cominus hausisset oculis, et in quibus non exiguum tempus esset uersatus; homo mea quidem sententia regionum, hominum, et rerum experientia uel ipso ulysse

Hierome himself was a canon of Brussels, and also of Mechlin (where he had a splendid house, more than once alluded to by More), and Cambray. He was Master of Requests and a Councillor of Charles, the young King of the Netherlands. But he is best known by his foundation of the Collegium Trilingue in the University of Louvain, for teaching the three learned tongues—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. His will, containing the bequest for this purpose, was dated June 22, 1517. He died on the 26th of August in the same year. His foundation at Louvain met for a time with the same kind of opposition from the obstructive party (who, as Erasmus says, would rather be bilingues than trilingues), as did Colet’s foundation in London.

For more about Busleyden, see Mullinger’s *University of Cambridge*, pt. i. p. 565; and especially Nève’s *Mémoire historique et litteraire sur le Collège des trois Langues*, 1856, pp. 36-40.

\(^1\) See below, p. 29.
into the world brought not furth his like: in comparison of whome Vespuce maye be thought to haue sene nothing.

Moreover, wheras we be wont more effectually and pitthely to declare and expresse thinges that we haue sene, then whiche we haue but onelye hearde, there was besides that in this man a certen peculiar grace, and singular dexteritie to discrue and set furth a matter withall. Yet the selfe same thinges as ofte as I beholde and consider them drawen and painted oute with master Mores pensille, I am therwith so moued, so delited, so inflamed, and so rapt, that sometime me think I am presently conversaunt, euen in the ylande of Vtopia. And I promise you, I can skante beleue that Raphael himselfe by al that fiue yeres space that he was in Vtopia abiding, saw there somuch, as here in master Mores description is to be sene and perceaued. Whiche description with so manye wonders and miraculous thinges is replenished, that I stande in great doubt wherat first and chieflie to muse or marueile: whether at the excellencie of his perfect and suer memorie, which could welniegh worde by woorde rehearse so manye thinges once onely heard: or elles at his singular prudence, who so well and wittyly marked and bare away al the originall causes and fountaynes (to the vulgare people commonly most vnknowen) wherof both yssueth and springeth the mortall confusion and vtter decaye of a commen wealth, and also the auauement and wealthy state of the same may riese and growe: or elles at the efficacie and

superior, et qualem octingentis hisce annis nusquam arbitror natum; ad quem collatus Vespucius nihil uidisse putetur.

Iam praeterea quod uisa quam audita narramus efficatus, aderat homini peculiaris quaedam ad explicandas res dexteritas. | Attamen eadem haec quotes Mori penicillo depicta contemplor, sic afficior, ut mihi uidear nonnunquam in ipsa uersari Vtopia. Et hercle crediderim Raphaeliem ipsum minus in ea insula uidisse per omne quinquennium quod illic egit, quam in Mori descriptione uidere liceat. Tantum hic occurrit undique miraculorum, ut ambigam quid primum aut potissimum admirer: felicissimae memoriae fidem, quae tot res auditas duntaxat pene ad uerbum reddere potuerit; an prudentiam, qui uulgo ignotissimos fontes, unde omnia reipublicae uel oriuntur mala, uel oriri possent mala, sic animaduerit; an orationis uim ac
pitthe of his woordes, which in so fine a latin stile, with suche force of eloquence hath couched together and comprised so many and diuers matters, speciallie beinge a man continuallie encombred with so manye busye and troublesome cares, both publique and priuate, as he is. Howbeit all these thinges cause you litle to maruell (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 nedeful or requisite to be adioyned vnto his writinges. Onely a meter of .iiiij. verses written in the Vtopian tongue, whiche after master Mores departure Hythloday by chaunce shewed me, that haue I caused to be added thereto, with the Alphabete of the same nation, and haue also garnished the margent of the boke with certen notes. For, as touchinge the situation of the ylande, that is to saye, in what parte of the worlde Vtopia standeth, the ignoraunce and lacke whereof not a litle troubleth and greueth master More, in dede Raphael left not that vnspoken of. Howbeit with verie fewe wordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by the way passing it ouer, as meanyng of likelihod to kepe and reserue that to an other place. And the same, I wot not how, by a certen euell and vnluckie chaunce escaped vs bothe. For when Raphael was speaking therof, one of master Mores seruauntes came to him, and whispered in his facultatem, qua tanta sermonis latini puritate, tantis dicendi neruis, tot res complexus est, praeertim unus in tot publica simul et domestica negocia distractus. Verum haec omnia tu minus admiraris, doctissime Buslidi, qui familiari etiam consuetudine penitus habes cognitum homine maius ac prope diuinum hominis ingenium.

In caeteris igitur nihil est, quod illius scriptis queam adiicere. Tantum tetrastichum uernacula Vtopiensium lingua scriptum, quod a Mori discessu forte mihi ostendit Hythlodaeus, apponendum curau, praefixo eiusdem gentis alphabeto, tum adiectis ad margines aliquot annotatiunculis. Nam quod de insulae situ laborat Morus, ne id quidem omnino tacuit Raphael, quanquam paucis admodum ac uelut obiter attigit, uelut hoc alii seruans loco. Atque id sane nescio quomodo casus quidam malus utrique nostrum inuidit. Siquidem, cum ea loqueretur Raphael, adierat Morum e famulis quispiam, qui 16
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 neuer stynte, nor rest, vntil I haue gotte the full and exacte knowledge hereof: insomuiche that I will be hable perfectly to in-structe you, not onely in the longitude or true meridian of the ylande, but also in the iust latitude therof, that is to say, in the subleuation or height of the pole in that region, if our frende Hythloday be in safetie, and aliue. For we heare very vncerten newes of him. Some reporte, that he died in his iorney home-ware. Some agayne affirme, that he returned into his coun-try; but partly, for that he could not away with the fashions of his countrey folk, and partly for that his minde and affection was altogether set and fixed vpon Vtopia, they say that he hathe taken his voyage thetherwarde agayne.

Now as touching this, that the name of this yland is nowhere founde amonge the olde and auncient cosmographers, this doubte Hythloday himselfe verie well dissolued. For why, it is possible enoughe (quod he) that the name, whiche it had in olde time, was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that they neuer had knowledge of this iland: forasmuch as now in our time

illi nescio quid diceret in aurem; ac mihi quidem tanto attentius auscultanti comitum quispiam clarius, ob frigus opinor navigatone collectum, tussiens, dicentis uoces aliquot intercepit. Verum non conqüiescam donec hanc quoque partem ad plenum cognouero; adeo ut non solum situm insulae, sed ipsam etiam poli sublationem sim tibi ad unguem redditurus, si modo incolmis est noster Hythlodaeus; nam uarius de homine rumor adfertur: alii affirmant periisse in itinere; rursum alii reuersum in patriam; sed partim suorum mores non ferentem, partim Vtopiae desyderio sollicitatum, eo remigrasse.

Nam quod huius insulae nomen nusquam apud Cosmographos reperiatur, pulchre dissoluit Hythlodaeus ipse. Si quidem fieri potuit, inquit, ut nomen quo ueteres sint usi postea sit commutatum, aut etiam illos haec fugerit insula; quando et hodie complures

1 For this artistic touch, reminding us of More's own hand, see the Introduction, p. xliii.
divers landes be found, which to the olde Geographers were vnknowen. Howbeit, what nedeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter with argumentes, seynge master More is author hereof sufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, in deede herein I both commende, and also knowledge the mannes modestie. Howbeit vnto me it semeth a worke most vnworthie to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abrod into the handes of men, yea, and vnder the title of youre name to be publyshed to the worlde: either because the singular endowmentes and qualities of master More be to no man better known then to you, or els bicause no man is more fitte and meete then you, with good counsellles to further and auaunce the commen wealth, wherein you haue many yeares already continued and traualied with great glory and commendation, bothe of wisedome and knowledge, and also of integritie and vprightnes. 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
Novembre.

oriuntur terrae, priscis illis Geographis intactae. Quanquam quor-
sum attinet hic argumentis astruere fidem, cum Morus ille sit author?
Caeterum quod is ambigit de aeditione, equidem laudo et agnosco uiri modestiam. At uiisum mihi est opus modis omnibus indicium
quod diu premeretur, et cum primis dignum quod exeat in manus
hominum; idque tuo potissimum nomine commendatum orbi: uel quod Mori dotes tibi praecipue sint perspectae, uel quod nemo magis
idoneus qui rectis consiliis iuuet rem publicam, in qua iam annis
compluribus summa cum laude uersaris tum prudentiae tum in-
I am almoste ashamed, right welbeloued Peter Giles, to sende vnto you this boke of the vtopian commen wealth, welnigh after a yeares space, which I am suer you loked for within a moneth and a half. And no marueil. For you knewe welenough, that I was already disboursdened of all the labour and study belonging to the inuention in this work, and that I had no nede at all to trouble my braynes about the disposition or con-ueyaunce of the matter; and therfore had herin nothing els to do, but only to rehearse those thinges, which you

**T H O M A S**

**M O R U S P E T R O**

**AEGIDIO**

S.D.

Pdet me prope modum, charissime Petre Aegidi, libellum hunc, de Vtopiana re publica, post annum ferme ad te mittere, quem te non dubito intra sesquimensem expectasse. quippe 18 quum scires mihi demptum in hoc opere inuenijendi laborem, neque de dispositione quicquam fuisse cogitandum, cui tantum erant ea

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1 Petrus Gillius, or Aegidius, was born at Antwerp about 1486. His father Nicholas was ‘quaestor urbis.’ His studies were directed by Erasmus, with whom, as well as with More and Conrad Goclenius, he lived on terms of cordial friendship. The Epithalamium in Erasmus’s Colloquies was composed for his marriage. In 1510 he was made Town Clerk (Stadtschreiber) of Antwerp. He died November 11, 1533. Some Latin poems of his are preserved.
and I togethers hard maister Raphaell tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cause whie I shold study to set forth the matter with eloquence; for asmuch as his talke cold not be fine and eloquent, being firste not studied for, but sodein and vnpremeditate, and then, as you know, of a man better sene in the greke language then in the latine tong. And my writing, the nigher it shold approche to his homely, playne, and simple speche, somuch the nigher shold it go to the trueth; whiche is the only marke, wherunto I do and ought to direct all my trauail and study herin.

I graunt and confesse, frende Peter, meself discharged of somuch labour, hauing all thies thinges redy done to my hand, that almoost there was nothing lefte for me to do. Elles other the inuention, or the disposition of this matter, might haue requyred of a witte, nother base nother at all vnlearned, bothe some time and leasure, and also recitanda, quae tecum una pariter audiui narrantem Raphaelem. quare nec erat quod in eloquendo laboraretur\(^1\), quando nec illius sermo potuit exquisitus esse, quam illius neglectam extemporalis, deinde hominis, ut scis, non perinde Latine docti quam Graece, et mea oratio quanto accederet propius ad illius neglectam simplicitatem, tanto futura sit proprior veritati, cui hac in re soli curam et debo et habeo.

Fateor, mi Petre, mihi adeo multum laboris hiis rebus paratis detractum, ut pene nihil fuerit relictum. aloquin huius rei uel excogitatio, uel oeconomia, potuisset ab ingenio neque infimo neque prorsus indocto postulare tum temporis nonnihil tum studii, quod

\(^1\) laboretur, A\(^1\).

at the beginning of vol. i. of the *Delitiae Poetarum Belgicorum*, 1614. Like More’s *Epigrammata*, they are imitations of the classical style, and sometimes coarse. In 1519 he published a *Threnodia* on the death of the Emperor Maximilian, with other pieces. There is a charming letter of Erasmus to him on the death of his father, and on the bringing up of his child Nicholas, called after his grandfather. *Epist.* 1642, p. 761.—See Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1739, ii. p. 948 b.

\(^1\) The various readings at the foot of the Latin text, denoted by A, are from the first edition of 1516; those denoted by B, from the Paris edition of 1517. Those at the foot of the English text are from Robynson’s second edition of 1556. The figures on the inner margin refer to the pages of the edition of 1518.
to Peter Giles.

some studye. But yf yt were requysyte and necessary, that the matter shoulde also haue bene wryten elo-
quentlye, and not alone truelye: of a suerty that thynge
coulde I haue perfourmed by no tyme nor studye. But
nowe, seynge all thyse cares, stayes, and lettes were taken
awaye, wherein elles somuche laboure and studye shoulde
haue bene employed; and that there remayned no other
thynge for me to doo, but onelye to wryte playnlye the
matter as I hard it spoken; that in dede was a thynge
lyghte and easye to be done. Howebeit, to the dyspatch-
ynge of thyse so lytell busynes my other cares
and troubles did leaue almooste lesse then no leasure. Whyles I
doo daylye bestowe my tyme abowte lawe
matters; some to pleade, some to heare, some as an arbrytratour wyth myne
awarde to determyne, some as an vmpier or a judge with
my sentence finallye to discusse; whiles I go one way to
see and visite my frened, an other way about mine owne
privat affaires; whiles I spend almost al the day abrode
emonges other, and the residue at home among mine own;
I leaue to meselfe, I meane to my boke, no time.

For when I am come home, I muste commen with my

1 The sentence which follows is an
example of Robynson's diffuse style.
Burnet renders more compactly, but
less pleasantly: 'For while in plead-
ing, and hearing, in judging or com-
posing of Causes, in waiting on some
Men upon Business, and on others
out of Respect, the greatest part of
the Day is spent on other Men's
Affairs,' &c.
wife, chatte with my chyldren, and talke wyth my ser-
uauntes. All the whyche thynges I reken and accompte
emonge busynes, forasmuche as they muste of necessitye
be done: and done muste they nedes be, oneles a man
wyll be a straunger in hys owne howse. And in any
wyse a man muste so fassyon and order hys condytyons,
and so appoynte and dyspose hym selfe, that he be merye,
iocunde, and pleasauante amponge them, whome eyther
nature hath prouyded, or chaunce hathe made, or he hym-
selxe hathe chosen, to be the fellowes and companyonys
of hys lyfe: so that wyth to mucho gentle behauyoure and
famylyaryte he doo not marre them, and, by tomuche
sufferaunce, of hys seruauntes make them hys maysters.
Emonge thyes thinges nowe rehearsed stealethe awaye
the daye, the moneth, the yeare. When doo I wryte,
then? And all thys whyle haue I spoken no woorde of
slepe, nother yet of meate, whyche emonge a greate
umber doth waste no lesse tyme then dothe slepe, wherin
almooste halfe the lyfe tyme of man crepethe awaye.
I therefore doo wynne and gette onelye that tyme, whyche
I steale from slepe and meate. Whyche tyme bycause

cum liberis, colloquendum cum ministris. quae ego omnia inter
negocia numero, quando fieri necesse est (necesse est autem, nisi
uelis esse domi tuae peregrinus) et danda omnino opera est, ut quos
uitae tuae comites aut natura prouidit, aut fecit casus, aut ipse dele-
gisti, hiis ut te quam iucundissimum compares, modo ut ne comitate
corrumpas, aut indulgentia ex ministris dominos reddas. Inter haec
quae dixi elabitur dies, mensis, annus. Quando ergo scribimus? nec
interim de somno quicquam sum loquutus, ut nec de cibo quidem, qui
multis non minus absuimt temporis quam somnus ipse, qui uitae

1 For this picture of More's domestic life, see above, p. xxii.
2 According to Stapleton, More's habit was to give but four or five hours
each night to sleep. He rose at two.
'Hora secunda matutina surgere solitus, usque ad septimam studii ac
precibus se dabat.' Tres Thomae, ed. 1689, p. 14. The contemporary French
adage was more lenient:—
'Lever à cinq, diner à neuf,
Souper à cinq, coucher à neuf,
Fait vivre d'une nonante et neuf,'
See Southey's Common-Place Book,
iii, p. 11.
yt ys verye littell, and yet somwhat it is, therfore haue I ones at the last, though it be longe first, finished Vtopia, and haue sent it to you, frende Peter, to reade and peruse; to the intent that if anye thynge haue escaped me, you might putte me in remembraunce of it. For though in this behalfe I do not greatly mistruste meself (whiche woulde God I were somewhat in witte and learnyng, as I am not all of the worste and dullest memory), yet haue I not so great trust and confidence in it, that I thinke nothing could fall out of my mynde.

For John Clement my boye, who as yow knowe was there present with vs, whome I suffer to be awaye from no talke, wherin may be anye profit or goodnes (for out of this yong bladed and newe shotte vp corne, whiche hath alredy begonne to sprynge vp bothe in Latine and Greke learnynge, I looke for plentiful increase at length

absumit ferme dimidium. At mihi hoc solum temporis adiuro, quod somno ciboque suffuror, quod quoniam parcum est, lente, quia tamen aliquid, aliando perfeci, atque ad te, mi Petre, transmisi Vtopiam, ut legeres, et si quid ef\|fugisset nos, ut tu admoneres. Quanquam enim non hac parte penitus diffido mihi (qui utinam sic ingenio atque doctrina aliquid essem, ut memoria non usquequaque destituer) non usqueadeo tamen confido, ut credam nihil mihi potuisse excidere.

Nam et Ioannes Clemens, puer meus, qui adfuit, ut scis, una, ut quem a nullo patior sermone abesse in quo aliquid esse fructus potest, quoniam ab hac herba, qua et latinis literis et Graccis coepit evires-

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1 That is, in proportion as.

2 John Clement was educated under Lily, and then taken into the household of Sir Thomas More, whose adopted daughter, Margaret Gigs, he afterwards married. The high expectations More entertained of his proficiency in Greek and Latin were fulfilled. He assisted Colet in his study of Greek. In 1519 he was Reader of Wolsey's Greek lecture at Oxford, in which office he was succeeded by Lupset. Turning his attention to medicine, he was made a member of the newly-founded College of Physicians. More, in an undated letter to Erasmus (Jortin,iii.342) speaks of him as 'nemini aliquando cessurus' in that capacity. Under the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth he went abroad, to escape persecution, and died at Mechlin in 1572. His wife had died two years before. For an account of his family, see Bridgett's Life of More, p. 126 n.
of goodly rype grayne), he, I saye, hath brought me into a greate doubte. For wheras Hythlodaye (oneles my memory fayle me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote, which goeth over the riuer of Anyder, is fyue hundred paseis, that is to saye, half a myle, in lengthe; my Jhon sayeth that ii. hundred of those paseis must be plucked awaye; for that the ruyer conteyneth there not aboue thre hundred paseis in bredthe. I praye yow hartely call the matter to youre remembraunce. For if you agree with hym, I also wyll saye as you saye, and confesse me selfe deceaued. But if you cannot remember the thynge, then suerly I wyl write as I haue done, and as myne owne remembraunce serueth me. For as I will take good hede that there be in my booke nothyng false, so, if there be anythyng in doubte, I wyll rather tell a lye then make a lye; bicause I had be good then wise rather.

Howbeit this matter maye easely be remedied, if yow wyll take the paynes to aske the question of Raphaell

a rather be good then wilie.

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Nota Theologicam differentiam inter mentiri et mendacium dicere.

1 Described more fully below, p. 128, where see the note.
2 See note below, p. 127.
3 Eviresco, in the sense of 'fade,' is given in the Cornucopiae on the authority of Varro, but appears to have no classical authority.
himselfe, by worde of mouthe, if he be nowe with yow, or els by youre letters. Which you must nodes do for an other doubt also, whiche hath chaunced, throughge whose faulte I cannot tell, whether throughge myne or youre or Raphaels. For neither we remembred to enquire of hym, nor he to tell vs, in what parte of that newe worlde Vtopia is situate. The whiche thinge I had rather haue spent no small somme of money then that it should thus haue escaped vs; aswell for that I am ashamed to be ignoraunt in what sea that Ilande standeth, wherof I write so longe a treatyse, as also because there be with vs certayne men, and especially one deuoute and godly man, and a professour of diuinitie, who is excedynge desierous to go vnto Vtopia; not for a vayne and curious desiere to see newes, but to the intent he maye further and increase oure religion, which is there already luckely begoune. And that he may the better accomplyshe and

* vertuous.

alium scrupulum, qui nobis incidit, nescio mea ne culpa magis, an tua, an Raphaelis ipsius. Nam neque nobis in mentem uenit quacerere, neque illi dicere, qua in parte noui illius orbis Vtopia sita sit. Quod non fuisset praetermissum sic uellem profecto mediocris pecunia mea redemptum, uel quod subpudet me nescire, quin in mari sit insula de qua tam multa recensam, uel quod sunt apud nos unus et alter, sed unus maximus, uiris plus et professione Theologus, qui miro flagrat desyderio adeundae Vtopiae, non inani et curiosa libidine collustrandi noua, sed uti religionem nostram, feliciter ibi coeptam, foueat atque adaugaret. Quod quo faciat rite, decreuit ante curare ut mittatur

1 In the edition of Robynson’s translation published in 1624 is the marginal note opposite this: ‘It is thought of some that here is vnfainedly meant the late famous Vicar of Croyden in Surrey.’ This was Rowland Phillips, Canon of St. Paul’s and Warden of Merton College, Oxford, who was collated to the vicarage of Croydon in 1497. He was ‘esteemed a notable preacher’ (Holinshed), and is said to have foretold, in a sermon preached at St. Paul’s, that ‘the introduction of printing would be the bane of the Roman Catholic religion.’ He resigned the vicarage of Croydon in 1538, retiring on a pension of £12 a year. See Lysons’ Environs of London (1792), i. p. 189. In what follows Robynson seems to have hesitated about translating Pontifex by Pope— see his later rendering in the note.
perfourme this his good intent, he is mynded to procure that he maye be sent thether of the byshoppe\(^a\), yea and that he hymselfe may be made bishop of Vtopia; beynge nothynge scrupulous herein, that he must obtayne this byshoppricke with suete. For he counteth that a godly suete, whiche procedeth not of the desiere of honour or lucre, but only of a godly zeale.

Wherfore I moste earnestly desyre you, frende Peter, to talke with Hythlodayye, if you can, face to face, or els to wryte youre letters to hym; and so to worke in this matter, that in this my booke there maye neyther any thynge be founde whiche is vntrue, neither any thinge be lacking whiche is true. And I thinke verely it shalbe well done that you shewe vnto hym the booke it selfe. For if I haue myssed or fayled in any poynte, or if any faulte haue escaped me, no man can so well correcte and amende it, as he can: and yet that can he not do, oneles he peruse and reade ouer my booke written. Moreouer by this meanes shal you perceau, whether he be well wyllynge and contente that I should vndertake to put thys worke in wryting. For if he be mynded to publyshe and put forth his owne labours and trauyales hymselfe, perchaunce he would be lothe, and so would I also, that in publyshynge

\(^a\) by the hiegh Byshoppe.

a Pontifice, atque adeo ut creetur Vtopiensibus Episcopus, nihil eo scrupulo retardatus, quod hoc antistitium sit illi precibus impetrandum. Quippe sanctum ducit ambitum, quem non honoris aut quaestus ratio, sed pietatis respectus pepererit.

Quamobrem te oro, mi Petre, uti aut praesens, si potes commode, aut absens per epistolam, compelles Hythlo\(\)daeum atque efficias, ne quicquam huic operi meo aut insit falsi aut ueri desyderetur. Atque haud scio an praestet ipsum ei librum ostendi. Nam neque alius aeque sufficit, si quid est erratum corrigere, neque is ipse aliter hoc praestare potest, quam si quae sunt a me scripta perlegetur. Ad haec : fiet ut hoc pacto intelligas, accipiat ne libenter, an grauatim ferat, hoc operis a me conscribi. Nempe si suos labores decreuit ipse
to Peter Giles.

the Vtopiane weale publyque, I should preuente and take from hym the flower and grace of the noueltie of this his historie.

Howbeit, to saye the verie truthe, I am not yet fully determined with meselfe, whether I wyll put forth my booke or no. For the natures of men be so diuers, the phantasies of some so wayewarde, theire myndes so vnkyndye, theire iudgementes so corrupte, that they which leade a merie and a iocunde lyfe, followinge theire owne sensuall pleasures and carnal lustes, maye seme to be in a muche better state or case, then they that vexe and vnquiete themselfes with cares and studie for the puttynge forth and publyshynge of some thynge, that maye be either profett or pleasure to other; whiche nevertheles wyl disdaynfully, scornefully, and vnkyndly accepte the same. The moste parte of al be vnlearned: and a great numbre hath learnynge in contempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothyng but that which is verie barbarous in dede. If it be one that hath a lytell smacke of learnynge, he reiecteth as homely and commen ware whatsoeuer is

\[\text{a} \text{ preuente him.} \quad \text{b} \quad \text{whiche others.} \quad \text{c} \quad \text{homely geare.}\]

mandare literis, nolit fortasse me: neque ego certe uelim, Vtopiensium per me uulgata republica, florem illi gratiamque nouitatis historiae suae praeripere.

Quanquam ut uere dicam, nec ipse mecum satis adhuc constituï, an sim omnino aediturus. Etenim tam uaria sunt palata mortalium, tam morosa quorundam ingenia, tam ingrati animi, tam absurda iudicia, ut cum hiis haud paulo felicius agi uideatur, qui iucundi atque hilares genio indulgent suo, quam qui semet macerant curis, ut aedant aliquid quod alius, aut fastidientibus aut ingratis, uel utilitati possit esse uel uoloptati. Plurimi literas nesciunt: multi contemnunt. Barbarus ut durum reicet, quicquid non est plane barbarum. Scioli aspernantur ut triuiale,

1 This is going wide of indulgent genio, which is simply 'follow their bent,' or gratify their natural inclina-

tion. Erasmus notes the proverb in his Adagia.
not stuffed full of olde moughteaten wordes\textsuperscript{a}, and that be
worne out of yse. Some there be that haue pleasure
only in olde rustie antiquities; and some only in their
owne doinges. One is so sowe, so crabbed, and so vn-
pleasaunt\textsuperscript{1}, that he can awaye with no myrthe nor sporte.
An other is so narrow in\textsuperscript{b} the sholders\textsuperscript{2}, that he can beare
no iestes nor tawntes. Some selie poore soules be so
aferd that at euery snappishe worde theire nose shalbe
bitten of, that they stande in no lesse drede of euerye
quickie and sharpe worde, then he that is bytten of a madde
dogge feareth water. Some be so mutable and waueryng;
that euery houre they be in a newe mynde, sainge
one thynge syttynge, and an other thynge standynge.
Another sorte sytteth upon theire allebencheis, and there
amonge theire cuppes they geue iudgement of the wittes of
wryters, and with greate aucthoritie they condemne euery
wryter according to his writinge; in moste spiteful maner mockynge, lowtyng, and flowtyng them: beynge themselfes in
the meane season sauffe, and, as sayth the proverbe\textsuperscript{3}, out of all daunger of gonneshotte.

\textsuperscript{a} termes.  
\textsuperscript{b} betwene.

quicquid obso\legend\hspace{1em} uerbis non scatet. quibusdam solum placent
uerter, plerisque tantum sua. Hic tam tetricus est, ut non admittat
iocos, hic tam insulsus, ut non ferat sales. tam simi
quidam sunt, ut nasum omnem, uelut aquam ab rabido
morsus cane, reformident. adeo mobiles alii sunt, ut
aliud sedentes probent, aliud stantes. Hi sedent in
tabernis, et inter pocula de scriptorum iudicant ingeniis, magnaque
cum autoritate condemnant utcumque lubitum est, suis quenque
scriptis, ueluti capillicio uellicantes, ipsi interim tuti et, quod dici solet, \textit{t\textepsilon\omega} \textit{β\textepsilon\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon}s. quippe tam leves et abrasi

\textsuperscript{1} The three attempts at \textit{tetricus} may be noted.
\textsuperscript{2} As we should now say, 'so strait-
laced.' Robynson amplifies consider-
ably the single word \textit{insulsus}, 'taste-
less.' Erasmus, under the heading
'Collo valido' in his \textit{Adagia}, quotes a
somewhat similar proverbial expres-
sion as used by Marius in the Senate:
'non ita latum sibi esse collum.' But
the application is not the same.
\textsuperscript{3} The proverb and its cognates are
given under \textit{Extra telorum iactum} in the
\textit{Adagia} of Erasmus, ed. 1629, p. 351\textit{a}. 
For whye, they be so smugge and smoethe, that they haue not so much as one heare\(^1\) of an honest man, whereby one may take holde of them. There be moreouer some so vnkynde and vngentell, that though they take great pleasure and delectation in the worke, yet for al that they can not fynde in theire hartes to loue the author therof, nor to aforde hym a good worde; beynge muche lyke vnscourteis, vnthankefull, and chourlishe guestes, whiche, when they haue with good and deyntie meates well filled theire bellyes, departe home, geuynge no thankes to the feaste maker. Go youre wayes, nowe, and make a costly feaste at youre owne chargeis for guestes so deyntie mouthed, so dyuers in taste, and bisydes that of so vn-kynde and vnthankefull natures\(^2\).

But neuertheles, frende Peter, do I praye you with Hythlodaye as I willed you before. And as for this undique, ut ne pilum quidem habeant boni uiri, quo possint apprehendi. Sunt praeterea quidam tam ingrati, ut quum impense delectentur opere, nihil tamen magis ament autorem; non absimiles inhumanis hospitibus, qui quum piparo conuiuo prolixe sint excepti, saturi demum discidend domum, nullis habitis gratiis ei, a quo sunt inuitati. I nunc\(^3\), et hominibus tam delicati palati, tam varii gustus, animi praeterea tam memoris et grati, tuis impensis epulum instreue.

Sed tamen, mi Petre, tu illud age quod dixi cum Hythlodaco.

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\(^{1}\) That is, are so close cropped and shaven (abradi), like wrestlers prepared for a conflict, that they present nothing to lay hold of, not even so much as a single hair.

\(^{2}\) Referring to what he had said (p. 8) about consulting Hythloday. Warner’s note here is to the point:—‘Sir Thomas More not only intended that this should pass for a true history, but also wished to conceal from the public that he had any hand in it as an author: and as there would be no great probability that the fiction could be long undiscovered, we may suppose he was the more solicitous to succeed in the last intention; having said so many free things about religion and government in his narrative, repugnant to the principles of the times he wrote in.’

\(^{3}\) Erasmus, in commenting on the proverb *Inanis Opera*, breaks out into a similar denunciation of the ingratitude experienced by authors. ‘I nunc,’ he exclaims, in a strain reminding us of the present passage, ‘et hoc tam magnificum praemium tot tamque diu-turnis uigilis . . . redime’ *Adagia*, ed. 1629, p. 330 b.
matter, I shalbe at my lybertie afterwardes to take newe aduisement. Howebeit, seynge I haue taken great paynes and laboure in wrytynge the matter, if it may stande with hys mynde and pleasure, I wyll, as touchinge the edition or publishing of the booke, followe the counsell and aduise of my frendes, and specially yours. Thus fare you well, ryght hartely beloued frende Peter, with youre gentell wyse; and loue me as you haue euer done; for I loue you better then euer I dyd.

(\cdot\cdot\cdot)

postea tamen integrum erit hac de re consultare denuo. Quam si id ipsius uoluntate fiat, quandoquidem scribendi labore defunctus nunc sero sapio, quod reliquum est de aedendo se-quar amicorum consilium, at-que in primis tuum. Va-le, dulcissime Petre Aegidi, cum optima con-iuge; ac me ut soles a-ma; quando ego te amo etiam plus quam soleo*.

* serio, A.
A fruiteful/
and pleasant worke of the
diste state of a publyque weale, and
of the newe yle called Utopia: written
in Latine by Syr Thomas More
knight, and translated into Englyshe
by Raphe Robynson Citizen and
Goldsmythe of London, at the
procurement, and earnest re-
quest of George Tadlowe
Citizen & Haberdasher
of the same Citie.

Imprinted at London
by Abraham Wele, dwelling in Pauls
churcheyard at the sygne of
the Lambe. Anno,
1551.
To the right
honourable, and his brie sin
guler good maister, maister William
Cecylle esquire, one of the two princi-
cipal secretaries to the kyng his moste
excellent maistrie, Raphe Robynson
wissheth continuance of health,
with dayly increase of ver-
tue, and honour.

Vpon a tyme, when tidynges came too the citie of
Corinthe that kyng Philipphe, father to Alexander
surnamed the Great, was comming thetherwarde with an
armie royll to lay siege to the citie; the Corinthians,
being forth with stryken with greate feare, beganne busilie
and earnestly to looke aboute them, and to falle to worke of

1 William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, was born in 1520, being the
only son of Richard Cecil of Burleigh
in Northamptonshire. He was edu-
cated at Stamford and Grantham
Schools, and afterwards at St. John’s
College, Cambridge, then at the height
of its reputation. Owing to a romantic
attachment to a sister of John Cheke,
he was taken from the University
before obtaining a degree, and was
entered at Gray’s Inn, where his
portrait still hangs in the Hall. He
was knighted in October, 1551; made
Secretary of State, Nov. 20, 1558,
three days after Elizabeth’s accession;
Baron of Burghley, Feb. 25, 1571, and
Lord High Treasurer in July, 1572.
He died in 1598. See Dr. Jessopp’s
article in the Dict. of National Bio-
graphy, and, for his connection with
Robynson, the Introduction, above,
p. lxxi.

2 The story which follows is taken
from Lucian’s Quomodo historia con-
scribenda sit, § 3. The readers of Sir
Walter Scott will remember the de-
scription in Waverley of David Gellatly,
‘idle as Diogenes at Sinope, while his
countrymen were preparing for a siege.’
all handes; some to skowre and trymme vp harneis; some
to carry stones; some to amende and buyldy hygher the
walles; some to rampiere and fortyfie the bulwarkes and
fortresses; some one thynge and some an other, for the
defendinge and strengthenynge of the citie. The whiche
busie labour and toyle of theires when Diogenes the
phylosopher sawe, haung no profitable busines wherupon
to sette himself on worke (neither any man required his
labour and helpe as expedient for the commen wealth in
that necessitie), immediatly girded about him his phylo-
sophicall cloke, and began to rolle and tumble vp and
downe hether and thether vpon the hille syde, that lieth
adioyninge to the citie, his great barrel or tunne, wherein
he dwelled: for other dwellynge place wold he haue none.

This seing one of his frendes, and not alitell musynge
therat, came to hym: And I praye the, Diogenes (quod
he), whie doest thou thus, or what meanest thou hereby?
Forsoth I am tumblyng my tubbe to, (quod he) bycause
it were no reason that I only should be ydell, where so
many be working.

In semblable maner, right honorable sir, though I be,
as I am in dede, of muche lesse habilitie then Diogenes
was, to do any thinge, that shall or may be for the auauance-
ment and commoditie of the publique wealth of my natuie
countrey; yet I, seing every sort and kynde of people in
theire vocation and degree busilie occupied about the com-
mon wealthes affaires, and especially learned men dayly
putting forth in writing newe inuentions and deuises to
the furtheraunce of the same; thought it my bounden
duetic to God and to my countrey, so to tumble my tubbe,
I meane so to occupie and exercise meself in bestowing
such spare houres, as I, beinge at the becke and com-
maundement of others, cold conueniently winne to me
self; that, though no commoditie of that my labour and
trauaile to the publique weale should arise, yet it myght
by this appeare, that myne endeuoire, and good wille hereunto was not lacking.

To the accomplisement therfore and fulfyllyng of this my mynde and purpose, I toke vpon me to tourne and translate out of Latine into oure Englishe tonge the frutefull and profitable boke, which sir Thomas more, knight, compiled and made of the new yle Vtopia, conteining and setting forth the best state and fourme of a publique weale: a worke (as it appeareth) written almost fourtie \(^1\) yeres ago by the said Sir Thomas More, the authour therof. The whiche man, forasmuche as he was a man of late tyme, yea almost of thies our dayes; and for the excellent qualities, wherewith the great goodnes of God had plentyfully endowed him, and for the high place and rowme, wherunto his prince had most graciously called him, notably wel knowen, not only among vs his countremen, but also in forrein countreis and nations; therfore I haue not much to speake of him. This only I saye: that it is much to be lamented of al, and not only of vs English men, that a man of so incomparable witte, of so profounde knowlege, of so absolute learning, and of so fine eloquence, was yet neuerthelesse so much blinded, rather with obstinacie then with ignoraunce, that he could not, or rather would not, see the shining light of godes holy truthe in certein principal pointes of Christian religion; but did rather cheuse to perseuer and continue in his wilfull and stubbourne obstinacie even to the very death: this I say is a thing much to be lamented.

But letting this matter passe, I retourne again to vtopia; which (as I said befor) is a work not only for the matter that it conteineth frutefull and profitable, but also for the writers eloquent latine stiele \(^2\) pleasaunt and delectable.

\(^1\) Thirty-six, reckoning from 1515 to 1551. Sir Thomas More had been dead sixteen years when Robynson wrote.

\(^2\) Erasmus was probably thinking of More's latinity, when, in his letter to Froben (above, p. lxxviii), he indulged
Which he that readeth in latine, as the authour himself wrote it, perfectly understanding the same, doubtles he shal take great pleasure and delite both in the swete eloquence of the writer, and also in the wittie inuencion, and fine conueiaunce, or disposition of the matter; but most of all in the good and holsome lessons, which be there in great plenty and abundaunce.

But nowe I feare greatly that in this my simple translation, through my rudenes and ignoraunce in our english tonge, all the grace and pleasure of the eloquence, wherewith the matter in latine is finely set forth, may seme to be utterly excluded and lost; and therfore the frutefulnes of the matter it selfe muche peraduenture diminished and appayred. For who knoweth not, whiche knoweth any thyng, that an eloqent styele setteth forth and highly commendeth a meane matter; where as, on the other side, rude and vnlearned speche defaceth and disgraceth a very good matter? According as I harde ones a wise man say: A good tale euel tolde were better vntold, and an euell tale well tolde nedeth none other sollicitour.

This thing I well pondering and wayinge with me self, and also knowing and knowledging the barbarous rudenes of my translation, was fully determined neuer to haue put it forth in printe; had it not bene for certein frendes of myne, and especially one, whom abowre al other I regarded; a man of sage and discret witte, and in wordiy matters by long vse well experienced, whoes name is George Tadlowe; an honest citizein of London, and in the same citie well
accepted and of good reputation; at whoes request and instaunce I first toke vpon my weake and feble sholders the heauie and weightie bourdein of this great enterprice.

This man with diuers other, but this man chiefly (for he was able to do more with me then many other), after that I had ones rudely brought the worke to an ende ceased not by al meanes possible continualy to assault me, vntil he had at the laste, what by the force of his pitthie argumentes and strong reasons, and what by hys authority, so persuaded me, that he caused me to agree and consente to the impryntynge herof. He therefore, as the chiefe persuadour, must take vpon him the daunger, whyche vpon this bolde and rashe enterpryse shall ensue. I, as I suppose, am herin clerely acquyte and discharged of all blame.

Yet, honorable Syr, for the better auoyding of enuyous and malcyous tonges, I (knowynge you to be a man, not onlye profoundly learned, and well affected towards all suche as eyther canne, or wyll, take paynes in the well bestowing of that poore talente, whyche GOD hath endued them wyth; but also for youre godlye dysposytyon and vertuous qualytyes not vnworthelye nowe placed in aucthorytye, and called to honoure), am the bolder humblye to offer and dedycate vnto youre good maystershypse thys my symple woorke: partly that vnder the sauffe conducte of your protection it may the better be defended from the obloquie of them, which can say well by nothing that pleaseth not their fond and corrupt iudgementes, though it be els both frutefull and godly; and partlye that, by the meanes of this homely present, I may the better renewe and reuiue (which of late, as you know, I haue already begonne to do) the old acquayntaunce, that was betwene you and me in the time of our childhode, being then scolefellowes togethers\(^1\): not doubting that you, for your

\(^1\) See the Introduction, § 6.
native goodnes and gentelnes, will accept in good parte this poore gift, as an argument or token that mine old good wil and hartye affection towards you is not, by reason of long tract of time and seppartrion of our bodies, any thinge at all quayled and diminished, but rather (I assuer you) much augmented and increased.

This verely is the chieffe cause, that hath encouraged me to be so bolde with youre maistershippe. Els truelye this my poore present is of such simple and meane sort, that it is neyther able to recompense the least portion of your great gentelnes to me, of my part vndeserued, both in the time of our olde acquayntance, and also now lately again bountifullly shewed; neither yet fitte and mete, for the very basenes of it, to be offered to one so worthy as you be. But almighty god (who therfore euer be thanked) hath auaunced you to such fortune and dignity, that you be of hability to accept thankefully aswell a mans good will as his gift. The same god graunte you and all yours long and joyfully to

contynue in all godlynes
and prosperetye.

(···)
The fyrste boke of the communycation of Raphaell hythlodaye concerning the best state of a common wealth.

The moste vyctoryous and tryumphante Kynge of Englande, Henry the ight of that name, in all royal vertues Prince moste peerlesse, hadde of late in controversy with the right hyghe and myghtie king of Castell weightye matters, and of greate importaunce; for the debatement and final determination wherof the kinges Maieste sent me Ambassadour into flauders, joined in with Charles.

S E R M O N I S Q V E M

RAPHAEL HYTHLODAEVS VIR EXIMIVS
DE OPTIMO REIPVBICAEE STATV HABVIT, LIBER PRIMVS, PER ILLVSTREM
VIRVM THOMAM MORVM INclytAE
BRITANNIARVM VRBIS LONDINI
ET CIVEM ET VICECOMITEM.

QVVM NON EXIGVI MOMENti negocia quaedam inuictissimus Angliae Rex HENRICVS, eius nominis octauus, omni-bus egregii principis artibus ornatissimus, cum serenissiimo Castellae principe CAROLO controuersa nuper habuisset, ad ea tractanda componendaque oratorem me leguit in Flandriam, comitem

\(^1\) See the Introduction, § 2.
commission with cuthebert Tunstall¹, a man doubteles owte of comparison, and whom the kinges maistie of late, to the greate reioysyng of all men, did preferre to the office of maister of the Rolles. But of thys mans prayses I will saye nothynge; not bycause I do feare that small credenceshalbe geuen to the testymony that commyth owt of a frindes mouthe, but bicause his vertue and lernyng be greater and of more excellencye, than that I am able to prayse them; and also in all places so famous, and so perfectlye well knowne, that they nede not nor ought not of me to be praysed, onles I wolde

et collegam uiiri incomparabilis Cuthberti Tunstalli, quem sacris a
scriniiis nuper ingenti omnium gratulatione praefecit. de cuius sane
laudibus nihil a me dicetur, non quod uerear ne parum syncera fidei
testis habenda sit amicitia, sed quod uirtus eius ac doctrina maior est,
quam ut a me praedicari possit, tum notior ubique atque illustrior,

¹ Cuthbert Tunstall, brother of the Sir Brian Tunstall who fell at Flodden, and uncle of the famous Bernard Gilpin, was born at Hackforth in Yorkshire, 1474. After studying at both the English Universities and in Padua, and holding various ecclesiastical preferments, he was made Master of the Rolls, May 16, 1516 (Brewer: Letters and Papers, vol. i. no. 1882¹). Hence the words of More in the text, quem ... nuper, &c., should be rendered not ‘did preferre,’ but ‘hath lately preferred.’ Tunstall was not yet Master of the Rolls at the time of the embassy. For the amount of public business that passed through his hands as ambassador on various occasions, see the reference given above, p. xxvii, n. In 1516 he was again in Flanders, and on that occasion stood godfather to Peter Giles’ infant daughter (Erasm. Epist., ed. 1642, p. 400). He was an attached friend of Erasmus as well as of More, and shared their liberal sentiments. In 1522 he was made Bishop of London, and in 1530 Bishop of Durham. He accepted the oath of supremacy to Henry VIII, but drew back, like many other good men, from the sweeping reforms under Edward VI. After being deprived of his see in that reign, and restored under Queen Mary, he finally refused to take the oath, on Elizabeth’s accession, and was again deprived in 1559. The short remainder of his life he spent at Lambeth, under the kindly charge of Archbishop Parker. High praise is given to one of his works, the De arte supputandi, 1522, by a critic not very lavish of praise—the late Professor De Morgan (Arithmetical Books, 1847, p. 13). To his honour it is stated that no one suffered death for heresy in his diocese, during his administration.
seme to shew and set furth the brightenes of the sonne wyth a candell, as the Prouerbe sayth 1.

There met vs at Bruges (for thus yt was before agreed) they whome theire prince hadde for that matter appoynted commyssyoners, excellente men all. The chiefe and the head of them was the Marcgraeue (as they cal him) of Bruges, a right honorable man: but the wisest and the best spoken of them was George Temsice, prouoste of Casselles 2; a man not onlye by lernyng but also by nature of singular eloquence, and in the lawes profoundelye lerned; but in reasonynge, and debatyng of matters, what by his naturall witte, and what by daylye exercise, suerlye he hadde fewe fellowes. After that we hadde ones or twise mette, and vpon certeyne poyntes or artycles could not fully and throughlye agre; they for a certeyne space toke their leaue of vs, and departed to Bruxelle, there to knowe theire princes pleasure. I in the meane

quam ut debeat, nisi uideri uelim solem lucerna, quod aiunt, ostendere.

Occurrerunt nobis Brugis (sic enim conuenerat) hi, quibus a principe negotium demandabatur, egregii uiri omnes. in his praefectus Brugensis, uir magnificus, princeps et caput erat; caeterum os et pectus Georgius Temsicius, Cassiletanus Praepositus, non arte solum uerum etiam natura facundus, ad haec iure consultissimus, tractandi uero negotii cum ingenio tum assiduo rerum usu eximius artifex. ubi semel atque iterum congressi quibusdam de rebus non satis consentiremus, illi in aliquot dies uale nobis dicto Bruxellas profecti sunt,

1 The proverb is given by Erasmus in the form *lucernam adhibere in meridie* (Adag. 1629, p. 12 b). A kindred one (ib., p. 18 b) is *solem adiuare facibus*. The comment on this latter by Erasmus: ‘superuacuis laborat impendiis, qui solem,’ &c., is curiously imitated, whether consciously or not, by Shakespare in *King John*, iv. 2; where ‘with taper-light | To seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish’ is pronounced to be ‘wasteful and ridiculous excess.’

2 Cassel, now a town in the Dép. du Nord of France, is a little north of Hazebrouck, on the line between it and Dunkirk. Its provost, Georgius a Tempsecke (de Theimsecke), was a native of Bruges, and wrote a history of Artois. See König's *Bibliotheca vetus et nova*, 1678, p. 749 b, with a reference to Sweert, p. 276; and Gairdner's *Henry VII*, p. 201.
tyme (for so my busynes laye) wente streyghte thens to Antwerpe.

Whyles I was there abydinge, often tymes amonge other, but whyche to me was more welcome then annye other, dyd vysite me one Peter Gyles, a Citisien of Antwerpe; a man there in hys contrey of honest reputatyton, and also preferred to hyghe promotyons, worthye truelye of the highest. For it is harde to saye whether the yong man be in lernynge or in honesty more excellent. For he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous condytyons, and also singulerlye well lerned, and towards all sortes of people excedynge gentyl; but towards his frynyses so kynde harted, so louynge, so faythfull, so trustye, and of so earneste affectyon, that yt were verye harde in any place to fynd a man, that wyth hym in all poyntes of frendshyppe maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteys. No man vsithe lesse symulatyon or dyssymulatyon; in no man ys more prudente symplycyte. Besydes this, he is in his talke and communycatyon so merye and pleaunda, yea, and that wythout harme, that, throughge hys gentyll intertaynement and hys swete and delectable communycatyon, in me was greatlye abated and dymynyshed the feruent desyre that I hadde

principis oraculum sciscitaturi. Ego me interim (sic enim res ferebat) Antuerpiam confero.

Ibi dum uersor, saepe me inter alios, sed quo non alius gratior, inuisit Petrus Aegidius, Antuerpiae natus, magna fide, et loco apud suos honesto, dignus honestissimo, quippe iuuenis laud scio doctior ne an moratior. est enim et optimus et literatissimus, ad haec animo in omnes candido, in amicos uero tam propenso pectore, amore, fide, adfectu tam syncero, ut uix unum aut alterum usquam inuenias, quem illi sentias omnibus amicitiae numeris esse conferendum. Rara illi modestia; nemini longius abest fucus; nulli simplicitas inest prudentior; porro sermone tam lepidus, et tam innoxie facetus, ut patriae

1 See the Introduction, § 2.  
2 See note above, p. 1.  
3 At the time of More's visit he would be twenty-nine.
to see my natyue contreye, my wyffe and my chylde[n]; whome then I dyd muche longe and couett to see, bicause that at that tyme I hadde byn more then .iii. monythes from them.  

Upon a certeyne daye as I was herynge the deuyne seruyce in our ladys churche, whyche is the fayreste, the moste gorgious and cyrouys churche of buyldyng in all the cytye, and also moste frequented of people, and when the deuyne was done, was readye to goo home to my lodgyng, I chaunced to espie thys forsayde Peter talkynge wyth a certeyne straunger, a man well stryken in age, wyth a blake sonne burned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke caste homely aboute hys shoulders; whom by

*a when I hadde herde.  
*b the seruice beynge done.

desyderium, ac laris domestici, uxor[i]s, et liberorum, quorum studio reuisendorum nimis quam anxie tenebar (iam tum enim plus quatuor mensibus abfuera[m domo]) magna ex parte mihi dulcissima consuetudine sua et mellitissima confabulatione leuauerit.

Hunc quem die quadam in templo diuae Mariae, quod et opere pulcherrimum, et populo celeberrimum est, rei diuinae interfuissem, atque peracto sacro pararem inde in hospitium redire, forte colloquem uideo cum hospite quodam, uergentis ad senium aetatis, uultu adusto, promissa barba, penula neglectim ab humero depen-

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1 This would make the time referred to in the text the middle of September, or later, as the embassy left England on May 12, 1515. See the Introduction, § 2.

2 The Cathedral of Notre Dame at Antwerp, which More would see in all the freshness of its beauty, as it was not completed till the sixteenth century, though begun early in the fifteenth, has always been counted one of the most superb specimens of Gothic architecture on the Continent. It possesses two master-pieces of Rubens.

3 The word service is omitted, as seen by the reading of the second edition. Burnet renders, more naturally, 'One day, as I was returning home from mass.'

4 This little trait comes in so naturally, that it may be doing it wrong to give prominence to it. But the Latin word, neglectim, seems to suggest that More is here playfully bringing in a habit of his own—that of wearing his gown in a careless fashion. In this, as has happened since, he had his imitators. Ascham mentions one such, 'who, being most unlike him in wit and learning, nevertheless in wearing his gowne awrye upon the one shoulder, as Syr Tho. More was wont to do, would nedes be counted lyke unto him.'—The Scholemaster, ed. by Mayor, p. 180.
hys fauour and apparrel forthwythe I iudged to be a maryner. But when thys Peter sawe me, he cummythe to me and saluteth me. And as I was abowte to answere hym: 'see you thys man?' sayeth he (and therwyth he poyned to the man that I sawe hym talkynge wyth before). 'I was mynded,' quod he, 'to brynge hym streyghte home to you.' 'He should haue bene verye welcome to me,' sayd I, 'for your sake.' 'Naye' (quod he) 'for hys owne sake, if you knewe hym; for there ys no man this daye lyuynge that can tell you of so manye strange and vnknowne peoples and contreis as this man can. And I know well that you be verye desyrous to heare of suche newes.' 'Than I coniectured not farre a mysse' (quod I) 'for euen at the fyrste syghte I iudged hym to be a maryner.' 'Naye' (quod he) 'there ye were greatlye deceaued. He hayth sayled indede, not as the maryner Palynure, but as the experte and prudent prince Ulisses; yea, rather as the auncent and sage Philosopher Plato.

'For thys same Raphaell Hythlodaye (for thys ys hys


Nempe Raphael iste, sic enim uocatur, gentilicio nomine Hythlo-

2 The name is plainly formed from υθλος 'idle talk,' and δαίεω 'to dis-
tribute' (the second element being found in prefixes, as δαιτρός), as if to express, like δηλοφρήμων, 'a teller of idle tales.' No commentator seems
of Utopia.

name) is verye well lerned in the Latyne tonge; but profounde and excellent in the greke tonge\(^a\), wherein he euer bestowed more studye than in the lattyn, because he had geuen hym selfe holye to the studye of Phylosophy. Wherof he knewe that there ys nothyng extante in the lattyn tonge\(^b\), that is to any purpose, sauyng a few of Senecaes and Ciceroes doinges\(^1\). His patrymonyne that he was borne vnto he lefte to his bretherne (for he is a Portugalle borne); and for the desyre that he hadde to see and knowe the farre contreys of the worlde, he joynd him selfe in companye wyth Amerike vespuce\(^2\), and in the .iii. laste voyages of thoes .iii., that be nowe in prynte and abrode in euerye mans handes, he contynued styl in

\(^a\) language. \(^b\) in Latine.

daeus, et latinae linguae non indoctus, et Graecae doctissimus (cuius ideo studiosior quam Romanae fuit, quoniam totum se addixerat philosophiae; qua in re nihil quod alicuius momenti sit, praeter Seneca quaedam ac Ciceronis extare latine cognouit) relictio fratrina patrimonio, quod ei domi fuerat (est enim Lusitanus) orbis terrarum contemplandi studio Americo Vespucio se adiunxit, atque in tribus posterioribus illorum quatuor nauigationum, quae passim iam leguntur,

to have thought it worth while to suggest any reason for the traveller's other name being Raphael. It may have been borrowed from Raphael Volaterranus, whose voluminous *Commentarii Urbani* were printed at the Ascensian Press in 1511. See Freytag's *Adparatus Litterarius*, 1755, iii. p. 518. Vives often refers to Volaterranus as a geographical writer. *De discip.* (ed. 1636), p. 633. Paulus Jovius, after finding fault with his style, says that 'multum hercle debemus ingenuo gratuitaque labori.'—*Elogia*, 1571, p. 260. Jean Saugraine, the author of an early French translation of the *Utopia*, takes a different view. After defining 'Hythloday' as 'facteur de non veritables et plaisans propos,' he adds: 'lequel en propre nom il appelle Raphael, nom d'un Ange spirituel, signifiant que de son propre et bon esprit ha esté inuentée ladite Republique de nul lieu.'—*La Republique d'Utopie*, Lyons, 1559, p. 5.

\(^1\) That is, works. The want of originality in Latin philosophical writings, referred to in the text, is a matter of common remark. Ascham went farther, and, after excepting Cicero, declared that 'if there be any good' in Latin and certain other languages, 'it is either lerned, or borrowed, or stolne, from some of those worthie wittes of Athens.'—*Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor, p. 52.

\(^2\) See the Introduction, § 3.
hys companye; sauynge that in te [the] laste voyage he came not home again wyth hym. For he made suche means and shyfte, what by intreataunce and what by importune sute, that he gotte lycence of mayster Amerycke (thoughe it were sore agaynst his will) to be one of the .xxiii. whyche in the ende of the laste voyage were lefte in the contrye of Gulike\(^1\). He was therfore lefte behynde for hys mindes sake, as one that toke more thoughte and care for traualyng then dyinge; hauynge customablye in hys mouthe theis sayinges: He that hathe no graue ys couered wyth the skie; and, The way to heauen owte of all places is of like length and distance. Which fantasye of his (if God had not bene his better frende) he hadde suerlye bought full deere.

\(' But after the departyenge of Mayster vespuce, when he

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{perpetuus eius comes fuit, nisi quod in ultima cum eo non redidit.} \\
&\text{Curavit enim atque adeo extorsit ab America, ut ipse in his xxiii} \\
&\text{esset, qui ad fines postremae nauigationis in Castello relinquebantur.} \\
&\text{Itaque relictus est, ut obtemperaretur animo eius, peregrinationis} \\
&\text{magis quam sepulchri curioso; quippe cui haec assidue sunt in ore,} \\
&\text{Apophthegma.} \\
&\text{Caelo tegitur qui non habet urnam, et Vndique ad} \\
&\text{superos tantundem esse uiue. Quae mens eius, nisi} \\
&\text{deus ei propitius adefuisse, nimio fuerat illi constatura.} \\
&\text{Caeterum postquam digresso Vespucio\(^b\) multas regiones cum quin-} \\
&\text{\(a\) Deest in B.} \\
&\text{\(b\) Vespusio, A.}
\end{align*}\]

\(1\) From its being printed with a capital letter, Robynson seems to have taken the ‘Castellum’ of the Latin to be a proper name, instead of rendering the words ‘in the fort.’ See above, p. xxxix. With this idea, he rendered it ‘Gulike,’ because in the old dicionaries Castellum is given as the ancient name of Jülich (the French Juliers, 23 miles west of Cologne), and this is sometimes spelt Gulike, as in Cooper’s *Thesaurus*, ed. 1584: ‘Castellum, the name of a country called Juliers or Gulike.’ That More’s Castellum was in South America, not in Gallia Belgica, does not seem to have troubled the translator.

\(2\) The line is from Lucan, vii. 819. What follows is an adaptation of the oft-quoted saying of Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, when dying at Lamp-sacus: ‘Quaerentibus amicis, velletne Clazomenas in patriam, si quid acci-disset, auferri: *Nihil necesse est, inquit; undique enim ad inferos tantundem vias est.*’—Cic. *Quaestiones Tusc.* I. § 104.
hadde trauayled thoroughge and abowte manye contreis, with v. of his companyons Gulykyans, at the laste by maruelous chaunce he arryued in Taprobane, from whens he wente to Calyquit, where he chaunce to fynde cer-
teyne of hys contrey shyppes, wherin he returned again into hys countreye, nothyngye lesse then lokyd for.

All thys when Peter hadde tolde me, I thankyd hym for his gentyll kyndnes, that he hadde vouchesaufed to brynge me to the speche of that man, whose communication he thought sholde be to me pleasaunte and acceptable. And there wyth I turned me to Raphaeell; and when we hadde haylsede thone thother, and hadde spoken thies comen wordes, that be customably spoken at the fyrste metynge and acquentaunce of straungers, we wente thens to my house, and there in my gardeyne, vpon a benche coueryd wyth grene torues, we satte downe talking togethers.

que Castellanorum comitibus emensus est, mirabili tandem fortuna Taprobanem delatus, inde peruenit in Caliquit, ubi repertis commode Lusitanorum nauibus, in patriam denique praeter spem reuehitur.

Haec ubi narruit Petrus, actis ei gratiis quod tam officiosus in me fuisset, ut cuius uiri colloquium mihi gratum speraret, eius uti sermone fruerer, tantam rationem habuisset, ad Raphaelem me converto. tum ubi nos mutuo salutassemus, atque illa communia dixissemus, quae dici in primo hospitum congressu solent, inde domum meam digredi-
mur, ibique in horto, considerentes in scamno cespitibus herbes con-
strato, confabulamur.

1 That is, Ceylon. Robynson retains the Latin name.
2 It was at Calicut, Caliquit, on the Malabar coast, that Vasco de Gama landed in May, 1498. Here a factory was formed, and after De Gama's return a large fleet followed him up and planted factories all along the coast.—Caldecott's English Colonisa-
tion, 1891, p. 17.
3 That is, hailed, or greeted. The spelling of the word recalls its con-
nexion with the Scandinavian forms heilsa, helsa, and hilse; on which see Professor Skeat.
4 In the edition of 1518 there is a woodcut (p. 25) representing this garden scene. The artist seems to have taken the 'bench covered with green torves' to be a kind of crate stuffed with turf. I cannot realize to myself what More's description meant.
There he tolde vs howe that, after the departynge of vespuce, he and hys fellowes, that tarryed behynde in Gulyke, beganne by lytle and lytle, thoroughge fayre and gentle speche, to winne the loue and fauour of the people of that contreye; in so mucche that within shorte space, theye dydde dwell amonges them not onlye harmelese, but also occupyed a wyth them verye famlyyerly. He tolde vs also that they were in hyghe reputatyon and fauoure wyth a certeyne greate man (whose name and contreye ys nowe quyte owte of my remembraunce), which of hys mere lyberalytye dyd beare the costes and charges of hym and his fyue companions, and besydes that gaue them a trustye guyde, to conducte them in theyre iorney (whyche by water was in botys and by lande in wagains), and to bring them to other princes withe verye frindlye commendatyons. Thus after manye dayes iourneis, he sayd they found townys and cytyes, and weale publyques full of people, gouerned by good and holsom lawes.

For vnder the lyne equynctyall and of bothe b sydes of the same, as farre as the sonne doth extend hys course, lyeth (quod he) greate and wyde desertes and wylder-

Narrauit ergo nobis, quo pacto posteaquam Vespucius abierat, ipse sociique eius, qui in Castello remanserant, conueniendo atque blan-
diendo coeperint se paulatim eius terrae gentibus insinuare, iamque non innoxie modo apud eas, sed etiam familiariter uersari, tum principi cuidam (cuius et patria mihi et nomen excidit) grati charique esse. eius liberalitate narrabat commeatum atque uiaticum ipsi et quinque eius comitibus affatim fuisset suppeditatum, cum itineris (quod per aquam ratibus, per terram curru peragebant) fidelissimo duce, qui eos ad alios principes, quos diligenter commendati petebant, adduceret. Nam post multorum itinera dierum, oppida atque urbes aiebat reperisse se, ac non pessime institutas magna populorum frequentia respublicas.

Nempe sub aequatoris linea tum hinc atque inde ab utroque latere quantum fere spaëii solis orbita complectitur, uastas obiacere a soli-
nesses, parched, burned and dryed vppe with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges be hydeous, terryble, lothesome, and vnpleasaunte to be holde; all thynges owte of fashhyon and comylynes, inhabyted wyth wylde beastes and serpentes, or at the leaste wyse wyth people that be no lesse sauage, wylde, and noysome then the verye beastes themselfes be. But a lytle farther beyonde that all thynges begyn by lytle and lytle to waxe plea-saunte; the ayre softe, temperate, and gentle; the ground couered wyth grene grasse; less wildnes in the beastes. At the laste shall ye come again to people, cities, and townes, wherin is contynuall entercourse and occupyinge of marchandyse and chaffare, not onelye amonge them selves and wyth theyre borderers, but also wyth mar-chauntes of farre contreys bothe by lande and water.

'Ther I had occasion' (sayde he), 'to go to manye contreys of a euery syde. For there was no shyppe reddye to anye voyage or iorney, but I and my fellowes were into it verye gladlye receauyde. The shyppes that they founde fyrste were made playne, flatte, and broade in the botome, troughewyse. The sayles were made of greate russels, or of wyckers, and in some places of lether. Afterwarde they founde shyppes wyth rydged kycales, and

* of omitted.
sayles of canuas; yea, and shortelye after hauynge all thynges lyke owers; the shyppemen also verye experthe and connynge both in the sea and in the wether 1.

But he sayde that he founde greate fauour and frynde-shyppe amonge them for teachynge them the feate and vse of the lode stone 2, whych to them before that tyme was vnknowne; and therefore they were wonte to be verye tymerous and fearefull vpon the sea, nor to venter vpon it but onlye in the somer time. But nowe they haue such a confidence in that stone, that they feare not stormy wynter; in so doynge, ferther frome care then ieopardye a. In so muche that it is greatlye to be doubtyd, lest that thynge, thoroughe theyre owne folyshhe hardynes, shall tourne them to euyll and harme, whych at the fyrste was supposyde shoulde be to them good and commodyous.

But what he tolde vs that he sawe, in euerye contrey wheare he came, it were verye longe to declare. Nother is it my purpose at this time to make rehersall therof.

minatas carinas, canabea a uela reppererunt, omnia denique nostris similia. nautae maris ac caeli non imperiti.

Sed miram se narrabat inisse gratiam, tradito magnetis usu, cuius antea penitus crant ignari: ideoque timide pelago consueuisses sese, neque alias temere quam aestate credere. Nunc uero eius fiducia lapidis contemnunt hyemem, securi magis quam tuti; ut periculum sit, ne quae res magno eis bono futura putabatur, cadem per imprudentiam magnorum causa malorum fiat.

Quid quoque in loco se uidisse narrauit, et longum fuerit explicare, neque huius est operis institutum, et alio fortasse loco dicetur a nobis,

a daunger.

1 Burnet, in more sounding phrase: 'the Seamen understood both Astronomy and Navigation.'

2 The polarity of the magnetic needle had been known long before More wrote; but its application to the purposes of navigation does not seem to have been thought of before the fifteenth century. It was in the latter part of the same century that the capability of the ancient astrolabe, for observations at sea, was discovered.' See Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, 1886, p. 305.
But peraduenture in an other place, I wyll speake of yt; chyefelye suche thynges asshalbe profytable to be knowne; as in specyall be those decrees and ordinaunces that he marked to be well and wyselye prouyded and enacted amonge suche peoples as do lyue to gethere in a cuyyle pollycye and good ordre. For of suche thynges dyd we busilie enqyyre and demaunde of hym, and he lyke wyle verye wyllynglye tolde vs of the same. But as for monsters, because they be no newes, of them we were nothynge inquysitiue. For nothynge is more easye to be founde, then be barking Scyllaes, rauenyng Celenes, and Lestrygons deuowerers of people, and suche lyke greate and vncredyble monsters; but to fynde cytyzyns ruled by good and holsome lawes, that ys an excedynge rare and harde thynge.

praesertim quicquid ex usu fuerit non ignorari, qualia sunt in primis ea, quae apud populos usquam ciuiliter conuientes animaduertit, recte prudenterque prouisa. His enim de rebus et nos auidissime rogabamus, et ille libentissime disserebat, omissa interim inquisitione monstrorum, quibus nihil est minus nouum. Nam Scyllas et Celenos rapaces, et Lestrigonas populiuioros, atque eiusmodi immania portenta, nusquam fere non inuenias; at sane ac sapienter institutos ciues haud reperias ubilibet.

\[a\] prouisum, A.  
\[b\] celenos. A.

1 The writer's art is noticeable in thus leading up to the Second Book, which had in fact been written first.
2 Virgil, Aen. iii. 426 sqq. For Celaeno, chief of the Harpies, ib. 211. The man-eating Laestrygonians are described in Hom. Od. x. 82 sqq.; but as More has taken his previous examples from Virgil, he may have had in his mind the Culex, where Scylla and the Laestrygones are mentioned together (vv. 329-330). More may have intended, by the slighting expressions in the text, to ridicule such travellers' tales as those in The Voyage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville. In the Description of the West Indies by Antonio de Herrera (a translation of which is in vol. iii of Purchas's Pilgrim), p. 997, we have an account of a sea-monster higher than a caravel, and immediately after of strange birds 'with talons like Hawkes;' which may recall the Scyllas and Celaenos of the text.
3 This appears to be a word of More's own invention.
But as he markyd manye fonde and folyshe lawes in thoose newe founde lands, so he rehersyde manye acts and constytutyons wherby thies our cytyes, nations, contreys, and Kyngdomes maye take ensample, to amende theyre faultes, enormytyes and errors; wherof in another place, as I sayde, I wyll intreate. Now at thys tyme I am determyned to reherse onlye that he tolde vs of the maners, customes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the vtopians. But fyriste I wyll repete our former communycatyon; by thoccasyon, and, as I myghte saye, the dryfte wherof he was browghte into the mentyon of that weale publyque.

For when Raphaell hadde verye prudently touched dyuers thynges that be amysse, sume here and sume there; yea, verye manye of bothe partes; and agayne hadde spoken of suche wyse and prudent lawes and decrees as be establysshed and vsyde bothe here amonge vs and also there emonge them; as a man so connynge and experte in the lawes and customes of euery seueral countreye, as though into what place soeuer he came geaste wyse, there he had lede al his life: then Peter, much meruellyng at the man: ‘Surely mayster Raphaell’

Caeterum ut multa apud nos apud illos populus adnotauit perperam consulta, sic haud paucis recensuit, unde possint exempla sumi corrigendis harum urbium, nationum, gentium ac regnorum erroribus idonea, alio, ut dixi, loco a me commemoranda. Nunc ea tantum referre animus est, quae de moribus atque institutis narrabat Vtopiensium, praemisso tamen eo sermone, quo uelut tractu quodam ad eius mentionem reipublicae deuentum est.

Nam quum Raphael prudentissime recensuisset alia hic alia illic errata, utroque certe plurima, tum quae apud nos quaeue item sunt apud illos cauta sapientius, quum uniuscuiusque populi mores atque instituta sic teneret, tanquam in quencumque locum diuertisset, totam ibi uiam uixisse uideretur, admiratus hominem Petrus, Miror profecto, mi Raphael, inquit, cur te regi cuipiam non adiungas, quorum

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a diuers.  b example.  c on.
d wise lawes and prudente decrees.  e perfecte.
(quod he), 'I wondere greatlye whie you gette you not into some Kingses courte; for I am sewre there is no pryncel lyuynge that wolde not be very gladde of yowe; as a man not onlye able hyghelye to delyte hym wyth youre profounde lernynge, and thys youre knowledge ofcontreis and peoples, but also are a meat to instructe him with examples, and helpe hym wyth counsell. And thus doynge yowe shal bring yowre selfe in a verye good case, and also be in b habilytye to helpe all youre frindes and kynsfolke.'

'As concernyng my fryndes and kynsfolke' (quod he), 'I passe not greatly for them: for I think I haue suffycyentlye done my parte towards them all readye. For thies things that other men doo not depart from vntyll they be olde and sicke, yea, which they be then verye lothe to leaue when they can no lenger kepe, those verye same thynges dyd I, beynge not onlye lustye and in good helth, but also in the flowere of my youthe, deuyde among my fryndes and kynsfolkes; which I think wyth thys my liberalytye owghte to holde them contentyd, and not to

a are omitted. b of.

neminem esse satis scio, cui tu non sis futurus uelhementer gratus, utpote quem hac doctrina atque hac locorum hominumque peritia non oblectare solum, sed exemplis quoque instruere, atque adiuare consilio | sis idoneus; simul hoc pacto et tuis rebus egregie consuleris, et tuorum omnium commodis magno esse adiumento possis.

Quod ad meos attinet, inquit ille, non ualde commoueor, nempe in quos mediocriter opinor me officii mei partes impleuisse. nam quibus rebus alii non nisi senes et aegri cedunt, immo tum quoque aegre cedunt, quum amplius retinere non possunt, eas res ego non sanus modo ac vegetus, sed iuuenis quoque cognatis amicisque dispartiui, quos debere puto hac mea esse benignitate contentos, neque

1 With these same arguments Wolsey may have plied More, to draw him into the service of Henry VIII. See the Introduction, § 2, p. xxxi, and Erasmus's Letter to Hutten (Epist. cccxlvi).
requyre nor to looke that bysydes thys I shoulde for theyre sakes gyue my selfe in bondage to kynges.’

‘Naye god forbedde’ (quod peter), ‘it is not my mynd that you shoulde be in bondage to kynges, but as a retaynoyre to them at youre pleasure; whyche sewerelye I thynke ys the nygheste waye that you can deuyse, howe to bestowe youre tyme frutefulllye, not onylye for the pryuate commoditye of your fryndes, and for the pryvate commodoitye of your fryndes. and for the general proffytte of all sortes of people, but also for the auaunce-mente of your selfe to a muche welthier state and condy-tyon then you be nowe in.’

‘To a welthyer condition’ (quod Raphael), ‘by that meanes that my mynde standethe cleane agaynst.’ Nowe I lyue at lybertye, after myn owne mynde and pleasure; whyche I thynke verye fewe of thes greate states and peeres of realmes can saye. Yea, and there be ynowe of

id exigere atque expectare præcterea, ut memet eorum causa regibus in seruitium dedam.
Bona uerba, inquit Petrus; mihi uisum est non ut seruias regibus, sed ut inseruias. Hoc est, inquit ille, una syllaba plus quam seruias. At ego sic censeo, inquit Petrus, quoquo tu nomine rem appelles, eam tamen ipsam esse uiam, qua non allis modo et priuatim et publice possis conducere, sed tuam quoque ipsius conditionem reddere feliciorem.

Feliciorem ne, inquit Raphael, ea uia facerem, a qua abhorret animus? Atqui nunc sic uiuo ut uolo, quod ego certe suspicor paucis-simis purpuratorum contingere. Quin satis est eorum, qui potentum

\[1\] Robynson’s translation is here de-\footnote{fective, as he leaves out altogether the reply of Hythloday, \textit{Hoc est, inquit ille, \\&c. There is a play on the words \textit{seruias} and \textit{inseruias}. ‘This latter,’ says Hythloday, ‘is only a syllable more than the former;’ that is, \textit{service} at a court, is only short for \textit{servitude}. It is difficult to reproduce the play on the words in English. Burnet renders the whole passage thus: ‘Soft and fair,’ said Peter, ‘I do not mean that you should be a \textit{Slave} to any King, but only that you should assist them, and be useful to them.’ ‘The Change of the Word,’ said he, ‘does not alter the Matter.’ ‘But term it as you will,’ replied Peter, ‘I do not see any other Way in which you can be so useful,’ \\&c.}
them that sike* for greate mens frindeshippes; and there-
fore thynke it no great hurte, if they haue not me, nor .ii.
or .iii. b suche other as I am.’

‘Well, I perceyue plainlye, frind Raphaell’ (quod I),
that yowe be desierous nother of riches nor of powre. And truly I haue in no lesse reuerence and estimacyon a man that is e of your mind, then any of them al that be so high in pour and auctoritie. But you shall doo as it becommith yow, yea, and accordinge to this wisedome and d thys highe and free couraghe of youre, yf yowe can fynde in youre harte so to appoynte and dyspose your selfe, that you maie apply your wytte and delygence to the proffyt of the weale publyque, though it be sume what to youre owne payne and hyndraunce. And thys shall yow neuer so well doo, nor wyth so greate proffitte perfourme, as yf yowe be of sum great prynces councell, and put in e his heade (as I doubte not but you wyll) honeste opnyons, and vertuous persuasyons. For from the prync, as from a perpetuall well spryngle, cummythe amonge the people the floode of all that is good or euell. But in yowe is so perfitte lernynge, that wythowte anye experience; and

amicitias ambaunt, ne magnam putes iacturam fieri si me atque uno aut altero similibus sint carituri.

Tum ego, perspicuum est, inquam, te, mi Raphael, neque opum esse neque potentiae cupidum; atque ego profecto huius tuae mentis hominem non minus ueneror ac suspicio, quam eorum quemuis qui maxime rerum sunt potentes. Caeterum uideberis a plane rem te atque isthoc animo tuo tam generoso, tam uere philosopho dignam facturus, si te ita compares, ut uel cum aliquo priuatim incommodo ingenium tuum atque industriam publicis rebus accommodes, quod nunquam tanto cum fructu queas, quanto si a consiliis fueris magno alicui principi, eique (quod te facturum certe scio) recta atque honesta persuaseris. nempe a principe bonorum malorumque omnium torrens in totum populum, uelut a perenni quodam fonte promanat. In te uero tam absoluta doctrina est, ut uel citra magnum rerum usum,

a sue. b iii. or iiiii. c that is omitted. d to. e into.

a uidebaris, A.
agayne so greate experyence, that wythoute anye lernynge; yowe maye well be anny kinges counsellour.'

'Yow be twyse deceaued, maister More' (quod he), 'fyreste in me, and agayne in the thing it selfe. For nother is in me that\(^a\) habilitye that yowe force vpon me; and yf it were neuer so muche, yet in dysquieting myne owne quietnes I should nothing further the weale publique. For, fyreste of all, the moste parte of all princes haue more delyte in warlike matters and feates of cheualrie (the knowlege wherof I nother haue nor desire), than in the good feates of peace; and employe muche more study howe by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than howe well and peaceablie to rule and gourne that they haue all redie. Moreover, they that be counsellours to kinges, euery one of them eyther is of him selfe so wyse in dede, that he nede\(^b\) not, or elles he thinketh him self so wise, that he will not allowe an other mans coun-cell; sauing that they do shamefully\(^1\) and flatteringly geue

\(^a\) the.
\(^b\) nedeth.

porro tanta rerum peritia, ut sine ull\a\a\a doct\a\a\a consiliarium cuiuis regum sis praestaturus\(^a\).

Bis erras, inquit ille, mi More, primum in me, deinde in re ipsa. nam neque mihi ea est facultas, quam tu tribuis, et si maxime esset, tamen quum ocio meo negocium facesserem, publicam rem nihil promoueam. Primum enim principes ipsi plerique omnes militaribus studiis (quorum ego neque peritiam habeo neque desydero) libentius occupantur quam bonis pacis artibus, maiusque multo studium est, quibus modis per fas ac nefas noua sibi regna pariant, quam uti parta bene administren. Praeterea quicunque regibus a consilio sunt, eorum nemo est qui aut non uere tantum sapit, ut non egeat, aut tantum sibi sapere uidetur, ut non libeat alterius probare consilium;

\(^a\) praestiturus, A.

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\(^1\) This word does not seem well chosen. Burnet gives the spirit of it better:—'If they court any, it is only those for whom the Prince has much personal Favour; whom by their Faunings and Flatteries they endeavour to fix to their own Interests.' But both translators miss the humour of 'always applauding the great man's jests, however absurd.' Erasmus,com-
of Utopia.

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assent to the fond and folishe sayinges of certeyn greate men, whose fauours, because they be in high auctoritie with their prince, by assentacion and flattering⁰ they labor to opteyne. And verily it is naturally geuen to all men to esteame their owne inuentyons best. So both the rauen and the ape thincke their owne yong ones fayrest¹.

'Than if a man in such a company, where some disdayne and haue despite at other mens inuentions; and some cownte their owne best; if among suche men, I saye, a man shoulde bringe furth any thinge that he hayth redde done in tymes paste, or that he hathe sene done in other places, there the hearers fare as thoughe the hole existimacion of theyr wisdome were in ieopardy to be ouerthrown, and that euer after they should be counted for very diserdes², onles they colde in other mens inuentions pycke out matter to reprehende and find fawt at. If all other pore helpes faile, then this is their extreame

⁰ flatterie.

nisi quod absurdissimis quibusque dictis assentiuntur et supparasiantur³ eorum, quos ut maxime⁴ apud principem gratiae student assentatione demereri sibi. Et certe sic est natura comparatum, ut sua cuique inuenta blandiantur. Sic et coruo suus arridet pullus, et suus simiae catulus placet.

Quod siqui in illo coetu uel alienis inuidentium, uel praeferentium sua, aliquid afferat, quod aut aliis temporibus factum legit, aut aliis fieri locis uidit, ibi qui audiant perinde agunt ac si tota sapientiae suae periclitaretur opinio, et post illa pro stultis plane sint habendi, nisi aliquid sufficiant inuenire, quod in aliorum inuentis uertant uitio. Si caetera destiant, tum huic confugiunt: haec nostris, inquiunt, placuere

¹ i. q. maximae.

menting on the proverb 'Simia in purpura,' ends with some remarks in a like spirit: 'Quam multos id genus simios videre est in Principum aulis; quibus si purpuram, si tor quem, si gemmas detrahas, meros cer dones deprehendes.'—Adagia, 1629, p. 255 a.

² 'Canis cani videtur pulcherrima, et bovi bos, et asina asino, et sus sui.'—Ib., p. 642.

³ That is, clowns. See the Glossary.

⁴ Like many other words employed by More, this is borrowed from Plautus. Comp. Mil. Glor. ii. 3. 77.
refuge: "Thies thinges" (say they) "pleasedoure fore-
fathers and auncetours: wolde god wee could be so wise as
they were." And as though they had witteyly concluded the
matter, and with this answere stoppid every mans mouthe,
they sitt downe agayn. As who should saye it were
a very daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe should
be founde wiser then his forefathers were. And yet be
we content to suffer the best and wittiest of their decrees
to lye vnexecuted; but if in any thinge a better ordre
mighte haue bene taken, than by them was, theare we
take faste holde, and finde many fawtes. Many times
haue I chaunced vpon suche prowde, lewde, ouerthwarte,
and waywarde iudgementes; yea, and ones in Englande.'

'I praye yow, Syre' (quod I), 'haue yow bene in owr
contrey?' 'Yea forsothe' (quod he), 'and their I tarried
for the space of iii. or v. monythes together, not longe
after the insurreccion, that the westerne Englishe men
made agaynst their kynge; whych by their owne myser-

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1 It is against this 'nouitatis calum-
nia' that Erasmus protests forcibty in
his comment on St. John i. r. He had
often been made the object of it him-
self. 'Sed offendit, inquiunt, nouitas...
... Actum, inquiunt, de re Christiana,
posteaquam nouum habemus Euan-
gelium,' &c.—See the Annotationes,
ed. 1535. p. 219.

2 The reference is to the rising of
the Cornishmen in 1497, who marched
upon London, and were defeated,
June 22, at Blackheath. Besides the exe-
cution of their leaders, Lord Audely,
able and pitefull slaughter was suppressed and endyd. In
the meane season I was much bounde and beholden to
the righte reuerende father Jhon Morton ¹, Archebishops,
and cardenall of Canterbureye, and at that tyme also Lord
chauncellour of England; a man, maister Peter (for
maister More knoweth all reddy that I wyll saye), not more
honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and
vertue. He was of a meane stature, and though streken
in age yet bare he his body vpvyght. In his face did
shine such an amiable reuerence, as was pleaunaute to

compressum est. Interea multum debui reuerendissimo patri Ioanni
Mortono Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo et Cardinali, ac tum quoque
35 Angliae Cancella|rio, uiro, mi Petre (nam Moro cognita sum narrat-
turus) non autoritate magis quam prudentia ac uirtute uenerabili.
Etenim statura ei mediocris erat, nec aetati, quanquam serae, cedens,
uultus quem reuereare, non horreas. in congressu non difficilis,

Flammock an attorney, and others, there was, as More says, a 'pitiful
slaughter' on the field of battle.

¹ John Morton, afterwards Cardinal, was born in Dorsetshire, at Bere Regis,
as is commonly said, about 1420. After studying at Balliol College, he
practised for some years as an ecclesiastical lawyer. In that capacity he
came under the favourable notice of Archbishop Bourchier, then Chan-
cellor, and rose to various preferments in the Church. His attachment to the
House of Lancaster brought him to Towton in 1461, whence he narrowly
escaped with his life. He followed the fortunes of the exiled queen, but
on his submission after Tewkesbury was kindly treated by Edward IV, who
made him Master of the Rolls in 1473, and Bishop of Ely in 1479. Shak-
speare has made us familiar with the scene in which he took part under
Richard III. To the timely warning
he sent, Henry of Richmond probably
owed his escape from the machina-
tions of that king. In 1486, as a reward
for his faithful services to Henry VII,
he was raised to the see of Canterbury.
In 1487 he was made Lord Chancellor,
and afterwards, by much solicitation
on the king's part, a Cardinal. He
died in 1500. The circumstance of
More, as a youth, having been brought
up in his household, has been men-
tioned before (Introd. § 1). He is
naturally introduced here, in connexion
with the Cornish rising; as one of the
demands of the insurgents was the
punishment of the king's ministers,
Morton and Sir Reginald Gray. The
character of him given by Sir Francis
Bacon is not so favourable as More's.
—See Gairdner's Henry the Seventh,
1892, p. 41; Campbell's Lives of the
Lord Chancellors, 1845, i. p. 425; and
the article by Mr. Archbold in the
Dict. of National Biography.
Beholde'. Gentell in communycatyon, yet earneste and sage. He had greate delyte manye tymes wyth roughe speche to hys sewters to proue, but wythowte harme, what prompte wytte and what bolde sprite were in every man. In the which, as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, so that therewyth were not ioyned impudency, he toke greate delectatyon; and the same person, as apte and mete to haue an administratyon in the weale publique, he dyd louingly enbrace. In hys speche he was fyne, eloquent, and pythye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge; in witte he was incomparable; and in memory wonderfull excellent. Thies qualytyes, whych in hym were by nature synguler, he by learnynge and vse had made perfytte.

'The Kynge putt muche truste in hys councell: the weale publyque also in a maner leaned vnto hym, when I was there. For euen in the chiefe of hys youth he was taken from schole into the Courte, and there passyd all hys tyme in muche trouble and busynes, and was contynually troubled and tossed with dyuers mysfortunes and aduersytyes. And so by many and greate daungers

*a* being.  
*b* tumbled and tossed in the waues of.


Huius consiliis rex plurimum fidere, multum Respublica niti (cum ego aderam) uidebatur. quippe qui ab prima fere iiuentu protinus a schola coniectus in aulam, maximis in negociis per omnem uersatus aetatem, ac uariis fortunae aestibus assidue iactatus prudentiam rerum

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1 Burnet, much better: 'his Looks begot Reverence rather than Fear.'  
2 Lat. *ab prima fere, &c.*, 'wellnigh from boyhood.'
he lerned the experience of the worlde, whyche so beynge learned can not easily be forgotten.

'It chaunced on a certayne daye, when I sate at hys table, there was also a certayne laye man, cunnynghe in the lawes of yowre Realme. Whyche, I can not tel wherof takyng occasyon, began dyligently and busily to prayse that strayte and rygorous iustice, which at that tyme was there executed upon fellones, who, as he sayde, were for the moste part .xx. hanged together vpon one gallowes. And, seyng so fewe escapyd punyshement, he sayd he coulde not chewe but greatly wonder and maruell, howe and by what euill lucke it should so cum to passe, that theues neuertheles were in euery place so ryffe and ranke. "Naye, Syr," quod I (for I durst boldely speake my mind before the cardynall), "maruell nothing herat; the experience. b Who. c earnestly. d and so.

(quae sic recepta non facile elabitur) multis magnisque cum periculis didicerat.

Forte fortuna quum die quodam in eius mensa essem, laicus quidam legum uestratium peritus aderat. is nescio unde nactus occasionem, coepit accurate laudare rigidam illam iustitiam, quae tum illic exercebatur in fures, quos passim narrabat nonnunquam suspindi uiginti in una cruce; atque eo uhe-mentius dicebat se mirari, cum tam pauci elaberentur supplicio, quo malo fato fieret, uti tam multi tamen ubique grassarentur. Tum ego 36 (ausus enim sum libere apud Cardinale loqui) nihil mireris, inquam.

1 Render: 'were being hanged in all directions, sometimes twenty on one gallowes.'
2 See the Introduction, § 2. To what is there said may be added the expressions put by Starkey into the mouth of Pole. If certain abuses were removed, Pole is made to say, then 'as for beggarys lusty and strong, ye, and thefys also, schold be but few or non at al of that sorte as they be now.' He thinks the root of the mischief to be 'thys multytude of seruyng men.' And it is noticeable, when taken in connexion with More's stay in the Netherlands, that he commendeth a method of providing for the poor observed by him at Ypres. The remnant of helpless folk, Pole says, 'easely schold be nuryschyd, after a maner lately deuysyd by the wysedome of the cytzynys of Ipar, a cyte in Flaundres, the wych I wold wysch to be put in vse wyth vs, or els some other of the same sort.'—Dialogue, as above, pp. 175, 176.
for thyssh punyshement of theyes passeth of the lymytes\(^a\) Justyce, and is also very hurtefull to the weale publyque. For it is to extreame and crewell a punishement for thefte, and yet not sufficient to refrayne\(^b\) men from thefte. For simple thefte is not so greate an offence, that it ought to be punished with death. Nother there is any punishemente so horrible, that it can kepe them from stealyng whych haue no other crafte wherby to get their liuing. Therefore in this poynte, not yow only, but also the moste part of the worlde, be lyke euyll scholemasters, whych be readyare to beate then to teache their scholerste. For great and horryble punyshementes be appoynted for theues; whereas muche rather prouysyon should haue bene made, that there were some meanes wherby they might gett theyr lyuynge, so that no man should be dreuen to thysh extreame necessitie, fyrst to steale, and then to dye.” “Yes” (quod he), “this matter is well ynough prouyded for all ready.

\(^a\) passeth the limites of. \(^b\) refrayne and withhold.

Nam haec punitio furum et supra iustum est et non ex usu publico. Est enim ad uindicanda furta nimis atrox, nec tamen ad refrenanda, sufficiei. Quippe neque furtum simplex tam ingens facinus est, ut capite debeat pletci, neque ualla poena est tanta, ut ab latrociniiis cohibeat eos, qui nullam alienum artem quaerendi uictus habent. Itaque hac in re non usos modo, sed bona pars huius orbis imitari uidentur malos praecipitum, qui discipulos uerberant libertius quam docent. Decernuntur enim furanti grauia atque horrenda supplicia, cum potius multo uerit prudentium uti aliquis esset prouentus uitae, ne cuiquam tam dira sit furandi primum, dehinc pereundi necessitas. Est, inquit

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1 Such were the ‘imperiti paedagogi’ of whom Pace writes: ‘qaues olim scio apud nos fuisse multos, et nescio an adhuc supersint. Nam is, si videt puerum ad discendum tardiorem, non nisi verberibus agendum censest, et indoctus homo verbera plus posse quam naturam credit.’ — *De Fructu*, 1517, p. 97. This treatise of Pace is dedicated to Colet; and Lily, the first High Master of St. Paul’s School, was during his lifetime one of More’s closest friends. And yet, strange to say, there are people ready to believe, or at least to propagate, the application to Lily and Colet of a story of Erasmus about barbarous flogging in school. See App. B of an edition by the present writer of Erasmus’s *Letter to Justus Jonas*, 1883.
of Utopia.

There be handy craftes, there is husbandry, to gett their liuinge by, if they wolde not wyllinglye be nowght.” “Nay” (quod I), “you shall not skape so; for, fyrste of all, I wyll speake nothyng of them that come home owte of warre\(^a\) maymede and lame, as not longe ago owte of blacke heath\(^1\) filde, and a lityll before that owt of the warres in Fraunce\(^2\): suche (I say) as put their lyues in iepardy for the weale publiques or the kinges sake, and by the reason of weakenes and lamenes be not able to occupy their olde craftes, and be to aged to lerne newe: of them I wyll speake nothinge, because warre lyke the tyde ebbeth and floweth\(^b\). But let vs consydere those thinges that chaunce dayly before our eyes.

"Fyrste, there is a great number of gentilmen, which can not be content to lyue ydle them selfes, like dorres\(^3\), of that whiche other haue laboryd for: their tenauntes

\(^a\) the warres. \(^b\) forasmuch as warres haue their ordinarie recourses\(^4\).

ille, satis hoc prouisum: sunt artes mechanicae; est agricolatio; ex his tueri uitam liceat, ni sponte mali esse mallent. At non sic euades, inquam. Nam primum omittamus eos, qui saepe uel ab externis bellis uel ciuilibus mutili redueunt domum, ut nuper apud uos e Cornubiensi praelio, et non ita pridem e Gallicio, qui uel Reipublicae impendunt membra, uel regi; quos neque pristinas artes exercere debilitas patitur, neque aetas nouam discere. hos, inquam, omittamus, quando bella per intermissas uices commanct. Ea contemplamur quae nullo die non accident.

Tantus est ergo nobilium numerus, qui non ipsi modo degant ociosi, tanquam fuci laboribus aliorum, quos puta suorum praediorum colonos

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\(^1\) See the note above, p. 40.

\(^2\) The intervention of Henry VII in the affairs of France was partly due to his personal obligations to the Duke of Brittany. When Francis of Brittany died, at the end of 1488, and his territory was being overrun by the French, Henry promised the aid of an English force to the orphan princess, Anne. When she had been coerced into a marriage with the French king, Charles VIII, Henry, by way of reprisals, in October, 1492, landed at Calais, and invested Boulogne. But he was secretly in treaty with Charles, and the expedition ended in a money payment.

\(^3\) That is, drones. See the Glossary.

\(^4\) It is difficult to believe that any one could have deliberately altered the first version, given in the text, to this.
I meane, whom they polle and shaue to the quycke by reysing their rentes¹ (for this only poynte of frugalitye do they vse, men els thoroughghe their lauasse and prodigall spendyngge able to bringe them selfes to very beggery): thies gentilmen (I say) do not only liue in ydilnes them selfes, but also carry about with them at their tayles a greate flocke or trayne of ydell and loytrynge seruynge men, whychne never learned any crafte wherby to get their liuinges. Thies men, as sone as theyr mayster is dead, or be sicke them selfes, be incontinent thruste owte of doores. For gentlemen had rather kepe ydil persones then sycke men; and many times the dead mans heyr is not able to mainteyne so great a howse, and kepe so many seruinge men, as his father dydde. Then in the meane season they that be thus destytute of seruice other starue for honger, or manfully playe the theaues. For what wolde yow haue them to do? When they haue wandred abrode so longe, untyll they haue worne threde bare their apparell, and also appayred their health, then gentlemen, because of their pale and sickeᵃ faces and

augendis reditibus ad uium usque radunt: nam eam solam frugalitatem nouere, homines alioquin ad mendicitatem usque prodigi: uerum immensam quoque ociosorum stipatorum turbam circumferunt, qui nullam unquam quaerendi uictus artem didicere. Hi simul atque herus obieritᵃ, aut ipsi aegrotauerint, eiiciuntur ilico. nam et ociosos libentius quam aegrotos alunt, et saepe morientis heres non protinus alendae suffict paternae familiae. interim illi esuriunt strennue, nisi strennue latrocinentur. Nam quid faciant? Si quidem ubi errando paululum uestes ac ualetudinem attriuere, morbo iam squalidos atque

ᵃ sickely.

¹ On this subject, see the Introduction, § 2. Archdeacon Crowley, half a century after, has an epigram 'Of Rente Raycers':—

'For thys thynghe, he sayde, full certayne he wyste,' That wyth his owne he myghte alwayes do as he lyste.' Select Works (E. E. T. S.), 1872, p. 46. Henry Brinklow's Complaynt of Roderyck Mors is full of the same thing.

ᵃ obit, A.
patched cotes, wyll not take them into seruyce. And husbandmen dare not sett them a worke, knowyng well ynoough that he is nothernge mete to doo trewe and faythfull seruice to a poore man wyth a spade and a mattoke, for small wages and hardre fare, whyche, beynge deyntely and tenderly pampered vp in ydilnes and pleasure, was wont with a sworde and a buckeler by hys syde to iette through the strete with a bragging looke, and to thynke hym selfe to good to be any mans mate.”

‘“Naye by saynt Marie², ser” (quod the lawier) “not so, for this kinde of men muste we make most of. For in them, as men of stowter stomackes, bolder spyrytes, and manlyer currages, then handy craftes men and plowe men be, doth consyste the hole powre, strengthe, and puisaunce of oure hoste, when we muste fight in battaill.”

‘“Forsothe, ser, aswel yowe myghte saye” (quod I) “that for warres sake you must cheryshe theues. For sewelry yow shal neuer lacke theues³ whyles yowe haue them.

obsitos pannis, neque generosi dignantur accipere, neque audent rustici: non ignari eum qui molliter educatus in ocio ac deliciis solitus sit, accinctus acinace ac cetra, totam uicionem uultu nebulonico despicere et contemnere omnes prae se, haudquaquam idoneum fore, qui cum ligone ac marra, maligna mercede ac uictu parco, fideliter in-seruiat pauperi.

Ad haec ille, atqui nobis, inquit, hoc hominum genus in primis fouendum est. In his enim, utpote hominibus animi magis excelsi ac generosioris quam sunt opifices aut agricolae, consistunt uires ac robur exercitus, si quando sit confligendum bello.

Profecto, inquam ego, eadem opera dicas licet, belli gratia fouendos esse fures, quibus haud dubie nunquam carebitis, dum habebitis hos.

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¹ To strut, or swagger. See the Glossary.
² A little insertion of the translator’s.
³ In the Latin two terms are used, fures and latrones, both of which are rendered 'thieves' in the text, to the injury of the sense. Burnet renders more correctly:—‘You may as well say,’ replied I, 'that you must cherish Thieves on the Account of Wars; for you will never want the one, as long as you have the other: and as Robbers prove sometimes gallant Soldiers, so Soldiers often prove brave Robbers: so near an Alliance there is between these two Sorts of Life.'
No, nor theues be not the most false and faynt harted soldiers, nor souldiours be not the cowardliste theues: so well thees .ii. craftes agree together. But this fawte, though it be muche vsed among yow, yet is it not peculiar to yow only, but commen also almost to all natyons. Yet Fraunce, besydes thys, is troubled and infected wyth a muche sorer plage. The hole realme is fylled and besieged wyth hierede soldiours in peace tyme\(^1\), yf that be peace; whyche be brought in under the same colour and pretence, that haith persuaded yow to kype thies ydell seruynge men. For thies wysefooles and very archedoltes thought the wealth of the hole contrey herin to consist, yf there were euer in a readynes a stronge and a sewer garrison, specyallye of olde practysed sol-dyours; for they put no truste at all in men vnexercyzed.

Quin neque latrones sunt instrennui milites, neque milites ignauis-simi latronum, adeo inter has artes belle convenit. At hoc uitium tamen frequens est uobis\(^a\), non proprium. est enim | omnium fere gentium commune. Nam Gallias infestat alia praeterea pestis pestilentior: tota patria stipendiariis in pace quoque (si illa pax est) oppleta atque obsessa militibus, eadem persuasione inductis, qua uos ocosos hic ministros alendos esse censuistis; nempe quod Morosophis\(^2\) uisum est, in eo sitam esse publicam salutem, si in promptu semper adsit ualidum firmumque praesidium, maxime ueteranorum: neque enim confidunt inexercitatis quicquam: ut uel ideo quaerendum eis

\(^{a}\) nobis, A.

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\(^1\) More exactly, ‘in peace time also,’ that is, as well as in war. The state of things described by More as prevailing in France had come in with the discontinuance of levies according to the old feudal tenure. These had given place, says Hallam, ‘in an evil hour for the people, and eventually for sovereigns, to contracts with mutinous hirelings, frequently strangers, whose valour in the day of battle inadequately redeemed their bad faith and vexatious rapacity. France, in her calamitous period under Charles VI and Charles VII, experienced the full effects of military licentiousness.’—Middle Ages, ed. 1869, p. 145. Charles VII in 1444 had tried to remedy this by the establishment of regular French troops; but More writes as if the evil were still unabated in his time.

\(^2\) A Greek word, taken by More from Lucian. It occurs in the Alexander, § 40.
And theref ore they must be fayne a to seke for warre, to thende they maye euer haue practysed soul dulyours and cun nyng e mansleers; lea ste that (as it is pretilie sayde of Saluste 1) their handes and their myndes thoroughge ydylnes or lacke of exercise shoulde waxe dull.

" But Howe per nycyous and pestylente a thynge it is to maynteyne suche beastes, the Frenche men by there owne harmes haue learned; and the examples of the Romaynes, Carthaginiens, Siriens and of many other contreys, do manyfestly declare 2. For not only the empire, but also the fieldys and cityes of all thies, by diuers occasyons haue bene ouerrunne and destroyed of their owne armies before hand had in a reddines 3. Now how vnnecessary a thynge thys is, hereby it maye appere: that the Frenche soul diours, whyche from their youthe haue byne practysed and vrede b in feates of armes, doo not cracke nor auaunce them selves to haue verye often gotte the upp erhande and masterye of your newe made and vnpractysed

bellum sit, ne imperitos habeant milites, et homines iugulandi gratis, ne (ut habet facete Salustius) manus aut animus incipiat per ocium torpescere.

At quam sit per Nicolasum huiusmodi beluas alere, et Gallia suo malo didicit, et Romanorum, Carthaginiensium, ac Syrorum, tum multarum gentium exempla declarant, quorum omnium non imperium modo sed agros quoque atque adeo urbes ipsas parati ipsorum exercitus aliis atque aliis occasionibus euerterunt. Quam uero non magnopere necessarium, uel hinc elucescit, quod ne Galli quidem milites armis ab unguiculis exercitatissimi cum euocatis comparatiuestris, admodum saepe gloriantur superiores sese diessisse, ut ne

1 Sall. Cat. xvi, "Ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus."
2 Lat. parati exercitus, ‘standing armies.’ More had probably in his mind the Janizaries and Mamelukes: of the latter of whom Gibbon writes that ‘the rage of these ferocious animals, who had been let loose on the strangers, was provoked to devour their benefactor.’—Decline and Fall, ch. lix, sub fin.
3 That is, previously prepared.
soldiours. But in this point I will not use many words, lest I chance I may seem to flatter you. No nor those same handy craft men of yours in cities, nor yet the rude and vplandishe ploughmen of the country, are not supposed to be greatly afraid of your gentilmens ydill seruing men, onles it be suche as be not of body or stature correspondent to theyr strenght and currage; orles whose bolde stomaches be dyscourraged thoroughge poertye. Thus yowe may see, that yt ys not to be feared leaste they shoulde be effemynatede they yf were broughte vppe in good craftes and laborsome wourkes, whereby to gett theyre lyuynge; whose stowte and sturdye bodyes (for gentlemen vouchesauffe to corrupte and spill none but picked and chosen men) nowe, other by reason of rest and ydilnes, be brought to weakenes, orles by to easy and womanlye exercises be made feble and vnable to endure hardenes. Trewly howe soeuer the case stondeth, thys me thinketh is nothyng quid dicam amplius, ne praesentibus uidear adblandiri uobis. Sed nec uuestri illi uel opifices urbici, uel rudes atque agrestes agricolae ociosos generosorum stipatores creduntur ualde pertimescere, nisi aut hi quibus ad uires atque audaciam corpus contigit ineptius, aut quorum animi uis | inopia rei familiaris infringitur. adeo periculum nullum 39 est, ne quorum ualida et robusta corpora (neque enim nisi selectos dignantur generosi corrumpere) nunc uel elanguescit a ocio, uel negociis prope muliebribus emolliuntur, iidel bonis artibus instructi ad uitam, et uirilibus exercitati laboribus effoeminentur. Certe utcunque sese haec habet res, illud mihi nequauquam uidetur publicae rei conducere, a elanguescunt, B., recte.

1 More is here using the language of a patriot. During the first half of the fifteenth century, at any rate, the English army, unlike the national levies of other countries, was 'an enlisted, picked, drilled, and highly effective service.'—See p. xxi of Professor J. E. Thorold Rogers' edition of Gascoigne's Liber Veritatum, 1881. For More's epigrams in a like strain, on the taking of Tournai in 1513, and in answer to Germain de Brie, see J. H. Marsden's Philomorus, 1878, pp. 73-78.
a veyeable to the weale publique, for warre sacke\(^1\), whyche yowe neuer haue but when yow wyll your selfes, to kepe and mainteyn an vnnumerable flocke of that sort of men, that be so troblesome and noyous in peace; wherof yow owght to haue a thowsande times more regard then of warre.

"But yet this is not onlye the\(^2\) necessary cause of stealing. There is an other which as I suppose is proper and peculiare to yow Englishe men alone." "What is that?" quod the Cardenall. "Forsoth\(^a\)" (quod I), "your shepe\(^3\), that were wont to be so myke and tame, and so smal eaters, now, as I heare saie, be become so greate deuowerers, and so wylde, that they eate vp and swallow down the very men them selfes. They consume, destroy, and deuoure hole fieldes, howses, and cities. For looke in

\(\text{a forsoth, my lorde.}\)

in euentum belli, quod nunquam habetzis, nisi quum uultis, infinitam eius generis turbam alere, quod infestat pacem, cuius tanto maior haberi ratio quam belli debeat.

Neque haec tamen sola est furandi necessitas. Est alia magis, quantum credo, peculiaris uobis. Quaenam est ea? inquit Cardinalis. Oues, inquam, uestrae, quae tarn mites esse, tamque exiguo solent ali, nunc (uti fertur) tam edaces atque indomitae esse coeperunt, ut homines deuorent ipsos; agros, domos, oppida uastent ac depopulentur. Nempe quibus cunque regni partibus nascitur lana tenuior,

\(^1\) For the sake of war;’ on account of war.

\(^2\) That is, ‘not the only.’

\(^3\) Complaints of the injury done to agriculture in England by the increase of sheep-farming were no new thing in More’s day, and continued for many years after. In a tract, of which the date is set down to 1550-3, entitled _The Decaye of England by the great multitude of shepe_, edited by J. Meadows Cowper, six ‘proverbes’ are adduced by way of reasons to show that ‘shepe and shepemasters doeth cause skantyte of corne.’ The six refer to the increased price of (1) wool itself, from the great exportation, (2) mutton, (3) beef, (4) corn, (5) white meat, (6) eggs. In the _Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum_, which appeared in the same year as the _Utopia_, the number of sheep in England is referred to as proverbial (ed. 1557, leaf N. 6).

‘Salutes vobis plures Quam sunt in Polonia fures

Oues in terra Angliae.’

See more in the Introduction, § 2.
what partes of the realme doth growe the fynyst, and
therfore dearist woll, there noble men and gentlemen,
yea, and certeyn Abbottes, holy men god wote\(^a\), not
contenting them selfes with the yearely reuennues and
profyttes that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers
and predecessours of their landes, nor beynge content
that they liue in rest and pleasure, nothyng profytyng,
ye, muche noyinge the weale publique, leaue no grounde
for tyllage; they enclose all in\(^b\) pastures; they throw
downe houses; they plucke downe townes; and leaue
nothing stondynge but only the churche, to make of it\(^c\)
a shepehowse\(^1\). And, as though ye loste no small\(^2\)
quantity of grounde by forestes, chases, laundes, and
parkes; those good holy\(^3\) men turne all dwellinge places
and all glebe lande into desolation and wildernes.

\(^a\) no doubt. \(^b\) into. \(^c\) to be made.

atque ideo preciosior, ibi nobiles et generosi, atque adeo Abbates
aliquot, sancti uiri, non his contenti reditibus fructibusque annuis,
qui maioribus suis solebant ex praediiis crescere; nec habentes satis, quod
ociose ac laute uiuentes nihil in publicum prosint, nisi etiam obsint;
aruo nihil reliquunt, omnia claudunt pascuis, demoliuntur domos,
diruunt oppida, templo duntaxat stabulandis suibus relictos et tan-
quam parum soli perderent apud uos ferarum saltus ac iuiaria, illi | 40
boni uiri habitationes omnes, et quicquid usquam est culti, uertunt in
solitudinem.

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\(^1\) See the Introduction, § 2. A pas-
sage in one of the Ballads from Manu-
scripts, ed. by Furnivall (E. E. T. S.), i.
p. 97, furnishes a close parallel to the
text:—
'The townes go down, the land
decayes;
Off cornefeyldes, playne layes;
Gret men makithe now a dayes
A shepecott in the churche.'

\(^2\) The uncalled-for addition of this
epithe by the translator seems in-
tended to point the reproach chiefly
against the heads of religious houses,
the Abbates aliquot, who were called
sancti uiri just above. But there is
nothing to show that they were more
to blame in this respect than other
great landlords. It is easy to under-
stand that, after the civil wars of the

\(^3\) This does not give the force of
parum: 'as if Forests and Parks had
swallowed up \textit{too little} of the Land'
(Burnet). Robynson appears to have
used 'laundes' in the French meaning
of the word. The Latin should per-
hhaps be simply rendered 'preserves
and deer parks.'
"Therefore, that one covetous and un satiable cormaraunte and verye plague of his natyue contrey may compasse abowte and inclose many thousand acres of grounde to gether within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne; ores other by coueyne or fraude, or by vyolent oppression, they be put besydes it, or by wronges and injuries they be so weried that they be compelled to sell all. By one meanes therfore or by other; other by howke or crooke, they must nedes departe awaye, pore, sylie, wretched soules; men, women, husbandes, wyues, fatherles chyldren, widdowes, wofull mothers with their yonge babes, and their hole housholde smal in substance, and much in nombre, as husbandrie requireth many handes. Awaye they trudge, I say, out of their knowen and accustomed howses, fyndyng no places to rest in. All their housholde stuffe, whiche is verye lytle worth, though it myght well abyde the sale, yet beyng sodeynelye thrust out, they be constrainyd to sell it for a thync of nought. And when they haue, wanderynge about, sone

Ergo ut unus helluo, inexplebilis ac dira pestis patriae, continuatis agris, aliquot millia iugerum uno circumdet septo, eiiciuntur coloni quidam. suis etiam aut circumscripti fraude aut ui oppressi exuuntur, aut fatigati injuriis adiguntur ad uenditionem. Itaque quoquo pacto emigrant miseri, uiri, mulieres, mariti, uxores, orbi, uiduae, parentes cum paruis liberis, et numerosa magis quam diuite familia, ut multis opus habet manibus res rustica; emigrant, inquam, e notis atque assuetis laribus, nec iueniunt quo se recipiant; supellectilem omnem, haud magno uendibilem etiam si manere possit emptorem, quum extrudi necesse est, minimo uenundant. id quum breui errando

last century their lands might in many cases have become less productive, for want of proper cultivation, and themselves embarrassed with debt; anxious, therefore, to find some way of making their estates more profitable. —See Gasquet's Henry VIII and the

English Monasteries, 1888, vol. i. ch. 1.

1 This appears to mean, 'though it would bear keeping;' but the sense of the Latin is, as Burnet gives it: 'which could not bring them much Money, even tho' they might stay for a Buyer.'
spent that, what can they els do but steale, and then iustelye, God wote, behanged, or els go about a beggyng? And yet then also they be cast in prison as vagaboundes, because they go about and worke not; whom no man will set a worke, though they neuer so willingly offer them selfes thereto. For one shepherde or heard man is ynough to eate vp that grounde with cattel, to the occupying wherof about husbandrye many handes were requysyte.

"And this is also the cause that victualles be nowe in many places dearer. Yea, besydes this the pryce of wolle is so rysen that poore folkes, whiche were wont to worke it and make cloth of it, be nowe able to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be fayne to forsake worke, and to gyue them selfes to ydelnes. For after

insumpserint, quid restat aliud denique quam uti furentur, et pendeant iustely scilicet, aut uagentur atque mendicent? Quanquam tum quoque uelut errones coniciuntur in carcerem, quod ociosi obambulent, quorum operam nemo est qui conducat, quum illi cupidissime offerant. Nam rusticae rei, cui assueuerunt, nihil est quod agatur, ubi nihil seritur. Si quidem unus opilio atque bubulcus sufficit ei terrae depascendae pecoribus, in cuius cultum, ut sementi faciendae sufficeret, multae posebantur manus.

Atque hac ratione fit ut multis in locis annona multo sit carior. Quin lanarum quoque adeo increuit precium, ut a tenurioribus, qui pannos inde solent apud uos conficere, prorsus emi non possint, atque ea ratione plures ab opere ablegantur in ocium. Nam post 41

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1 Before this sentence Robynson has entirely left out one, which Burnet translates: 'For there is no more Occasion for Country Labour, to which they have been bred, when there is no Arable Ground left.'

2 To the authorities on this subject quoted in the Introduction, § 2, add Becon's *Jewel of Joy*, quoted by the editor of Starkey's *Life and Letters*, as before, p. lxxvi: 'Those beates which were created of God for the nouryshment of man do nowe deuoure man... Since they ['gredy gentylmen'] began to be shepe-maysters and feders of cattell, we neyther had vyttayle nor cloth of any resonable pryce.'
that so muche grounde was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe died of the rotte, suche vengaunce God toke of their inordinate and vnsaciable couetuousnes, sendyng amonge the shepe that pestiferous morreyn, which much more iustely should haue fallen on the shepe-masters owne heads. And though the numbere of shepe increase neuer so fast, yet the pryce falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe sellers. For they be almoste all common into a fewe riche mens handes, whom no neade driueth to sell before they lust; and they luste not before they may sell as deare as they lust. Now the same cause bryngeth in licke deearth of the other kindes of cattell; yea, and that so much the more, bycause that after farmes pluckyd downe, and husbandry decayed, ther is no man that passyth for the breadyng of yonge stoore. For thees ryche men brynge not vp the yonge ones of greate cattell as they do lambes. But first they bye them

aucta pascua infinitam ouium uim absumpsit tabes, uelut eorum cupiditatem ulciscente deo, immissa in oues lue, quam in ipsorum capita contortam esse fuerat iustius. Quod si maxime increscat ouium numerus, precio nihil decrescit tamen; quod earum, si monopolium appellari non potest, quod non unus uendit, certe oligopolium est. Reciderunt enim fere in manus paucorum, eorumque diuitum, quos nulla necessitas urget ante uendendi quam libet, nec ante libet quam liceat quanti libet. Iam caetera quoque pecorum genera, ut aeque cara sint, eadem ratio est, atque hoc etiam amplius, quod dirutis uillis, atque imminuta re rustica, non sunt qui foeturam curent. Neque enim diuites illi, ut ouium, sic ctiam armentorum foetus educant: sed

1 I am not sure to what year in particular More here refers. The extreme wetness of 1506 must have been injurious to cattle. About that time we read of a great murrain among cattle in Germany and France. See Hecker's Epidemics, tr. by Babington, p. 204.

2 Here again Robynson curtails his rendering of the Latin. More makes an antithesis between monopolium and oligopolium. We have 'monopoly,' but not 'oligopoly' (the sale by a few), and so cannot preserve the point of the sentence. Burnet renders: 'Tho' they [the sheep] cannot be called a Monopoly, because they are not engrossed by one Person, yet they are in so few Hands, and these are so rich, that,' &c.
abrode very chepe, and afterward, when they be fattede in their pastures, they sell them agayne excedyng deare. And therfor (as I suppose) the hole incommoditie herof is not yet felte. For yet they make deare only in those places where they sell. But when they shall fetche them awaye from thens wheare they be bredde, faster then they can be brought vp, then shall there also be felte great deare, when stoore begynnyth to fayle their ware ys bought.

"Thus the vreasonable couetousnes of a fewe hath turned that thyng to the vtter vndoying of your Ilande, in the whiche thyng the chiefe felicitie of your realme dyd consist. For this great deare of victualles causeth euery man to kepe as lytle houses and as small hospitalitie as he possible maye, and to put awaye their seruauntes: whether, I praye you, but a beggynge? or els, whiche thies gentle bloodis and stoute stomakes wyll soner set theyr myndes vnto, a stealinge?

"Nowe, to amende the matters, to this wretched beggerye and myserable pouertie is ioyned great wantonnes, importunate superfluytie, and excessiue ryote. For not only

a stoore beginning there to faile.  
b causeth men.  
c they.

These three phrases are all used to render *importuna luxuries.*
gently mens seruauntes, but also hand y craft men, yea, and almoste the ploughemen of the country, with all other sortes of people, vse muche straunge and prowde newe fanglenes in their apparrell, and to muche prodigal riotte and sumptuous fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, qweynes, hoores, harlottes, strumpettes, brothelhouses, stewes, and yet an other stewes, wine tauernes, ale houses, and tipling houses, with so many noughty lewde and vnlawfull games, as dice, cardes, tables ¹ tennyes, bolles, coytes, do not al thys sende the haunters of them streyght a stealynge when theyr money is gone?

"Caste out thies pernycious abomynacyons; make a lawe that they whyche plucked downe fermes and townes of husbandrye, shall buylde them vp agayne or els yelde and vpreter the possessyon of them b to suche as wyll goo to the coste of buyldyne thme anewe.² Suffer not thies ryche men to bye vp all, to ingrosse and forstalle, propemodum rusticis, et omnibus denique ordinibus, multum est insolentis apparatus in uestibus, nimius in uictu luxus. Iam ganea, lustra, lupanar, et aliud lupanar³, tabernae uinariae, ceruissariarum, postremo tot improbi ludi, alea, charta, fritillus, pila, sphaera, discus, an non haec celeriter exhausta pecunia recta suos mystas mittunt aliquo latrocinatum?

Has perniciosas pestes eiicite, statuite ut uillas atque oppida rustica aut hi restituant qui diruere, aut ea cedant reposituris atque aedificare uolentibus. Refrenate coemptiones istas diuitum, ac uelut monopolii

¹ Lat. fritillus, which properly meant a dice-box, but seems sometimes to have been applied to the board, or 'table.' Of some of the games here mentioned More once spoke less harshly. 'To cast a coyte, a cokstele, and a ball' was one of the child's accomplishments in his pageant. See the English Works, leaf iii, and, for the subject of early English games, Brand's Popular Antiquities, 1841, ii. pp. 233 sqq.

² See the Introduction, § 2, p. xxxvi.

³ If there be no error in the text, the repetition may be meant to convey the thought of Prov. xxiii. 35, 'I will seek it yet again.' Burnet's idea seems to be, that the 'tabernae,' &c., which follow, are in fact the 'aliud lupanar': 'You have also many infamous Houses, and, besides those that are known, the Taverns and Ale-houses are no better.'
and with theyr monopolye to kepe the market alone as please them. Let not so manye be brought vp in ydlenes; lett husbandrye and tyllage be restored agayne; let clothe workynge be renewed; that there maye be honest labours for thys ydell sorte to passe theyre tyme in pro-
fytabley, whyche hythero other pouertye hadhe caused to be theues, or elles nowe be other vagabondes, or ydell seruynge men, and shortelye wylbe theues. Dowteles, oneles yowe fynde a remedye for thyes enormytyes, yowe shall in vayne auuance your selfes of executinge iustice ypon fellones. For this iustice is more beautyfull then iuste or profytable. For by sufferynge your youthe wantonlye and viciouslye to be brought vp, and to be infected euen from theyr tender age by lytle and lytle wyth vyce; than a goddes name to be punyshed, when they commytte the same faultes after they be commen to mannnes state, whiche frome ther youthe they were euer lyke to doo: in thys pointe, I praye yowe, what other thynge doo yowe, then make theues, and then punyshe them?"

a agayne omitted. b is more beautiful in apperaunce, and more florish-
ynge to the shewe, then either iuste. c after being come.

exercendi licentiam. Pauciores alantur ocio, reddatur agricolatio, lanificium instauretur, ut sit honestum negocium, quo se utiliter exercet ociosa ista turba, uel quos hactenus inopia fures fecit, uel qui nunc errores aut ociosi sunt ministri, fures nimirum utrique futuri. Certe nisi his malis medemini, frustra iactetis exercitam in uindicanda furta iusticiam, nempe speciosam magis quam aut iustam aut utilem. Siquidem quem pessime sinitis educari, et mores paulatim ab teneris annis corrumpi, puniendos uidelicet tum demum quem ea flagitia uiri designet, quorum spem de se perpetuam a pueritia usque praebuerant, quid aliud, quaeso, quam facitis fures, et iidem plectitis?

Robynson (see his later version) struggles with this sentence. Burnet, more neatly: 'which tho' it may have the Appearance of Justice, yet in itself is neither just nor convenient.'

This use of the verb, for 'to commit,' is found in the comedians. Comp. Ter. Adelphi, i. 2. 7, 'modo quid designavit,' and the commentators there.
'Nowe as I was thus speakyenge, the Lawier beganne to make hym selde readye to aunswere, and was determyned wyth hym selde to vse the common fassyon and trade of disputers, wheyche be more dylygent in rehersynghe then aunswerynge, as thynking the memorye worthye of the chiefe prayse. "In dede syr" (quod he) "yow haue sayd well, beinge but a straunger, and one that myght rather here somme thynge of thythes matters, then haue anye exacte or perfecte knowledge of the same, as I will incontinent by open proffe make manifest and playn. For firste I wyll reherse in ordre all that yow haue sayde; then I wyll declare in what thynge a yowe be deceaued, through lacke of knowledge, in all our fassions, maners and customes; and laste of all I wyll aunswere to b your argumentes, and confute them every one. Fyrste thefore I wyll begynne where I promysed. Fourte thynges yowe semed to me"—"Hold your peace" (quod the Cardynall 1), "for by lyke c yowe wyll make no shorte aunswere, whiche make such a beginnyng; wherfore at thythes tyme yowe shall not take the paynes to make youre aunswere, but

\* wherin. 

b to omitted. 

\* it appeareth that.

43 Iam me haec loquente iuris ille consultus intenjtus interim se ad dicendum composuerat, ac statuerat secum modo illo solenni disputantium uti, qui diligentius repetunt quam respondent; adeo bonam partem laudis ponunt in memoria. Belle, inquit, dixisti profecto, quum sis uidelicet hospes, qui magis audire his de rebus aliquid potueris, quam exacte quicquam cognoscere: id quod ego paucis efficiam perspicuum. Nam primum ordine recensebo quae tu dixisti; deinde ostendam quibus in rebus imposuit tibi nostrarum rerum ignoratio; postremo rationes tuas omnes diluam atque dissolvam. Igitur, ut a primo quod sum pollicitus exordiar, quatuor mihi uisus es—Tace, inquit Cardinalis: nam haud responsurus paucis uideris, qui sic incipias. Quamobrem leuabimus in praesenti te hac respondendi molestia, seruaturi tamen integrum id munus tibi in

1 The marginal note in the Latin Morton, of interrupting too talkative persons.
kepe it to youre nexte meatynge, whiche I would be ryght gladde that it myght be euen to morrowe nexte (onles other yowe or mayster Raphaell haue any earnest lette).

"But now, maister Raphaell, I woulde very gladly heare of yow, whie yow thinke thefte not worthy to be punished with death: or what other punyshment yow can deuyse more expedient to the weale publique. For I am sewer yowe are not of that mynde, that yowe woulde haue thefte escape vnpunyshed. For if now the extreme punishment of death cannot cause them to leaue stealynge, then if ruffians and rubbers shoulde be sewer of their lyues, what violence, what feare were able to holde their handes from robbynge, whiche would take the mitigacion of the punishment as a verye peruocation to the mischiefe?"

"Suerly my lorde" (quod I) "I thynke it no* right nor iustice that the losse of money should cause the losse of mans lyfe. For myne opinion is that all the goodes in the worlde are not able to counteruayle mans lyfe. But if they wold thus say: that the breaking of iustice, and the transgression of the lawes is recompensed with this punishment, and not the losse of the money; then why maye not thyse extreame b iustice vel be called extreme c iniurie?"

* not.

b extreme and rigorous.

c plaine.

proximum congressum uestrum, quem ( nisi quid impediat aut te aut Raphalem hunc) crastinus dies uelim referat.

Sed interim abs te, mi Raphael, perquam libenter audierim, quare tu furtum putes ultimo supplicio non puniendum; quamue aliam poenam ipse statuas, quae magis conducat in publicum. Nam tolerandum ne tu quidem sentis. At si nunc per mortem quoque tamen in furtum ruitur, proposita semel uitae securitate, quae uis, quis metus potest absterrere maleficos; qui mitigatione supplicii uelut praemio quodam ad maleficium se inuitatos interpretarentur?

Omnino mihi uidetur, inquam, | pater benignissime, homini uitam eripi propter eretam pecuniam prorsus iniquum esse. Siquidem cum humana uita ne omnibus quidem fortunae possessionibus paria fieri posse arbitror. Quod si laesam iustitiam, si leges uiolatas, hac rependi poena dicant, haud pecuniam: quidni merito summum illud
For neither so a cruel gouernaunce, so streyte rules, and vnmercyfull lawes ¹ be allowable, that if a small offence be commytted, by and by the sworde shoulde be drawen; nor so stoycall ² ordinaunces are to be borne wythall, as to counte all offences of suche equalitie, that the kyllynge of a man, or the takynge of hys money from hym, were bothe a³ matter; and the one no more heynous offence then the other: betwene the whyche two, yf we haue annye respecte to equitie, no symylytude or equalytie consysteth. God commaundeth vs that we shall not kyll. And be we then so hastie to kyll a man for takynge a lytle money? And yf annye man woulde vnderstande kyllynge, by this commaundement of God, to bee forbydden after no larger wyse then mans constitucions defyneth b kyllynge to be lawfull, then whye maye it not lykewyse, by mannes constitutions, be determyned after what sorte hooredome, fornication, and periurye maye be lawfull? For where as by the permission of God no

a For so cruel ... be not.  
b defyne.

ius summa uocetur iniuria? Nam neque legum probanda sunt tam Manliana imperia, ut sicubi in leuissimis parum ob-temperetur, illico stringant gladium; neque tam Stoica scita, ut omnia peccata adeo existiment paria, uti nihil iudicent interesse, occidatne aliquis hominem, an nummum ei surripiat, inter quae (si quicquam aequitas ualet) nihil omnino simile aut affine. Deus uetuit occidi quenquam; et nos tam facile occidimus ob ademptam pecuniolam? Quod si quis interpretetur, illo dei iussu interdictam necis potestatem, nisi quatenus humana lex declaret occidendum, quid obstat quo minus homines eodem modo constituant inter se, quatenus stuprum admittendum sit, adulterandum, peierandum?

¹ This is a paraphrase of the Latin, legum ... Manliana imperia; an expression borrowed from Livy, iv. 29, where inexorable decrees are called Manliana imperia. For L. Manlius, who gained the surname of Imperiosus, see Livy, vii. 3.

² For this oftquoted paradox of the Stoics, omnia peccata esse paria, with which Cicero makes merr in the Pro Murena, see Dissert. xxi. in Justus Lipsius’ Manuductio ad Stoicam Philosopiam, 1644.

³ Like the Scotch ae, 'one.'
man hath the power to kyll nother hym selve, nor yet annye other man; then yf a lawe made by the consente of men concernynge slaughter of men oughte to be of suche strengthe, force, and vertue, that they whyche contrarye to the commandement of God haue kylled those, whome thys constitucion of man commanded to be kylled, be cleane quyte and exemphte owte of the bondes and daunger of Goddes commandemente; shall it not then by thys reason followe that the powre of Goddes commandemente shall extende no further then mannes lawe dothe defyne and permytte? And so shall it come to passe, that in lyke manner mans constitucions in al thynges shal determyne howe farre the observation of all Goddes commandementes shall extende. To be shorte, Moyses lawe, thoughe it were vngentle and sharpe, as a lawe that was gyuen to bondmen; yea, and them verye obstinate, stubborne, and styf necked; yet it punnyshed thefte by the purse, and not wyth deathe. And let vs not thynke that God in the newe

Siquidem quum deus non alienae modo, uerum etiam suae cuique mortis ius ademerit, si hominum inter se consensus de mutua cede, certis placitis consentientium, adeo debet ualere, ut illius praecepti uinculis eximat suos satelliites, qui sine ullo exemplo dei eos interemerint quos humana sanctio iussit occidi: an non hoc pacto praeceptum illud dei tantum iuris est habiturum, quantum humana iura permissint? ac fiet nimirum ut ad eundem modum omnibus in rebus statuant homines, quatenus diuina mandata conueniat obseruari. Denique lex Mosaica, quanquam inclemens et aspera (nempe in seruos, et quidem obstinatos, lata), tamen pecunia furtum haud morte

1 Hythloday is made to argue here against the infliction of capital punishment, as under no circumstances justifiable. But he afterwards cites, apparently without disapproval, cases in which the Utopians inflicted it. See below, p 230.

2 Compare what Colet says, in his Letters to Radulphus, about Moses having adapted his language to 'the uncultivated nature of those poor people, but lately occupied among the bricks and clay.' His tone is yet more striking in the original Latin, where he says: 'Sed crassiter et pingue docenda fuit stulta illa et macra multitudo.' See the Letters on the Mosaic Account of the Creation, 1876, p. 12.
lawe of clemencie and mercie, vnder the whiche he ruleth vs with fatherlie gentlenesse, as his dere chyldren, hath geuen vs greater scope and license to execute\(^a\) crueltie one vpon an other.

"Now ye haue hard the reasons, whereby I am perswaded that this punishment is vnlawful. Furthermore I thinke there is no body that knoweth not, how vner reasonable, yea how pernitious a thynge it is to the weale publique, that a thefe, and a homicide or morderer, shuld suffer equall and lyke punyshment. For the thefe, seing that man that is condemned for thefte in no lesse ieoperdie, nor judged to no lesse punishment, then hym that is conuict of manslaughter ; through thys cogitacion onyle he is strong-lye and forcybly prouoked, and in a maner constreyned, to kyl him, whom els he would haue but robbed. For, the murder ones\(^b\) done, he is in lesse care\(^c\), and in more hope that the dede shall not be bewrayed or known, seynge the partye is now deade and rydde out of the waye, whyche onely myght haue vttered and disclosed it. But if he chaunce to be taken and discriued, yet he is in no more daunger and ieopardie then yf he had commytted but single fellonye. Therfore whyles we goo about wyth suche crueltye to make theues aferd, we prouoke them to kyll good men.

\(^a\) to the execution of. \(^b\) beynge ones. \(^c\) feare.

mulctauit. Ne putemus deum in noua lege clementiae, qua pater imperat filii, maiorem indulssse nobis inuicem saeuiendi licentiam. Hae sunt cur non licere putem. Quam\(^a\) uero sit absurdum, atque etiam pennisimos reipublicae, furem atque homicidam. ex aequo puniri, nemo est, opinor, qui nesciat. Nempe quum latro conspiciat non minus imminere discriminis duntaxat furti damnato, quam si praeterea conuincatur homicidii, hac una cogitacione impellitur in caedem eius, quem aloqui fuerat tantum spoliaturus; quippe praeterquam quod deprehenso nihil sit plus periculi, est etiam in caede securitas maior, et maior caelandi spes sublato facinoris indice. Itaque, dum fures nimir atrocter studemus perterrefacere, in bonorum incitamus perniciem.

\(^a\) quantum, A.
Now as touching this question, what punysshemente were more commodious and better; that trulye in my judgement is easyer to be founde, than what punysshement were a wurse. For whie should we dowt that to be a good and a profytable waye for the punysshemente of offendours, whyche we knowe dydde in tymes paste so lange please the Romaynes; men in thadmynystratyon of a weale publyque moste experte, polytyque, and cunnyng? Such as amonge them weare conuycte of great and heynous trespaces, them they condempned into ston quarris, and in to myenes to dygge mettalle, there to be kepte in cheynes all the dayes of theyr lyfe 1.

But as concernyng this matter, I allow the ordenaunce of no nation so well as that I sawe (whyles I trauayled a brode abowt the wordle) vsed in Persia, amonge the

\[\text{\* might be.} \quad \text{\* that which.}\]

Iam quod quaerit, quae punitio possit esse commodior; hoc meo iudicio haud paulo facilius est repertu, quam quae possit esse deterior. Cur enim dubitemus eam uiam utilem esse castigandis sceleribus, quam scimus olim tam diu placuisse Romanis administrandae reipublicae peritissimis? Nempe hi magnorum facinorum conuictos in lapidicinas atque fodienda metalla damnabant, perpetuis adseruandos uinculis.

Quanquam ego quod ad hanc rem attinet nullius institutum gentis 46 probo quam id quod interea dum peregrinarab in Perside obser-

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1 What the state of things was in these penal stone-quarries and mines, may be inferred from a passage of Plautus, where Tyndarus, a character who has gone through them, says that pandemonium is nothing to them:—

\[\text{Vidi ego multa saepe picta, quae Acherunti fierent Cruciamenta; verum enim vero nulla adaequae est Acheruns, Atque ubi ego fui in lapicidinis.} \]

\[\text{Capt. v. 4.}\]

For the subject of condemnation to the mines, which corresponded in some degree to our penal servitude, see the Digest, Lib. xlvi, Tit. xix, §§ 4-6. Pole, in the Dialogue before quoted (p. 196) is of much the same opinion as Hythloday. In case of incorrigible wrongdoers, 'I wold thinke hyt gud,' he says, 'that the felon schold be take and put in some common worke, as to labur in byldyng the wallys of cytcs and townys, or els in some other magnyfycal work of the prynce of the reame.'
people that commonly be called the polylerytes\(^1\); whose lande is bothe large and ample, and also well and wytte-lye gouerned; and the people in all conditions free and ruled by their owne lawes, sauing that they paye a yerely tribute to the great king of Persia. But bicause they be farre from the sea, compassed and closed in\(^a\) almoste rounde abowte wyth hygh mountaynes, and do content them selfes wyth the frutes of theyr owne lande, whyche is of yt selfe verye fertyle and frutefull: for thys cause nother they goo to other cowntreys, nor other comme to them. And accordynge to the olde custome of the lande, they desyre not to enlargse the bowndes of theyr domynyons; and those that they haue by reason of the hyghe hylles be easelye defended; and the trybute whyche they paye to the myghtye Kynge\(^b\) settethe them quyete and free from warfare. Thus theyre lyffe ys commodyous rather then gallawnte, and maye better be callede happye or luckye, then notable or famous. For they be not knowne asmuche as by name, I suppose, sauynge onlye to theyr nexte neyghbours and borderours.

\(^{a}\) inlosed. \(^{b}\) to their chiefe lord and kinge.

\(\text{Uatum apud uulgo dictos Polyeritas adnotaui; populum neque exiguum neque imprudenter institutum, et nisi quod tributum quotannis Persarum pendit regi, caetera liberum ac suis permissum legibus. Caeterum quoniam longe ab mari, montibus fere circumdati, et suae terrae nulla in re maligne contenti fructibus, neque adeunt alios saepe, neque adeuntur, tamen ex utetusto more gentis neque fines prorogare student, et quos habent ab omni facile inuria et montes tuentur, et pensio quam rerum potienti persoluant. immunes prorsus ab militia, haud perinde splendide atque commodate, felicesque magis quam nobiles aut clari, degunt; quippe ne nomine quidem, opinor, praeter quam conterminis, admodum satis noti.}\)

\(^{1}\) Described as a sort of people of Laish. The name (πολυς λῆπος, ‘much nonsense’) is not, however, meant to express their character, but to hint that the assumption of their existence was nonsense.
"They that in thys lande be attayntede and conuycte of felonye, make restitutyon of that they stoole to the ryghte owner, and not (as they doo in other landes) to the Kynge; whome they thinke to haue no more ryghte to the thefe stolen thynge than the thieffe himselfe hath. But if the thynge be loste or made awaye, then the value of yt is paide of the goodes of such offendours, whyche elles remayneth all hole to theire wyffes and chyldrene. And they them selfes be condemped to be common laborers; and, onles the thefte be verye heynous, they be nother locked in pryson, nor fettered in gyues, but be vntyed and goo at large, laborynge in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or goo slowly and slacly to there woorke, be not only tied in cheynes, but also pricked forward with stripes. They that be diligent about their woorke liue without checke or rebuke. Euyry nyghte they be called in by name, and be locked in theyr chambers. Besyde their dayly labour, their lyffe is nothyng harde or incommodyous. Their fare is indyfferent good, borne at the chardges of the weale publyque, bycause they be commen seruauntes to the commen wealth. But their

\[a\] that which.

\[b\] But being.

Ergo apud hos furti qui peraguntur, quod sustulere domino reddunt; non, quod alibi fieri solet, principi; utpote cui tantum iuris esse censent in rem furtuam quantum ipsi furi. Sin res perierit, precio ex bonis furum confecto, ac persoluto tum reliquo uxoribus eorum atque liberis integro, ipsi damnantur in opera. ac nisi atrociter commissum furtum est, neque clauduntur ergastulo, neque gestant compedes, sed liberi ac soluti in publicis occupantur operibus. detrectantes ac lan-guidius gerentes sese, non tam uinculis coherent quam excitant uerberibus. strenuam nauantes operam, absunt a contumeliis, noctu tantum nominatim censiti cubiculis includuntur. praeter assiduum 47 laborem nihil incommodi est in uita. Aluntur enim haud duriter, qui publicae rei seruiunt, e publico: alibi aliter. Siquidem alicubi quod

\[1\] This is not the sense of the Latin, which is 'they do not so much imprison as flog them': that is, they prefer flogging to imprisonment.
charges in all places of the land is not borne a lyke. For in some partes that* is bestowd vpon them is gathered of almes. And though that waye be vncerteyn, yet the people be so full of mercye and pytie, that none is fownde more profytable or plentyfull. In some places certeyn landis¹ be appoynted here vnto ; of the reuenewes wherof they be fownde b. And in some places euery man geuyth a certeyne trybute for the same vse and purpose. Agayne in some partes of the lande thies seruyng men (for so be thies damned persons called²), do no common worke; but, as euery priuate man nedeth laborours, so he cometh into the markette place³, and there hiereth some of them for meate and drynke, and a certeyne limityd wayges by the daye, sumwhat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man. It is also lawfull for them to chastysce the slowth of thies seruynge men wyth strypes. "By thys meanses they neuer lacke woorke ; and bysydes their meate and dryncke euery one of them bryngeth dayly sum thynge into the common treasoury⁴. All and

¹ that which. ² mainteined.

impenditur in eos ex eleemosyna colligitur : atque ea uia quanquam incerta, tamen ut est ille populus misericors, nulla reperitur uberior. alibi reditus quidam publici ad id destinantur. Est ubi certum in eos usus tributum uiritim conferunt. Quin aliquot in locis nullum publicum opus faciunt, sed ut priuatus quisque eget mercenariis, ita illorum cuiuspiam in eum diem operam, stata mercede, conducit apud forum ; paulo minoris quam quanti liberam fuerat conducturus. prae-terea fas est seruilem ignauiam flagris corripere.

Sic fit uti nunquam opere careant ; et praeter uictum aliquid quoque

¹ Nothing is said about lands in the Latin. The English here is diffuse.
² For some reason Robynson has inserted here the explanation that in the Latin comes afterwards, p. 68.
³ This ancient custom may still be seen practised in some country towns. For the compulsory hiring prevalent in the Tudor times (as by Statute 5 Eliz. cap. 4) see Jacob's Law Dictionary, under the heading 'Servants.'
⁴ That is, in addition to the advantage gained to the state by these criminals being supported by private employers, the money they receive as wages is paid into the common fund. As is explained just after, the convicts themselves may not keep any.
every one of them be apparrayed in one colour. Their heddys be not polled or shauen, but rowned a lytle aboue the eeres; and the type of the one eare is cut of. Every one of them may take meat and drincke of their frindes, and also a cote of their owne coloure; but to receyve monye is death, as well to the geuer as to the receyuour. And no lesse ieopardie it is for a free man to receyue moneye of a seruynge man, for any manner of cause; and lykewyse for seruynge men to touche weapons. The seruyng men of every seuerall shyere be dystyncte and knowen from other by their seuerall and dystyncte badges; whyche to caste away is death: as it is also to be seene owte of the precynte of their owne sheire, or to talke wyth a seruynge man of another shyere. And it is no lesse daunger it is for a free man to receyue monye of a seruynge man, for any manner of cause; and kyse for seruynge men to touche weapons.

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Of the contrarye parte, to hym that openeth and uttereth suche counselles be decreyde large giftes: to a free man a great summe of moneye; to a seruynge man freedome; and to them bothe forgeuynes and pardone of that they were of councell in that pretence. So that

1 Rather ‘that it may never,’ &c.; purpose, not consequence.
2 See note above, p. 67.
yt can neuer be so good for them to goo forarde in theyre euyll purpose, as by repentaunce to turne backe.

""Thys is the lawe and ordre in thys behalfe, as I haue shewed yow. Wherin what humanytye is vsede, howe farre yt is frome crueltye, and howe commodyous yt is, yow doo playnlye perceue: for asmuche as the ende of their wrath and punyshemente intendeth nothyng elles but the distructyon of vyces and sauynge of men; wyth so vsynge and orderynge them, that theye can not chuse but be good; and what harme so euuer theye dyd before, in the resydewe of theyre lyffe to make amendys for the same.

""Moreouer yt is so lytle feared, that they shoulde torne agayne to theyre vycyous condytyons, that wayefarynge men wyll for theyre sauegarde chuse them to theyre guydes before annye other, in euerye theyre chaungynge and takynge newe. For yf they wolde commytte robberye, theye haue nothyng abowte them meate for that purpose. They maye towche no weapons: moneye fownde abowte them shoulde betraye the robberye. They shoulde be no soner taken wyth the maner, but furthwyth they shoulde be punysshed. Nother theye can haue annye hoope at all to skape awaye by flyenge. For howe shoulde a man,
that in no parte of hys apparrell is lyke other men, flye preuelye and vnknownen, oneles he wolde runne awaye naked? Howe be yt, so also flyinge, he shoulde be dyscryued by hys rounding and his eare marke. But yt is a thynge to be dowted, that they will lay their heddes togethier, and conspire agaynst the weale publyque. No, no, I warraunte you. For the seruyng men of one shere alone could never hoope to brynge to passe suche an enterpryse, wythowte sollycynge, entysynge, and allurynge the seruynge men of many other shyeres to take their partes. Whych thynge is to them so impossyble, that they may not asmuche as speake or talke togethers, or salute one an other. No, it is not to be thought that they wold make their owne countrey men and companyons of their cownsell in such a matter, whych they knowe well shoulde be ieopardye to the conce louer therof, and greate commodyye and goodnes to the openner of the same: where as on the other parte, ther is none of them al hoopeles or in dyspayre to recouer agayne hys freedome, by humble obedience, by pacyent suffrynge, and by geanyng good tokens and lyklyhode of hymself, that he wyll euer after that liue lyke a trewe and an honeste

nulla uestium parte populo similis, nisi abeat nudus? quin sic quoque fugientem proderet auricula. At ne inito saltem consilio coniurent in rempublicam, id demum scilicet periculum est. quasi in tantam uenire sperm ulla possit uicinia, non tentatis ac sollicitatis ante multarum regionum seruitiis. quae tantum absunt a facultate conspirandi, ut ne conuenire quidem et colloqui aut salutare se mutuo liceat: ut credantur interim id consilium intrepide credituri suis, quod reticentibus periculosum, prodentibus maximo esse bono sciant. Quum contra nemo sit prorsus exspes, obediendo ac perferendo, bonamque de se prebendo sperm emendatoris in posterum uitae, posse his modis

1 Burnet: 'their crop'd Ear.'
2 'Of their cownsell,' that is, their confidants.
man. For every yeare dyuers be a restoryd agayne to their freedome, throughe the commendatygon of their patience."

'Than I had thus spoken, saynge moreouer that I coulde see no cause whie this ordre might not be had in England, with much more proffyte then the Justyce which the lawyer so highly praised: "Naye" (quod the lawier), "this could neuer be so stablished in England, but that it must neades bringe the weale publique into great ieopardie and hasarde." And as he was thus saying, he shaked his heade, and made a wrie mouth, and so held his peace. And all that were ther present, with one assent agreid to his saying.

'"Well" (quod the Cardinall), "yet it were hard to iudge withowte a profye whether this order wold doo well here or no. But when the sentence of deathe is geuen, if than the king should commaunde execution to be differryd and

fieri ut libertatem aliquando recuperet, quippe nullo non anno resti-tutis aliquot commendatione patientiae.

Haeq quum dixissem, atque adieissem nihil mihi uideri causae, quare non hic modus haberri uel in Anglia possit, multo maiore cum fructu quam illa iusticia, quam iuris ille peritus tantopere laudauerat: sub haec ille, nemp iuris consultus: Nunquam, inquit, istud sic stabiliri queat in Anglia, ut non in summum discrimen adducat rem-publicam. et simul haec dicens commouit caput, ac distorsit labrum, atque ita conticuit. Et omnes qui aderant pedibus in eius ibant sententiam.

Tum Cardinalis, non est, inquit, procliue diuinare, commode ne an secus res cessura sit, nullo prorsus facto periculo. Verum si, pronuntiata mortis sententia, differri executionem iubeat princeps, atque

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1 This is an anticipation of our 'ticket of leave' system. By the Penal Servitude Act of 1853, power was given to release convicts in the United Kingdom conditionally on ticket of leave, instead of releasing them, as formerly, on 'free pardon.' See Sir F. du Cane's article on Prisons in Chambers's Encyclopaedia. The principle, as we here see, had been enunciated long before in the Utopia.

2 This should in strict syntax be posset.

3 This is a late Latin use of the word.
spared, and wold prowe this order and passion; taking away the privileges of all saintuaries; if then the proffe wold a declare the thing to be good and profitable, than it were well done that it were stablished. Els the condemnped and reprimed parsons may aswell and as justly be put to death after this proffe, as when they were first cast. Nother any ioperdye can in the meane space growe here of. Yea, and me thinketh that thies vagaboundes may very well be ordered after the same passion, against whome we haue hitherto made so many lawes, and so little preuailed."

'When the Cardinal had thus said, than every man gaue greate praise to my sayinges, which a litle before they had disallowed. But most of all was estemed that which was spoken of vagaboundes, bicause it was the cardinalles owne addition.

'I can not tell whether it were best to reherse the communication that followed, for it was not very sad. But

hunc experiatur morem, cohibitis asylorum privilegiis, tum vero si res comprobetur eventu esse utilis, rectum fuerit eam stabiliri. alio-qui tunc quoque afficere supplicio eos qui sunt ante damnati, neque minus e republica fuerit, neque magis iniustum, quam si nunc idem fieret; nec ullum interea nasci ex ea re potest periculum. Quin mihi certe uidentur errone quoque ad eundem posse modum non pessime tractari, in quos hactenus tam multis aeditis legibus, nihil | promouimus 50 tamen.

Haece ubi dixit Cardinalis, quae me narrante contemperant omnes, eadem nemo non certatim laudibus est prosequetus; maxime tamen illud de erronibus, quoniam hoc ab ipso adiectum est.

Nescio an quae sunt secuta silere prestiterit; erant enim ridicula:

1 More seems to have had some little misgiving about introducing the story that follows. If so, his discernment has been justified by the result. In one edition of the Utopia, printed at Cologne, 1629, in 24, and described on the title-page as 'juxta Indicem librorum expurgatorum Cardinalis et Archiepiscopi Toletani correcta,' a great part of the anecdote is omitted. From 'Subrisit Cardinalis, et approbat ioco, caeteri etiam serio,' the text
yet you shal here it: for ther was no euell in it; and partly it parteined to the matter before said.

‘Ther chaunsed to stond by a certein iesting parasite, or scoffer, which wold seme to resemble and counterfeit the foole. But he did in such wise counterfeyt, that he was almost the very same in dead that he labored to represent. He so studied with wordes and saynges, brought furth so out of time and place, to make sporte and moue laughter, that he himself was oftener laughed at then his iestes were. Yet the foolish fellow brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable stufte, that he made the prouerbe trew, which sayeth: he that shoteth oft, at the last shal hit the marke¹. So that when one of the company said that thorough my communication a good ordre was found for theues, and that the Cardinall also had wel prouided for vagaboundes; so that only remained some good prouision to be made for them that through siknes and age were fallen into pouerty, and were become so impotente and vnweldye, that they were not

sed narrabo tamen: nam non erant mala, et aliquid ad hanc rem pertinebant.

Adstabat forte parasitus quidam, qui uideri uolebat imitari morionem, sed ita simulabat, ut propior uero esset, tam frigidis dictis captans risum, ut ipse saepius quam dicta sua riderentur. Excidebant homini tamen interdiu quaedam, adeo non absurda, ut fidem adagio facerent, crebro iactu iaci aliquando Venerem. Is ergo, dicente quodam e conuiuis: lam meo sermone bene prouisum esse furibus, atque a Cardinale etiam cautum de erronibus, restore nunc uti his praeterea consuleretur publicitus, quos ad egestatem morbus aut senectus im-

²⁶ passes on to ‘En, mi More, quam longo,’ &c., leaving out all the section beginning ‘Caeterum theologus quidam.’ That, in the judgment of some ecclesiastical censors, the Utopia should have been declared to need expurgation, is a noticeable fact.

¹ The Latin proverb, taken from the throw of dice, is given by Erasmus in his Adagia (1629), p. 99 b, in the form ‘Si saepe iacies, aliquando Venerem iacies’; Robynson alters the comparison. Burnet, more correctly: ‘He who throws the Dice often, will sometimes have a lucky Hit.’
able to woorke for their living: "Tush" (quod he) "let me alon with them; you shall see me do well ynough with them. For I had rather then anye good that this kind of people were dreuen sumwhether out of my sighte: they haue so sore troubled me many times and oft, when they haue with their lamentable teares¹ begged money of me; and yet thei could neuer to mi mind so tune theire song, that therby they euer got of me one farthynge. For euer more the one of thies two chaunced: eyther that I wolde not, or elles that I could not, because I had it not. Therefore nowe they be waxed wyse. Whenᵃ they see me goo bye, bycause they wyll not leese theyr laboure, they lette me goᵇ, and saye not one worde to me. So they looke for nothing of me; no, in good sothe, no more then if I were a priestᶜ. But I will make a law, that all thies beggers shalbe distribute and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shalbe made laye bretherne, as they call them, and the women nunnes.” Here at the Cardenall smiled, and allowed it in iest; yea, and all the residue in good earnest.

ᵃ for when.ᵇ passe.ᶜ priest or a monke.

pulisset, atque ad labores unde uiui possit reddidisset impotes: Sine, inquit, me: nam ego et hoc recte ut fiat uidero. Etenim hoc genus hominum misere cupio aliquo e conspectu amoliri meo; ita me male uexarunt saepe, cum querulis illis oplorationibus flagitarent pecuniam, quas nunquam tamen tam commode potuerunt occinere, ut nummum a me extorquerent. Quippe semper alterum euenit, ut aut non libeat dare, aut ne liceat quidem, quando nihil est quod detur. Itaque nunc coeperunt sapere. nam ne perdant operam, ubi me praeterire uident, ⁵¹ praeermittunt taciti: ita nihil a me sperant amplius, non hercle magis quam si essem sacerdos. Sed illos ego mendicos omnes lata lege distribui ac dispartiri iubeo in Benedictinorum caenobia, et fieri laicos ut uocant monachos: mulieres moniales esse impero. Subrisit Cardinalis et approbat ioco, caeteri etiam serio.

¹ The Latin is more expressive than this. 'Their pitiful importuni-
ties' would come a little nearer, or
'But a certeyne freare, graduate in diuinitie, toke such pleasur and delite in this ieste of priestes and monkes, that he also, beinge elles a man of grislye and sterne grauitye, beganne merilye and wantonlye to ieste and taunt. "Nay" (quod he), "you shal not so be ridde and dispatched of beggers, oneles you make some prouision also for us frears." "Whie" (quod the iester) "that is doon all redy. For mi lord him selfe set a very good ordre for yow, when he decreed that vagaboundes should be kept strayt, and set to worke; for yow be the greatest and veriest vagaboundes that be."

'This iest also, when they saw the Cardinal not disproue it, eury man tooke it gladly, sauing only the Frear. For he (and that no marueil) when he was thus a towchyd one the quicke, and hit on the gawl, so fret, so fumed and chafid at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refrayn himselfe from chiding, skolding, railing, and reuiling.' He called the fellow ribbald, villayn, iauell, back-....

Caeterum Theologus quidam frater hoc dicto in sacerdotes ac monachos adeo est exhilaratus, ut iam ipse quoque coeperit ludere, homo aliqui prope ad toruitatem grauis. At ne sic quidem, inquit. extricabérís a mendicis, nisi nobis quoque prosplexeris fratibus. Atqui, inquit Parasitus, hoc iam curatum est. Nam Cardinalis egregie prospexit uobis, quum statueret de cohercendis atque opere exercendis erronibus; nam uos estis errores maximi.

Hoc quoque dictum, quum coniectis in Cardinalem oculis eum uidere non abnuere, coeperunt omnes non illibenter arripere, excepto fratre. Nam is (neque equidem miror) tali perfusus aceto, sic indignatus est atque incanduit, ut nec a conuiciis quidem potuerit temperare: hominem uocauit nebulonem, detractorem, susurronom,....

1 A long rendering of corniciis. Burnet: 'he could not forbear railing at the Fool.'

2 The reference is indicated in the marginal note: Hor. Sat. i. vii. 32, 'At Graecus, postquam est Italo perfusus aceto, et c. Pace in his De Fructu, which appeared the year after the first edition of the Utopia, speaking of More, says that he too, when occasion demands, imitates good cooks, and omnia acri perfundit aceto' (p. 82).
biter, sclaunderer, and the sonne of perdition; citing therwith terrible threatening out of holy scriptur. Then the iesting skoffer began to play the scoffe inde, and verily he was good at yt, for he could play a part in that play, no man better. "Patient iourself, good maister Freare" (quod he), "and be not angry; for scriptur saith: in your patience you shall saue your sowles." Then the Freare (for I wil rehearse his oune very wordes): "No, gallous wretche, I am not angry" (quod he); "or at the leaste wise I do not synne: for the psalmiste saith, be you angry and sinne not." 

'Then the Cardinal spake gently to the Freare, and desiered him to quyete hymself. "No, my lord" (quod he), "I speake not but of a good zeal as I ought; for holly men had a good zeale. Wherfor it is said; the zeale of thy house hath eaten me. And it is song in the church: The skorners of Helizeus, whiles he went vp into the house of god,


Admonitus deinde frater a Cardinale suauiter, ut suos affectus compesceret, Non, domine, inquit, ego loquor nisi ex bono zelo, sicut debo. Nam uiri sancti habuerunt bonum zelum, unde dicitur, Zelus domus tuae comedit me, et canitur in ecclesiis: Irrisores Helizei, dum

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1 The spirit of the idiomatic English here rivals that of the original.
2 St. Luke xxii. 19. The Revised Version agrees with the Vulgate in using the future tense here: 'ye shall win.'
3 Ps. iv. 4. The R. V. gives 'be ye angry' as a marginal reading, in place of 'stand in awe.' The former has the support of the LXX and Vulgate, which here agree, and also of St. Paul's citation in Eph. iv. 26.
4 Ps. lxix. 9 (Vulg. lxviii. 10).
felt the zeale of the bald; as peraduentur this skorning villain ribauld shal feel.” “You do it” (quod the cardinall) “perchaunce of a good mind and affection. But me thinketh you should do, I can not tell whether more holily, certes more wisely, if you wold not set your wit to a foole's witte, and with a foole take in hand a foolish contention.” “No, forsooth, my lorde” (quod he), “I should not doo more wiselye. For Salomon the wise sayeth: Answer a foole according to his foolishnes; like as I do now, and do shew him the pit that he shall fall into, if he take not hede. For if many skorners of Helizeus, which was but one bald man, felt the zeal of the balde, howe much more shall one skorner of many frears seele, amonge whom be many bald men? And we haue also the popes bulles, wherby all that mock and skorne us be excommunicate, suspended, and acursed.” The cardinal seing that none end wold be made, sent away the iester by a preuy folye.

consendit domum dei, zelus calui sentiunt; sicut fortasse sentiet iste derisor, scurra, ribaldus. Facis, inquit Cardinalis, bono fortassis affectu, sed mihi uideris facturus, nescio an sanctius, certe sapientius, si te ita compares, ne cum homine stulto et ridiculo ridiculum tibi certamen instituas. Non, domine, inquit, non facerem sapientius. Nam Solomon ipse sapientissimus dicit: Responde stulto secundum stultitiam eius, sicut ego nunc facio, et demonstro ei foueam in quam cadet, nisi bene praecaueat. Nam si multi irrisores Helizei, qui erat tantum unus caluus, senserunt zelus calui, quanto magis sentiet unus derisor multorum fratrum, in quibus sunt multi calui? et etiam habemus bullam Papalem, per quam omnes qui derident nos sunt excommunicati. Cardinalis, ubi uidit nullum fieri

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1 2 Kings ii. 24. See note 4 below.  
2 Proverbs xxvi. 4.  
3 This addition to 'excommunicate' is the translator's own.  
4 The lines are from the Hymn of Adam of St. Victor, De Resurrectione Domini:—  

Irrisores Helisaei,  
Dum consendit domum Dei,  
Zelum calvi sentiunt.  
The marginal note points out the skit in making the friar use zelus, as if it were a neuter noun declined like scelus.
beck, and turned the communication to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to heare his sueters, and so dismissed vs.

'Loke, mayster More with how long and tedious a tale I haue kept you, which suerly I wolde haue bene ashamed to haue done, but that you so earnestly desiered me, and did after suche a sort geue eare vnto hit, as though you wolde not that any parcell of that communication should be left out; which though I haue done sumwhat briefely, yet coulde I not chuse but rehearse it, for the judgement of them ¹, which, when they had improued and disallowed my sayinges, yet incontinent hearinge the Cardinall allowe them, dyd themselfes also approue the same; so impudentely flattering him, that they were nothinge ashamed to admit, yea, almost in good earnest, his iesters foolish inuentions; bicause that he him selfe, by smylynge at them, did seme not to disproue them. So that hereby you may right well perceau, how litle the courtiers wold regard and esteme me and my sayinges.'

finem, nutu ablegato parasito, ac aliam in rem commodum ² uerso sermone, paulo post surgit e mensa, atque audiendis clientum negotiis dedit se, nosque dimisit. En, mi More, quam longo te sermone oneraui; quod tam diu facere plane puduiisset me, nisi tu et | cupide flagitasses, et sic uidereris audire, tanquam nolles quicquam eius confabulationis omitti; quae, quanquam aliquanto perstrictius, narranda tamen mihi fuit omnino propter eorum iudicium, qui quae me dicente spreuerant, eadem rursus euestigio non improbante Cardinale, etiam ipsi comprobarunt; usque adeo assentantes ei, ut parasiti quoque eius inuentis, quae dominus per iocum non aspernabatur, adblandirentur ³, et serio prope-modum admitterent: ut hinc possis aestimare quanti me ac mea consilia aulici forent aestimaturi.

¹ That is 'for the sake of showing what the judgment of those persons was worth, who,' &c. Burnet takes it to imply the enabling a hearer to form his judgment of them.
² Both Robynson and Burnet ignore this word in their translations. It is common in the sense of 'opportune,' 'seasonably.'
³ For this compound there is, I think, no authority.
of Utopia.

'I ensure you, maister Raphael' (quod I), 'I toke great delectation in hearing you: all thinges that yow sayde were spoken so wittily and so pleaasuntly. And me thought my self to be in the meane time not only at home in my countrey, but also, through the pleaasunt remem-braunce of the Cardinall, in whose housse I was brought vp of a child, to waxe a childe agayne. And, frend Raphael, though I did beare verye greate loue towardes you before, yet seynge yow do so earnestly fauour thys man, yow wyll not beleue howe muche my loue towardes yow is nowe increased. But yet, all this notwithstanding, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I must needys beleue that you, if you be disposed, and can find in youre harte to followe some prynces courte, shall with your good cownselles greatly healpe and further the com-men wealth. Wherefore there is nothynge more apper-teynynge to your dewty; that is to say, to the dewty of a good man. For where as youre Plato Judge the that

Profecto, mi Raphael, inquam, magna me affectisti uoluptate, ita sunt abs te dicta prudenter simul et lepide omnia. praeterea uisus mihi interim sum, non solum in patria uersari, uerum etiam repuerascere quodammodo iucunda recordatione Cardinalis illius, in cuius aula puer sum educatus. cuius uiri memoriae quod tu tam impense faues, non credas, mi Raphael, quanto mihi sis effectus hoc nomine charior, cum esses aioqui charissimus. Caeterum non possum adhuc ullo pacto meam demutare sententiam, quin te plane putem, si animum inducas tuum, uti ne ab aulis principum abhorreas, in publicum posse te tuis consiliis plurimum boni conferre. quare nihil magis incumbit tuo, hoc est boni uiri, officio. Si quidem cum tuus censeat Plato, respublicas ita demum futuras esse felices, si aut

1 See the Introduction, § 1.
2 Here, as below, p. 104, More gives the sense, not the exact words of Plato, as would be only natural, when the quotation is supposed to be made from memory. The passage is in the Republic, Book v. § 473. In Ficino's Latin version it runs:—'Si non, inquam ego, aut philosophi regnabunt in ciuitatis, aut reges qui nunc dicuntur et potentes legitime et iuste philosophabuntur, ... non est malorum requies, chare Gluoco, ciuitatis.'
weale publyques shall by this meanes attayne perfecte felicitie, other if phylosophers be kynges, or els if kynges giue them selfes to the study of Philosophie; how farre, I praye yowe, shall commen wealthes then be from thys felicitie, if phylosophers wyll vouchesaufe to instructe kynges with their good counsell? ‘They be not so vnkind’ (quod he), ‘but they would gladlye do it; yea, manye haue done it all readie in bookes that they haue put furth, if kynges and princes would be wylllyng and readie to folowe good counsell. But Plato doubtelues dyd well forsee, onelies kynges themselfes would applye their myndes to the studye of philosophie, that elles they would neuer thorouglye allowe the counsell of philosophers; beyng themselfes before euen from their tender age infectyd and corrupt with peruerse and euyll opinions. Whiche thynge Plato hymselfe prouyd trewe in kynge Dionise. If I should propose to any kynge holsome decrees, doinge my endeuour to pluck out of hys mynde regnent philosophi, aut reges philosophentur; quam procul aberit felicitas, si philosophi regibus nec dignentur saltem suam im|partiri 54 consilium? Non sunt, inquit ille, tam ingrati, quin id libenter face rent; imo multi libris aeditis iam fecerunt; si hii qui rerum patiuntur essent parati bene consultis parere. Sed bene haud dubie prauidit Plato, nisi reges philosophentur ipsi, nunquam futurum ut peruersis opinionibus a pueris imbuti atque infecti penitus philosophantium comprobent consilia: quod ipse quoque experiebatur apud Dionysium. An non me putas, si apud aliquem regem decreta sana proponerem,

1 The answer to the question thus put, would be ‘Not far’; and this may have been what the translator meant. But the form of the sentence which follows makes it more likely that he wrote ‘wyll not vouchesaufe,’ corresponding to the nec dignentur of the Latin.

2 Plutarch, in his Life of Numa quotes the saying of Plato (Rep. v. 473) to the effect that ‘the only sure prospect of deliverance from the evils of life will be, when the divine Providence shall so order it, that the regal power, invested in a prince who has the sentiments of a philosopher, shall render virtue triumphant over vice.’ Langhorne’s transl., 1805. i. p. 191. For the change in the demeanour of Dionysius the younger, tyrant of Syracuse, towards Plato, see Plutarch’s Dion, ib., v. p. 243.
et perniciosa malorum semina conaré illi euellere, protinus aut eiciendum aut habendum lubidrio?

Age, finge me apud regem esse Gallorum, atque in eius considere consilio, dun. in secretissimo secessu, praésidente rege ipso in corona prudentissimorum hominum, magnis agitur studiis, quibus artibus ac machinamentis Mediolanum retineat, ac fugitiuam illam Neapolim ad se re-trahat: postea uero euertat Venetos, ac totam Italiam suibiiciat.

1 'Louis the Twelfth, on ascending the throne (1498), assumed the titles of Duke of Milan and King of Naples, thus unequivocally announcing his intention of asserting his claims, derived through the Visconti family, to the former, and, through the Angevin dynasty, to the latter state.'—Prescott: *Ferdinand and Isabella*, ch. x. Prescott then relates how, after securing the neutrality of Spain by the treaty of Marcoussis, Aug. 5, 1498, Louis 'ef-fected the conquest of the entire duchy in little more than a fortnight.' Its duke, Lodovico Sforza, was sent captive into France, and the French king then turned his arms against Frederick, king of Naples, whose dominions he soon afterwards shared between himself and Ferdinand of Spain. Naples is called by More *fugitiva*, 'that has so oft slip'd out of their Hands' (Burnet), to imply that the French kings had laid claim to it before. For the attempts upon it of Charles VIII, see Prescott, as above, p. 380.

2 The partition of Venice between Louis XII, Ferdinand of Spain, the emperor Maximilian, and the Pope, was settled by the treaty of Cambray, in December, 1508. Louis had planned this six years before.

3 'If the French get possession of Rome, the liberties of all Italy, and of every state in Europe, are in peril.'—Letter of Peter Martyr, *Epist.* 465, quoted by Prescott.
howe to wynne the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie, with dyuers other landes, whose kyng-domes he hath longe a goo in mynde and purpose inuaed. Here\(^1\), whyles one counselflieth to conclude a leage of peace with the Venetians, whiche shal so longe endure\(^*\), as shalbe thought mete and expedient for theire purpose, and to make them also of their counsell, yea, and besydes that to gyue them parte of the praye, whyche afterwarde, when they haue brought theyr purpose abowte after theyr owne myndes they maye requyre and claym agayne. An other thynketh beste to hyere the Germaneynes\(^2\). An other would haue the fauoure of the Swychers\(^3\) wonne with money. An others aduyse is to appease the pyssaunte powre of the emperours maiestie with golde, as with a moste pleaasunt and acceptable sacrifice\(^4\). Whyles an other gyueth counsell to make peace wyth the kynge

\(^*\) so longe to endure.

sibi; deinde Flandros, Brabantos, totam postremo Burgundiam suae faciat ditionis, atque alias praeterea gentes, quarum regnum iam olim animo inuait. Hic dum aliis suadet feriendum cum Venetis foedus, tantisper duraturum, dum ipsius fuerit commodum; cum illis communicandum consilium; quin deponendam quoque apud eosdem aliquam praedae partem, quam rebus ex sententia peractis repetat; dum alius consulit conducendos Germanos, alius pecunia demulcendos Eluetios; alius aduersus numen imperatoriae maiestatis auro uelut

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\(^1\) At this point begins an almost interminable sentence in the Latin, of which the conditional member comes at p. 84, *si ego homuncio*, and the conclusion nct till p. 87; the episode of the Achorians being worked into it.

\(^2\) The allusion is, as the marginal note in later editions has it, to the 'Lance-knights,' the German Lanzknechte, who served as mercenaries in the French army on some occasions. In the great battle fought under the walls of Ravenna, April 11, 1512, Count Pedro Navarro led the Spanish Infantry against a formidable body of these, who were fighting on the side of the French under Gaston de Foix.

\(^3\) On the Swiss as mercenaries, see note below, p. 252.

\(^4\) A hit at the cupidity of the 'penniless and shifty' Maximilian, who actually took pay and served in the English camp at Tournay.—See Brewer: *Reign of Henry VIII*, i. p. 11.
of Arragone, and to restore vnto hym hys owne kyng-dome of Nauarra, as a full assurance of peace. An other cummeth in wyth his v. egges, and aduyseth to howke in the kynge of Castell with somme hope of affynytie or allyaunce, and to brynge to theyr parte certeyne peers of hys courte for greate pensions: whyles they all staye at the chyefeste dowte of all, what to doo in the meane tyme with England, and yet agree al in this to make peace with the englishmen, and with moste suere and strong bondes to bind that weake and feable frenshyppe, so that they must be called frendes, and hadde in suspicion as enemies; and that therfore the skottes must be hadde in a reddines, 55 anathemate | propitiandum; dum alii uidetur cum Arragonum rege componendus esse res, et alieno Nauariae regno, velut pacis authoramento, cedendum; alius interim censet Castelliae principem aliqua spe affinitatis irretiendum, atque aulicos nobiles aliquot in suam factionem certa pensio esse pertrahendos; dum maximus omnium nodus occurrit, quid statuendum interim de Anglia sit; caeterum de pace tractandum tamen, et constrigenda firmissimis uinculis semper insirma societas, amici uocentur, suspiciantur ut inimici; habendos igitur paratous uelut in statione Scotos, ad omnem intentos occasionem, often occurs in Swift's *Journal to Stella* but in the form 'comes in with his two eggs a penny' (Works, 1824, II. pp. 392, 412, 468). Ray, *English Proverbs*, 1737, p. 187, gives it in full: 'You come in with your five eggs a penny, and four of them be rotten.' See also the New *English Dict.* under 'egg.' When it was a complaint that eggs were but 'fower a penny;' (Decaye of England, p. 98), one who 'came in with his five' might stand for a pushing dealer.

4 This may refer to some fresh negotiation for a marriage between the Princess Claude and Charles, who, just about the time when More was writing, after the death of his grandfather Ferdinand (Jan. 23, 1516), had caused himself to be proclaimed afresh King of Castile. See above, p. xxxii, n.
as it were in a standing reddie at all occasions, in aungers ¹ the Englyshe men should sturre neuer so litle, incontinent to set vpoun them; and moreouer preuilie and secretly, for openly it maye not be doone by the truce that is taken; pryuelye therfore, I saye, to make muche of some peere of Englande, that is bannyshed his countrey, whiche must cleyme title to the crown of the realme, and affirme hym selfe iuste inheritoure therof²; that by thys subtyll meanes they maye holde to them the kyngge, in whom elles they haue but small truste and affiaunce.

'Here, I saye, where so greate and high matters be in consultation, where so manye noble and wyse men counsell their kyng only to warre; here, if I ³, sely man, should ryse vp and wylle them to turne ouer the leafe ⁴, and learne a newe lesson; sayng that my counsell is not to medle with Italy, but to tarrye styll at home, and that the kyngdome of fraunce alone is all moste greater, then that it maye well be gouerned of one man; so that the kyng

si quid se commoueant Angli protinus immittendos; ad haec fouen-dum exulem nobilem aliquem occulte (namque id aperte ne fiat prohibent foedera) qui id regnum sibi deberei contendat, ut ea uelut ansa contineat suspectum sibi principem:—hic, inquam, in tanto rerum molimine, tot egregiiis uiris ad bellum sua certatim consilia conferentibus, si ego homuncio surgam, ac uerti iubeam uela, omittendam Italiam censeam, et domi dicam esse manendum, unum Galliae regnum fere maius esse quam ut commode possit ab uno administrari,

¹ That is, in case that. See the Glossary.
² The reference is probably to Perkin Warbeck, who, in his assumption of the title of Duke of York, might be regarded, from the point of view taken in the text, as a 'peere of Englande, that is bannyshed his countrey.' 'It is well known,' says Tytler, 'that the conspiracy was encouraged by Charles VIII of France, who invited Perkin into his kingdom, and received him with high distinction.' It was part of the plan for the rising in Warbeck's favour, that 'the Scottish monarch was to break at the head of his army across the Borders, and compel Henry to divide his forces.'—Hist. of Scotland, 1864, ii. pp. 259, 260.
³ See below, p. 87, n. 2.
⁴ This does not rightly convey the metaphor in verti vela, 'that there should be a shifting of sail,' 'that they should go on another tack.'
shoulde not nede to studye howe to gett more: and then shoulde propose vnto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achoriens, whiche be situate ouer agaynst the Ilande of Vtopia on the sowtheaste syde. Thies Achoriens ones made warre in their kinges quarrel, for to gette him an other kyngdom, whiche he layde clayme vnto, and auuanced hymself righte inheritoure to the crowne therof, by the title of an olde aliaunce. At the last, when they had gotten it, an sawe that they hadde euene as mucho vexation and trouble in keping it, as they had in gettyng it; and that other there newe conquered subiectes by sondrye occasions were makynge dayly insurrections to rebell agaynst them, or els that other countreys were contynually with diuers inrodes and forraginges inuadinge them; so that they were euer fyghtinge other for them, or agaynst them, and neuer coulde breke vp their campes: seyne them selfes in the meane season pylled ne sibi putet rex de alii adiicendi esse cogitandum: tum si illis proponerem decreta Achoriorum populi, Vtopiensium insulae ad Euronoton opposti; qui quem olim bellum gessissent, ut regi suo aliid obtinerent regnum, quod affinitatis antiquae causa sibi contendebat haereditate, consequit tandem id, ubi uiderunt nihil sibi minus esse molestiae in retinendo, quam in quarerendo pertulerunt, uerum assidua pullulare semina uel internae rebellionis uel externae incursionis; in deditos ita semper aut pro illis aut contra pugnandum; nunquam dari facultatem dimittendi exercitus; compilari interim se; efferri foras pecu-

1 The name is formed like that of the Utopians, from α and ἀπά, 'those who have no room, or place' on the earth. ἀπό is found in Aelian in the sense of 'homeless,' 'with no resting-place.'

2 That is, marriage alliance, affinitas. More may perhaps have been thinking of the ancient claim of England to the throne of France, as Shakspeare states it in the beginning of Henry V.

3 The translation is here rather lax. More literally it is: 'but that the seed-plots were ever ripening of insurrection from within or invasion from without; and that they must be so incessantly at war, either for or against their new subjects, that,' &c.

4 Euronotus, Εύρονος, a word found in Pliny and Columella for the South-east wind.
and impoueryshed; their money carryed owt of the Realme; theyr owne men kylled to mayntayne the glory of an other nation; when they had no warre, peace nothyng better then warre ¹, by reason that their people in warre had inured themselves to corrupte and wycked maners; that they hadde taken a delycte and pleasure in robbynge and stealyng; that through manslaughter they had gathered boldenes to mischiefe; that their lawes were hadde in contempte, and nothynge set by or regarded; that their kynge, beynge troubled with the chardge and gouernaunce of two kingdones, coulde not nor was not able perfectly to discharge his office towards them bothe; selyn agayne that he was not able to kepe both, and that they were mo then might wel be gouerned of half a king; for asmuche as no man would be content to take hym for his mulettour ² that kepeth an other mans

tiam; alienae gloriolae suum impendi sanguinem; pacem nihilo tutiorem; domi corruptos bello mores; imbibtam latrocinandi libidinem; confirmatam caedibus audaciam; leges esse contemptui; quod rex in duorum curam regnorum distractus minus in utrumuis animum posset intendere: cum uiderent aliqui tantis malis nullum finem fore, into tandem consilio, regi suo humanissime fecerunt optionem retinendi utrius ³ regni uellet, nam utriusque non fore potestatem, se plures esse quam qui a dimidiato possint rege gubernari, quum nemo sit libenter admissurus mulionem sibi cum alio

¹ That is, the state of things in time of peace being no better (lit. safer) than in time of war. The clause which follows, 'by reason that,' &c., is diffuse.
² I have not met with any proverb in this exact form. Equivalent ones will be found at p. 292 a of Erasmus's *Adagia*, ed. 1629, under the general heading of 'Impossibilia.'
³ The construction is by 'attraction.'
moyles besides his. So this good prince was constreyned to be content with his olde kyngdome, and to gyue ouer the newe to one of his frendes; whiche shortelie after was violentlie dreuen out. Furthermore if I should declare vnto them, that all this busy preparaunce to warre, wherby so many nations for hys sake shuld be brought into a troublesom hurley-burley, when all hys coffers were emptied, his treasures wasted and his people destroyed, should at the length through som mischaunce be in vaine and to none effect; and that therfore it were best for him to content him selfe with his owne kingdome of fraunce, as his forfathers and predecessours did before him; to make much of it, to enriche it, and to make it as flourisshing as he could; to endeauoure himself to loue his subiects, and again to be beloued of them; willingly to liue with them, peaceably to gouerne them; and with other kyngdomes not to medle, seinge that whiche he hath all reddy is euen ynough for hym, yea, and more then he can well turne hym to; thys myne aduyse, maister More, how thynke you it would be harde and taken ?’ ‘So God helpe me, not very thankfully’ (quod I).

communem: ita coactus est ille bonus princeps, nouo regno cuipiam ex amicis relicito (qui breui etiam post eictus est) antiquo esse contentus;—praeterea si ostenderem omnes hos conatus bellorum, quibus tot nationes eius causa tumultuarentur, quam thesauros eius exhausissent, ac destruxissent populum, aliqua tandem fortuna frustra cessuros tamen; proinde auitum regnum coleret, ornaret quantum posset, et faceret quam florentissimum; amet suos et ametur a suis; 57 cum his una uiuat, imperetque suauiet | atque alia regna valere sinat, quando id quod nunc ei contigisset satis amplum superque esset:—hanc orationem quibus auribus, mi More, putas excipien-dam? Profecto non ualde pronis, inquam.

1 That is, the French king’s.
2 This is the conclusion of the long sentence begun above, p. 82. It is followed, or rather resumed after a short break, by another and still more lengthy one, beginning with Si consiliariis . . . and not ending till we reach the words quam surdis essem narraturus fabulam, p. 97.
'Wel, let vs procede then' (quod he). 'Suppose that some kyng and his counsell were together whettinge their wittes, and deuisinge what subtell crafte they myght inuente to enryche the king with greate treasures of money. First one counselleth to rayse and enhauence the valuacion of money, when the king must paye any; and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne to lesse then it is worth, when he must receieue or gather any: for thus great sommes shalbe payde with a lytyll money, and where lytle is due muche shalbe receaued. An other counselleth to fayne warre, that when vnder this coloure and pretence the kyng hath gathered great aboundsance of money, he maye, when it shall please hym, make peace wyth great solemnitie and holye ceremonies, to blynde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and

Pergamus ergo, inquit. Si consiliariis cum rege quopiam tractantibus, et comminiscientibus quibus technis ei queant coacuerare thesauros, dum unus intendendam consultast aestimationem monetae, quum ipsi sit ergoganda pecunia, deiiiciendam rursus infra iustum, quum fuerit corroganda, uti et multum aeris paruo dissolvat, et pro paruo multum recipiat: dum alius suadet ut bellum simulet, atque eo praetextu coacta pecunia, cum usum erit, faciat pacem sanctis ceremoniis, quo plebeucule oculis fiat praestigium, miseratus uidelicet

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1 One instance of the practice described is furnished by Edward IV, who brought in two new coins, termed the angel and angelot, in place of the noble and half-noble. Though considerably inferior in weight to the former pieces, they were ordered to pass for the same value, namely, 6s. 8d. and 3s. 4d. (Eccleston: Introd. to English Antiquities, 1847, p. 266). Henry VII is said never to have debased his coinage; but by calling in all 'minished or impaired coins' and receiving them at the Mint by weight, without any allowance made, he secured a great profit (Bacon's Works, ed. Spedding, vi. p. 223; Traill's Social

2 In this intransitive sense of 'debate,' 'discuss,' the word is found in Suetonius and Tacitus. Comp. Tac. Ann. i. 13, 'Augustus... cum tractaret, quinam,' &c.
compassion Gode wote a vpon mans bloude, lyke a louing and a mercifull prince.

'An other putteth the kyng in remembraunce of certeyn olde and moughte-eaten lawes, that of long tyme haue not bene put in execution; whiche, because no man can remembre that they were made, euerie man hath transgressed. The fynes of thies lawes he counsellleth the kynge to require: for there is no waye so proffytable, nor more honorable; as the whiche hath a shewe and colour of iustice. An other aduyseth hym to forbidde manye thynges vnder great penalties and fines, specially suche thynges as is for the peoples profit not be vsed; and

humanum sanguinem princeps pius: dum alius ei suggerit in mentem antiquas quasdam et tineis adesas leges, longa desuetudine antiquatas; quas quod nemo latas meminisset, omnes sint transgressi; earum ergo muletas iubeat exigi; nullum uberiorem prouentum esse, nullum magis honorificum, utpote qui iustitiae prae se personam ferat: dum ab alio admonetur, uti sub magnis mulcis multa prohibeat, maxime talia, quae ne fiant in rem sit populi; post

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1 For the subsidies demanded as each parliament met in Henry VII's reign, see the caustic remarks of Bishop Stubbs: *Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*, 1887, p. 409. The special instance More had in his mind may have been that of 1492, when two-tenths and two-fifteenths were being raised 'for the defence of Brittany against France.' The result was the expedition to Boulogne in October, 1492, after which the king made peace.

2 Hallam, speaking of the insatiable avarice of Henry VII, mentions his having recourse to statutes passed in previous reigns, 'the pecuniary penalties of which, though exceedingly severe, were so little enforced as to have lost their terror.' 'These,' he adds, 'his ministers raked out from oblivion; and prosecuting such as could afford to endure the law's severity, filled his treasury with the dishonourable produce of amercements and forfeitures.'—*Constitutional History*, ch. i.

The names of Empson and Dudley are notorious in this association. But Morton himself, though it would not have been pleasing to More to admit it, was an agent in the same exactions.—See Bacon's *Hist. of Hen. VII* (Works, ed. 1730, iii. pp. 442, 487).

3 We should have expected 'not to be used.' Burnet gives the sense more perspicuously: 'especially such as were against the Interest of the People.'
afterward to dispence for money with them, which by this prohibicion susteyne losse and dammage. For by this means the fauour of the people is wonne, and proffite riseth two wayes: first by takyng forfaytes of them whom couetousnes of gaynes hath brought in daunger of thys statute; and also by sellynge preuyleges and licences; whiche the better that the prynce is forsothe, the deerer he selleth them; as one that is lothe to graunte to any pryuate persone any thynge that is agaynste the proffyt of hys people; and therfore maye sell none but at an exceding dere pryce.

'An other giueth the kynge counsell to endaunger vnto hys grace the iudges of the Reyalme, that he maye haue them euer on hys syde; whych muste in euerye matter despute and reason for the kynges ryght. And they muste be called into the kynges palace, and be desired to argue and discusse his matters in his owne presence. So there shalbe no matter of his, so openlye wronge and uniste, wherein one or other of them, other because he wyll haue sumthyng to allege and obiecte, or that he is ashamed to saye that whiche is sayde already, or else to pike a thanke with his prince, wyll not fynde some hole open to set a and that they maye. b Yea and further to call them into his palace, and to require them there to argue. pecunia cum illis dispenset, quorum commodis obstat interdictum; sic et a populo gratiam iniri, et duplex adferri compendium; uel dum hii multantur, quos quaestus cupiditas pellexit in cases, uel dum aliis uendit priuilegia tanto plures quinto seilicet fuerit melior princeps, utpote qui grauatim quicquam contra populi commodum priuato cuique indulgeat, et ob id non nisi magno precio: dum alius ei persuadet obstringendos sibi iudices, qui quavis in re pro regio iure disceptent; accersendos praeterea in palatium, atque inuitandos uti coram se de suis rebus disserant; ita nullam causam eius tam aperte iniquam fore, in qua non aliquis eorum uel contradicendi studio, uel pudore dicendi eadem, uel quo gratiam ineant, apud eam

1 That is, to be a pick-thanks, or fawning parasite. See the Glossary.
a snare in, wherewith to take the contrarie parte in a trippe. Thus whiles the judges cannot agree amonges themselves, reasoning and arguing of that which is playne enough, and bringing the manifest trewthe in dowte, in the meane season the king may take a fyt occasion to vnderstand the lawe as shal most make for his aduauntage; wher vnto al other for shame or for feare wil agree. Then the Judges maye be bolde to pronounce of the kynges side. For he that geueth sentence for the kyng cannot be without a good excuse. For it shalbe sufficient for hym to haue equitie of a his part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, or a wrythen and wrested vnderstandynge of the same, or els, which with good and iust Judges is of greater force then all lawes be, the kynges indisputable prerogatiue. To conclude, al the counsellours agre and consent together with the riche Crassus, that no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince, which muste kepe and maynteyne an armie: furthermore that a kyng, though he would,

* on.

1 Lit. 'whereby a false accusation may be directed.' I do not remember to have seen the phrase *calumniam intendere* used.

2 The saying here attributed to the *riche Crassus* (M. Licinius Crassus Dives, the contemporary of Cicero), seems to be a reminiscence of what is told in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 10, that 'M. Crassus negabat locupelem esse, nisi qui reeditu annuo legionem tueri posset.'

3 Robynson seems to have taken this as if meant for *commodam*; but it is the adverb, 'opportune.'
can do nothynge uniustly; for all that men haue, yea also the men them selfes, be all his; and that euery man hath so much of his owne as the kynges gentilnes hath not taken from hym; and that it shalbe moste for the kynges aduauntage that his subjectes haue very lytle or nothing in their possession; as whose sauagearde dothe herein consiste, that his people do not waxe wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie; because, where thies thinges be, there men be not wonte patientlye to obeye harde, vniuste, and vnlawfull commaundementes; where as, on the other part, neade and pouertie doth holde downe and kepe vnder stowte courages, and maketh them patient perforce, takyng from them bolde and rebellynge stomakes.

'Here agayne if I should ryse vp, and boldelye affirme that all thies counsellles be to the kyng dishonoure and reproche, whoes honoure and sauitie is more and rather supported and vpholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treasures; and if I shuld declare that the comminaltie chueseth their king for their owne sake and not for his sake; for this intent that through to the.

ut maxime etiam uelit posse, quippe omnia omnium eius esse, ut homines etiam ipsos, tantum uero cuique esse proprium quantum regis benignitas ei non ademerit, quod ipsum ut quam minimum sit principis multum referre, ut cuius tutamen tum in eo situm sit, ne populus diuitiis ac libertate lascuiat, | quod hae res minus patienter ferant dura atque iniusta imperia; quum contra egestas atque inopia retundat animos ac patientes reddat, adimathe pressis generous rebellandi spiritus:—hic si ego rursus adsurgens contendam haec consilia omnia regi et inhonesta esse et perniciosa, cuius non honor modo sed securitas quoque in populi magis opibus sita sit quam sui; quos si ostendam regem sibi deligere sua causa, non regis, uidelicet

1 This thesis, under differen forms, was made the subject of several epigrams by More. The very titles of some of them have a bold look, to be written under a Tudor dynasty; for instance, 'Populus consentiens regnum dat et auert':—
Quicumque multis uir uiris unus praecest,
Hoc debet his quibus praecest:
Praesesse debet neutiquam diutius,
Hi quam volet quibus praecest.
his labour and studie they might al liue Wealthily, sauffe from wronges and injuries; and that therfore the kynge ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his owne wealthe, even as the office and dewtie of a shephearde is, in that he is a shepherd, to feade his shepe rather then hymself\textsuperscript{1}. For as towchynge this, that they thinke the defence and mayntenauge of peace to consiste in the pouertie of the people, the thyng it self sheweth that they be farre owt of the way. For where shall a man finde more wrangling, quarelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? Who be more disierous of newe mutations and alterations, then they that be not content with the present state of their lyfe? Or, finally, who be bolder stomaked to brynge all in hurlieburlie (therby trustyng to get sum wyndfall), then they that haue nowe nothing to leese? And if so be that there were any kyng, that were\textsuperscript{a} so smallye regarded, or so\textsuperscript{b} behated of his subjectes, that other wayes he coulde not kepe them in awe, but onlie by open wronges, by pollinge and shauinge, and by brynginge them to beggerie; sewerly it were better for

\textsuperscript{a} And yf any King were. \textsuperscript{b} and so lightly estemed, yea so.

\textit{uti eius labore ac studio ipsi commode uiuant tutique ab injuriis; eoque magis ad principem eam pertinere curam, ut populo bene sit suo, quam ut sibi; non aliter ac pastoris officium est oues potius quam semet pascere, quatenus opilio est: nam quod populi egestatem censeant pacis praesidium esse, longissime aberrare eos ipsa res docet: nempe ubi plus rixarum comperias quam inter mendicos? quis intentius mutationi rerum studet, quam cui minime placet praesens uitae status? aut cui denique audacior impetus ad conturbanda omnia, spe alicunde lucrandi, quam cui iam nihil est quod possit perdere? quod si rex aliquis adeo aut contemptus esset aut inuisus suis, ut aliter eos continere in officio non possit, nisi contumeliiis, compilatione et sectione grassetur\textsuperscript{2}, eosque redigat ad mendicitatem,}

\textsuperscript{1} Comp. Ezek. xxxiv. 2, and Plato's \textit{Repüb.} (Jowett's translation), i. § 343, 'You fancy that the shepherd or neatherd fattens or 'tends the sheep or oxen with a view to their own good, and not to the good of himself or his master.'

\textsuperscript{2} Lit. 'Unless he were to proceed
hym to forsake hys kyngdome, then to holde it by this means; whereby, though the name of a kyng be kept, yet the maiestie is lost. For it is against the dignitie of a kyng to haue rule ouer beggers, but rather ouer ryche and welthie men. Of thys mynde was the hardie and couragius ¹ Fabrice, when he sayde that he had rather be a ruler of ryche men then be ryche hymselfe ². And verelye one man to lyue ³ in pleasure and wealth, whyles all other wepe and smarte for it, that is the parte not of a kyng but of a iayler.

'To be shorte, as he is a folyshe phisition, that cannot cure his patientes disease, onles he caste hym in an other syckenes; so he that cannot amend the liues of his subjectes, but be taking from them the wealth and commoditie of lyfe, he must nedes graunte that he knoweth not the

praestiterit illi profecto regno abdicare, quam his retinere artibus, quibus quanquam imperii nomen retineat, certe amittit maiestatem: neque enim regiae dignitatis est. imperium in mendicos exercere, sed in opulentos potius atque felices; quod ipsum sensit certe uir erecti ac sublimis animi Fabricius, cum responderet malle se imperare diuitibus quam diuitem esse: et profecto unum aliquem uoluptate ac deliciis fluere, gementibus undique ac lamentantibus alis, hoc non est regni, sed carceris, esse custodem: denique ut imperitissimus medicus est, qui morbum nescit nisi morbo curare, ita qui uitam ciuium non nouit alia uia corrigere, quam ademptis uitae commodis, is se nescire fateatur imperare liberis: quin aut

by way of,' &c. Sectio is quite classical in the sense of parcelling out confiscated goods.

¹ These epithets are a little wide of the Latin. 'A Man of a noble and exalted Temper' (Burnet).
² The anecdote is found in Valerius Maximus, iv. 5, only the saying is there ascribed to M. Curius Dentatus, who defeated Pyrrhus in b.c. 275. The envoys of the Samnites were bidden to report that Curius 'malle locupletibus imperare, quam ipsum fieri locupletem.' Fabricius is mentioned in the same chapter, as having gone as an ambassador to Pyrrhus, and as having prayed (on hearing a description of Epicurus's doctrines from Cineas) that Pyrrhus and the Samnites might embrace that philosophy.
³ Lat. fluere, 'to abound,' 'to be in affluence.'
feate howe to gouerne fre\textsuperscript{a} men. But let hym rather amende hys owne lyfe, renounce vnhonest pleasures, and forsake pride. For thies be the chiefe vices that cause hym to runne in the contempt or hatered of his people. Let him lyue of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him do coste not aboue his power. Let hym restreyne wyckednes. Let hym preuente vices, and take a waye the occasions of offences be well orderyng his subiectes, and not by sufferyng wickednes to increase, afterward to be punyshed. Let hym not be to hastie in callynge agayne lawes, whiche a custome hathe abrogated; specially suche as haue bene long forgotton and neuer lacked nor neaded.

\textsuperscript{a} fre omitted\textsuperscript{4}.

inertiam potius mutet suam, aut superbiam: nam his fere uitiis accidunt, ut populus sum uel contemnat uel habeat odio: uiuat inno- cuus de suo; sumptus ad reditus accommodet; refrenet maleficia, et recta institutione suorum praueueniat potius, quam sinat increscere quae deinde punit; leges abrogatas consuetudine haud temere reuocet, praesertim quae diu desitae nunquam desyderatae sunt; neque unquam commissi nomine eiusmodi quicquam capiat, quale priuatam quempiam iudex, uelut iniquum ac uafrum, non pateretur accipere: hic si proponerem illis Maca-rensium legem, qui et ipsi non longe admodum absunt ab Vtopia, quorum rex quo primum die auspicatur imperium,

\textsuperscript{1} That is, recalling, or reviving.
\textsuperscript{2} The case of alderman Sir William Capel is an example in point, who was condemned in the sum of £2,700 under certain obsolete penal laws, though he was allowed to compound with the king (Henry VII) for £1,600.' Gairdner, as before, p. 151.
\textsuperscript{3} Τὸν Μακαριον, 'of the Blessed;' perhaps with a reference to the Fortunaite Insulae, or Islands of the Blessed, with which Utopia, or at least Eutopia, would naturally be associated. Budé wrote concerning this latter that 'it is in fact one of the Fortunate Isles, perhaps very close to the Elysian Fields.'—See above, p. lxxxix.
\textsuperscript{4} This omission must have been
whose kynge, the daye of hys coronacion, is bounde by a solempne othe, that he shall neuer at anye tyme haue in hys treasure aboue a thousande pounde of golde or syluer. They saye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealth and commoditie of hys countrey, then for thenrychinge of himself, made this lawe to be a stop and a barre to kynge for heaping and hording vp so muche money as might impoueryshe their people. For he foresawe that this som of treasure woulde suffice to supporte the kynge in battail against his owne people, if they shuld chaunce to rebell; and also to maintein his warres against the invasions of hys forreyn enemies. Againe he perceived the same stocke of money to be litel, and vsinsufficient to encourage and able him wrongfullye to take a waye other mens goodes; whyche was the chiefe cause while

magnis adhibitis sacrificiis iurijurando astringitur, nunquam se uno tempore supra mille auri pondo in thesauris habiturum, aut argenti, quantum eius auri precium aequet: hanc legem serunt ab optimo quodam rege institutam, cui maiori curae fuit patriae commodum, quam diuitiae suae, uelut obicem aceruandae pecunieae tanteae, quanta faceret inopiam eius in populo: nempe eum thesaurum uidebat suffecturum, siue regi aduersus rebelleis, siue regno aduersus hos-tium incursions esset confiligendum; caeterum minorem esse quam ut animos faciat inuadendi aliena: quae potissima condendae legis

accidental, as the Latin is liberis, 'freemen.' In More's epigram 'Quid inter Tyrannum et Principem,' Legitus immanissimis Rex hoc tyrannis interest; Seruos tyrannus quos regit, Rex liberos putat suos, it is doubtful whether by liberos, as the antithesis of seruos, was meant 'freemen' or 'children.'

1 Compare with this the £1,800,000 which Henry VII is said to have left in his coffers at his decease; a sum to be multiplied by 10, at least, to bring it to a modern equivalent. See Stubbs, *Medieval and Modern History*, p. 411; and Gairdner, as before, p. 209. 

2 The rendering is here a little clumsy. Burnet: 'He thought that moderate Sum might be sufficient for any Accident; if either the King had occasion for it against Rebels, or the Kingdom against the Invasion of an Enemy; but that it was not enough to encourage a Prince to in-vade other Men's Rights.' The last words perhaps point rather to 'foreign invasion.'
the lawe was made. An other cause was this. He thought that by thys provision his people shuld not lacke money, wherewith to maynteyne their dayly occupieng and chaffayre. And seynge the kynge coulde not chewse but laye owt and bestowe all that came in aboue the prescript some of his stocke, he thought he woulde seke no occasions to doo hys subiectes iniurie. Suche a kynge shalbe feared of euell men, and loued of good men. Thies and suche other informatyons yf I should vse emonge men holy enclined and geuen to the contrariye part, how deaffe hearers, thyncke you, should I haue 1?

' Deaffe hearers douteles' (quod I), 'and in good faith no marueyle. And to speake as I thynke, truelye I can not a lowe that such communicatyon shall be vsed, or suche cownsell geuen, as you be suere shall neuer be regarded nor receaued. For how can so straunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their headdes, whose myndes be all reddye preuented with cleane contrariye persuasyons? Thys scholophilosopie is not vnpleasaunte emonge fryndes in famylier communication; but in the counsellles of kynges, where greate

causa fuit: proxima, quod sic prospectum putauit, ne desit pecunia, quae in quotidiana ciium commutatione ursetur, et quum regi necesse est erogare, quicquid thesauro supra legitimum accreuit modum, non quaesiturum censuit occasionem iniuriae: talis rex et malis erit formidini, et a bonis amabitur,—haec ergo atque huiusmodi si ingererem apud homines in contrariam partem unehementer inclinatos, quam surdis essem narraturus fabulam?

Surdissimis, inquam, haud dubie; neque hercule miror, neque mihi uidentur (ut uere dicam) huiusmodi sermones ingerendi, aut talia danda consilia, quae certus sis nunquam admissum iri. Quid enim prodesse possit, aut quomodo in illorum pectus influere sermo tam insolens, quorum praecoccupauit animos atque insedit penitus

1 See note above, p. 87.
2 Lat. scholastica. We might now say 'academic;' or, as Burnet puts it, 'this philosophical Way of Speculation.'
matters be debated and reasoned wyth great aucthorytye, thies thynges haue no place.'

'That is yt whyche I mente' (quod he), 'when I said phylosophye hadde no place amonge kinges.' 'In dede' (quod I) 'this schole philosophie hath not; whiche thinketh all thynges mete for every place. But ther is an other philosophye more cyuyle, whyche knoweth as ye wolde saye her owne stage, and thereafter orderynge and behauynge herselfe in the playe that she hathe in hande, playethe her parte accordynglye wyth comlynes, utteringe nothynge owte of dewe ordre and fassyon. And thys ys the phylosophye that yowe muste vse. Orels, whyles a commodye ¹ of Plautus is playinge, and the vyle bondemen skoffynge and tryfelynge amongethemselves, yf yowe shoulde sodenlye come vpon the stage in a philosophers apparrrell, and reherse owte of Octauia the place wherin Seneca dysputeth with Nero ²; had it not bene

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¹ This way of spelling comedy may be due to the Greek κωμωδία, but is more likely the result of unconscious assimilation of the vowels.

² The passage referred to is in the second act of Seneca's Octavia. The following lines will serve as a sample:—
better for yowe to haue played the domme persone, then by rehersynge that, which serued nother for the tyme nor place, to haue made suche a tragycall comedye or gally-malfreye? For by bryngynge in other stuffe that no-thynge apperteyneth to the presente matter, yowe must nedys marre and peruert the play that ys in hande, though the stuffe that yowe brynge be muche better. What parte soeuer yowe haue taken vpon yowe, playe that as well as yowe canne, and make the beste of yt; and doo not therefore dysturbe and brynge owt of ordre the hole matter, bycause that an othere, whyche is meryere and bettere, cummethe to yowre remembranCe.

'So the case stondethe in a common wealthe; and so yt ys in the consultatyons of Kynges and prynces. Yf euell opynyons and noughty persuasions can not be vtterly and quyte plucked owte of their hartes; if you can not euen as you wold remedye vyces, whiche vse and custome hath confirmed; yet for this cause yow must not leaue and forsake the common wealth; yow must not forsake the shippe in a tempeste, bycause yowe can not rule and kepe praestiterit egisse mutam personam, quam aliena reci-tando talem secisse tragicomoediam? Corrupens enim peruerterisque praeceptem fabulam, dum diuersa permisces etiam si ea quae tu affers meliora fuerint. Quaecunque fabula in manu est, eam age quam potes optime; neque ideo totam perturbes, quod tibi in mentem uenit alterius quae sit lepidior. 

Sic est in Republica, sic in consultationibus principum. Si radi-citus euelli non possint opiniones prauae, nec receptis usu uitiis mederi queas ex animi tui sententia, non ideo tamen deserenda Respublica est, et in tempestate nauis destituenda est, quoniam youthful days, 'at Christmas tyd (he would) sodenly sometymes stepp in among the players, and, never studying for the matter, make a parte of his owne there presently amonge them,which made the lookers on more sport than all the players besid.'

1 The muta persona. See the marginal note to the Latin.
2 Gallimawfrey is properly a dish made up of various meats minced together; then metaphorically for a confused jumble of things. See the Glossary.
downe the wyndes. No, nor yow muste not labour to dryue into their heades newe and straunge informatyons\(^1\), whyche yow knowe well shalbe nothyng e regarded wyth them that be of cleane contrary mindes. But you must with a crafty wile and a subtell trayne studye and ende-uoure your selfe, asmuch as in yow lyethe, to handle the matter wyttylye and handsomelye for the purpose; and that whyche yowe can not turne to good, so to order it that it be not very badde. For it is not possible for all thynges to be well, onles all men were good: which I thynke wil not be yet thyss good menye yeares.'

'By thys meanes' (quod he) 'nothyng elles wyll be broughte to passe, but, whyles that I goo abowte to remedy the madnes of others, I should be euen as madde as they. For if I wolde speake thynges\(^a\) that be trewe, I muste neades speake suche thinges. But as for to speake false thynges, whether that be a philosophers part, or no, I can not tell; truely it is not my part. Howebeit thys commun-icatyon of myne, thoughpe peraduenture it maye seme vpblesaunte to them, yett can I not see whie it should seme straunge, or foolissshelye newfangled. If so be that

\(^a\) suche thynges.

uentos inhibere non possis. at neque insuetus et insolens sermo inculcandus, quem scias apud diversa persuasos pondus non habi-turum; sed obliquo ductu conandum est atque adnitudum tibi, uti pro tua uirili omnia tractes commode, et quod in bonum nequis uertere, efficias saltem ut sit quam minime malum. Nam ut omnia bene sint fieri non potest, nisi omnes boni sint: quod ad aliquot abhinc annos adhuc non expecto.

Hac, inquit, arte nihil fieret aliiud, quam ne dum aliorum furori mederi studeo, ipse cum illis insaniam. Nam si uera loqui uolo, talia loquar necesse est. Caeterum falsa loqui, sit ne philosophi, nescio: 63 certe non est meum. Quanquam ille meus sermo ut fuerit fortasse ingratus illis atque molestus, ita non uideo cur uideri debeat usque

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\(^1\) 'Discourses' (Burnet).
I shoulde speake those thynges that Plato fayneth in hys weale publique, or that the vtopians do in theires; thies thinges though they were (as they be in dede) better, yet they myghte seme spoken owt of place; for a smuch\textsuperscript{a} as here amonges us, euerye man hath hys possessyons seuerall to hymselfe, and there all thinges be common.

But what was in my communication conteyned, that mighte not and oughte not in anye place to be spoken? sauynge that to them whyche haue throughlye decreed and determined with them selfes to rome\textsuperscript{b} hedlonges the contrary waye, it can not be acceptable and plesaunt; because it calleth them backe, and sheweth them the ieopardies. Verilye yf all thynges that euell and vitiouse maners haue caused to seme inconueniente and noughte should be refused, as thinges vnmete and reprochefull, then we must emong Christen people wyncke at\textsuperscript{1} the moste parte of all those thynges whyche Christe taughte vs, and so streytlye forbadde them to be wyncked at, that those thinges also whyche he whispered in the eares of

\textsuperscript{a} as much.\textsuperscript{b} runne.

ad ineptias insolens. Quod si aut ea dicerem, quae fingit Plato in sua Republica, aut ea quae faciunt Vtopienses in sua, haec quanquam essent, ut certe sunt, meliora, tamen aliena uideri possint, quod hic singulorum priuatae sunt possessiones, illic omnia sunt communia.

Mea uero oratio\textsuperscript{2}, nisi quod ad eos qui statuissent secum ruere diuersa uia praecipites iucundus esse non potest, qui reuocet ac praemonstret pericula, alioquin quid habuit, quod non ubiuis dici uel conueniat uel oporteat? Equidem si omittenda sunt omnia tanquam insolentia atque absurda, quae cunque peruersi mores hominum fece- runt ut uideri possint aliena, dissimulemus oportet apud Christianos pleraque omnia quae CHRISTVS docuit, ac dissimulari usqueadeo uetuit, ut ea quoque quae ipse in aures insusurasset suis, palam in tectis

\textsuperscript{1} That is, connive at the neglect of; or, as Burnet puts it, 'give over pressing.'
\textsuperscript{2} There is here a confusion of two constructions, oratio . . . iucunda, and meas uero sermo (the reading of ed. 1563 iucundus.)
hys dyscyoples, he commaunded to be proclaymed in open howses. And yet the most parte of them is moore dissi-
dent from the maners of the worlde nowe a dayes then my communicatyon was. But preachers, slye and wilie men, followynge your cownsell (as I suppose), becaus they saw men euel willing to frame theyr manners to Christes rule, they haue wrested and wriede hys doctryne, and lyke a rule of leade haue applyed yt to mennys maners; that by some meanes at the leaste waye they myghte agree to gether. Wherby I can not see what good they haue doone, but that men may more sickerlye be euell. And I truelye shoulde preuaile euell asmuche in kinges coun-
selles. For other I muste saye other wayes then they saye, and then I were as good to saye nothynge; or els I muste saye thesame that they saye, and (as Mitio saieth in Terence) helpe to further their madness. For that craftye wyle and subtillye traine of yours, I can not perceaeue

\[\text{as little.}\]

iusserit praedicari. Quorum maxima pars ab istis moribus longe est alienior quam mea fuit oratio: nisi quod concionatores, homines callidi, tuum illud consilium securi, puto, quando mores suos homines ad Christi normam grauatim paterentur aptari, doctrinam eius uelut regulam plumbeam accommodauerunt ad mores, ut aliquo saltem pacto coniungerentur sic liet. qua re nihil uideo quid profecerint, nisi ut securius liceat esse malos; atque ipse profecto tantundem proficiam in consiliis principum. Nam aut diversa sentiam, quod perinde fuerit ac si nihil sentiam; aut eadem, et ipsis adiutor sim, ut inquit Mitio Terentianus, insaniae. Nam obliquus ille ductus non uideo quid sibi uelit, quo censes adnitendum, si non possint omnia

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1 Lat. *palam in tectis,* openly on the house-tops.' Comp. St. Luke xii. 3.
2 Compare what Dr. Richard Sibbes wrote of the *rule of faith,* that *it is a fixt and unchangeable rule, and therefore we must bring all to it, not it to all.* Exposition of Phil. III., 1639, p. 170.
3 Ter. *Adelphi,* i. 2. 65:--'Verum si augem, Aut etiam adiutor sim eius iracundiae, Insaniam profecto cum illo.' Burnet omits the reference to Terence altogether.
4 The position of *sicliet* at the end of a sentence is not uncommon in Plautus. Comp. Captivi, ii. 2. 33, 'Nunc vivatne, necne, id Orcum scire oportet sicliet.'
of Utopia.

to what purpose it serueth; wherewyth yow wolde haue me to studdy and endeououre my selfe, yf all thynges can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomely for the purpose; that, as farre furth as is possible, they maye not be very euell. For there\(^1\) is no place to dissemble in nor to wincke in. Noughtye counsellles must be openlye allowed, and verye pestylent decrees muste be approued. He shalbe countede worse then a spye, yea almoste as euell as a traytoure, that wyth a faynte harte doth prayse euell and noyesome decrees.

'Moreouer a man canne haue no occasyon too doo good, chauncynge into the companye of them, whyche wyll sonere make noughte\(^a\) a good man, then be made good themselfes; throughe whose euell companye he shalbe marred, or els yf he remayne good and innocent, yet the wyckednes and folysshenes\(^b\) of others shalbe imputed to hym, and layde in hys necke\(^3\). So that yt is impossyble wyth

\[^a\] peruerete. \[^b\] folye.

reddi bona, tamen ut tractentur commode, fiantque quoad licet quam minime mala. Quippe non est ibi dissimulandi locus, nec licet conniuere: approbanda sunt aperte pessima consilia, et decretis pestilentissimis subscribendum est. Speculatoris uice fuerit, ac pene proditoris etiam, qui improbe consulta maligne laudauerit.

Porro nihil occurrit in quo prodesse quicquam possis, in eos delatus collegas, qui uel optimum uirum facilius corruperint quam ipsi corrigitur; quorum peruersa consuetudine uel deprauaberis, uel ipse integer atque innocens alienae malitiae stultitiaequae praetexeris;

\(^1\) The word 'there' is emphatic, answering to the Latin \textit{ibi}. Burnet brings out the sense more clearly: 'For in Courts they will not bear with a Man's holding his Peace, or conniving at what others do.'

\(^2\) Lat \textit{maligne}. Compare the \textit{sub luce maligna} of Virgil. The expression means 'to give a stinting approval to,' or 'damn with faint praise.'

\(^3\) To lay in one's neck, or (as below, p. 251) to \textit{set} in one's neck, seems to imply fastening on, or imputing; the metaphor being derived from setting on dogs to the neck of a hunted animal. The Romans had a similar usage: 'Cogitabat legiones ad Urbem adducere, et in cervicibus nostris collocare.'—Cic. \textit{Ad Fam.} xii. 23.
that craftye wyle and subtell trayne to turne any thing to better.

'Wherfore Plato by a goodly simylitude declareth whie wise men refreyn to medle in the common wealth. For when they see the people swarm in to the stretes, and dailie wett to the skin wyth rayne, and yet can not persuade them to goo owt of the rayne, and to take their houses; knowynge well that if they shoulde goo owte to them, they shoulde nothynge preuayle, nor wynne ought by it, but be wett also in the rain; they do kepe them selfes within their howses; beynge content that they be saffe them selfes, seynge they can not remedye the follye of the people.

'Howe be it dowteles, mayster Moore (to speke truelye as my mynde geueth me), where soeuer possessyons be pryuate, where moneye beareth all the stroke, it is hard but with them be. soeuer omitted.
tantum abest ut aliquid possit in melius obliquo illo ductu conuertere.

Quam ob rem pulcherrima similitudine declarat Plato, cur merito sapientes abstineant a capessenda Republica. Quippe quum populum uideant in plateas effusum assiduis imbribus perfundi, nec persuadere queant illis ut se subducant pluuiae, tectaque subeant; gnari nihil profuturos sese si excent, quam ut una compluantur, semet intra tecta continent; habentes satis, quando alienae stultitiae non possunt mederi, si ipsi saltem sint in tuto.

Quanquam profecto, mi More (ut ea uere dicam, quae meus animus fert) mihi uidetur, | ubicunque priuatae sunt possessiones, ubi omnes 65

1 More gives the gist of the passage, which is found in the Republic, Bk. vi. § 496: 'Such a man keeps quiet and confines himself to his own concerns, like one who takes shelter behind a wall on a stormy day, when the wind is driving before it a hurricane of dust and rain; and when from his retreat he sees the infection of lawlessness spreading over the rest of mankind, he is well content, if he can in any way live his life here untainted in his own person by unrighteousness and unholy deeds' (Davies and Vaughan's Translation).

2 We retain this idiom in the use of misgive: 'my mind misgave me.'

3 That is, 'has all the influence.' Halliwell illustrates this use of the word from Stanihurst's Description of
and almost impossible that there the weale publyque maye iustelye be gouerned and prosperouslye floryshe. Onles you thynke thus: that Lustyce is there executed, wher all thynges come into the handes of euell men; or that prosperitye their floryssheth, where all is deuyded amonge a fewe; whyche fewe neuertheless do not leade their lyues very wealthely, and the resydewe lyue myserablye, wretchedlye, and beggerlye.

'Wherefore when I consyder wyth my selfe, and weye in my mynde, the wyse and godlye ordynaunces of the Vtopyans, amonge whome wyth verye fewe lawes all thynges be so well and wealthelye ordered, that vertue is had in pryce and estimatyon; and yet, all thynges beynge ther common, every man ha(t)h abundance of every thynge: agayne, on the other part, when I compare wyth them so manye natyons euer makyng new lawes, yet none of them all well and suffycyentlye furnysshed wyth lawes; where every man calleth that he hath gotten hys owne proper and pryuate goodes; where so many newe omnia pecuniis metiuntur, ibi uix unquam posse fieri ut cum Republica iuste agatur aut prospere, nisi uel ibi sentias agi iuste, ubi optima quaeque perueniunt ad pessimos, uel ibi feliciter, ubi omnia diuiduntur in paucissimos; nec illos habitos undecunque commode, caeteris uero plane miseris.

Quam ob rem quum apud animum meum reputed prudentissima atque sanctissima instituta Vtopiensium, apud quos tam paucis legibus tam commode res administrantur, ut et uirtuti precium sit, et tamen aequatis rebus omnia abundant omnibus; tum ubi his eorum moribus ex aduerso comparo tot nationes alias, semper ordinantes, nec ullam satis ordinatam unquam earum omnium, in quibus quod quisque nactus fuerit suum uocat priuatum; quorum tam multae indies con-

Ireland, p. 38—'This house, as well for antiquitie as for the number of worshipful gentlemen that be of the surname, beareth no small stroke in the English pale of Ireland.'

1 On this, the basis of the Utopian commonwealth, see the Introduction, p. xxxvi, n. 3. In addition to what is there said, the reader may be referred to some sensible remarks by Dr. W. Cunningham, in his Growth of English Industry, 1890, p. 94 n.
lawes daylye made be not suffycyente for euerye man to enioye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that whych he calleth his owne; which thyng the infinyte contro-
uersies in the lawe, that daylye ryse neuer to be ended, playnly declare to be trewe: thies thynges (I say) when I consider with me selfe, I holde well with Plato, and doo no thyng marueyll that he wolde make no lawes for them that refused those lawes, wherby all men shoulde haue and enioye equall portions of welthes and commodities. For the wise man dyd easily forsee, that thys is the one and onlye waye to the wealthe of a communaltye, yf equaltye of all thynges sholde be broughte in and sta-
blyshed. Whyche I thynke is not possible to be obsuerued, where euerye mans gooddes be proper and peculyare to him selfe. For where euerye man vnder certeyne tytles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe asmuch as he can, and so a fewe deuide amonge themselfes all

a dayle rysynge.  

b so that.

ditate leges non sufficiunt uel ut consequatur quisquam, uel ut tueatur, uel ut satis internoscat ab alieno illud quod suum inuicem quisque priuatum nominat: id quod facile indicant infinita illa tam assidue nascentia quam nunquam finienda litigia:—haec, inquam, dum apud me consydero, aequior Platoni fio, minusque demior designatam illis leges ferre uallas, qui recusabant eas quibus ex aequo omnes omnia partirentur commoda. Siquidem facile praecuidit homo pru-
dentissimus, unam atque unicam illum esse uiam ad salutem publi-
cam, si rerum indicatur aequalitas; quae nescio an unquam possit obseruari, ubi sua sunt singulorum | pròpria. Nam quum certis 66
titulis quisque quantum potest ad se convierit, quantacunque fuerit rerum copia, eam omnem pauci inter se partiti reliquis relinquant

1 The story is told by Diog. Laertius, *De Vitis Philosoph.*, ed. 1594, p. 200 C.  
1 Refert Pamphila in vigesimo quinto Commentario rum, Arcadas ac Theba-

nos, condita ciuitate ingenis magnitudinis, rogasse illum vt eam rem-
publicam instrueret: quos quum ille didicisset aequalitatem sectari nolle, profectum non esse' (Lat. tr.). More may, however, have taken the anec-
dote from Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 42. Neither author mentions that the state in question was the newly-founded Megalopolis in Arcadia, though Laertius hints as much, by calling it μεγάλην 


νόλιν.
the riches that there is, be there neuer so muche abundance and strore, there to the resydewe is lefte lacke and pouertye. And for the moste parte yt chaunceth that thys latter sort is more worthye to enioye that state of wealth, then the other be; bycause the rych men be couetous, craftye, and vnprofytable: on the other parte, the poore be lowlye, symple, and by their daily labour more profytable to the common welthe then to them selfes.

'Thus I doo fullye persuade me selfe, that no equall and iuste distrubutyon of thynges can be made; nor that perfecte wealthe shall euer be among men; onles this propriety be exiled and bannished. But so long as it shal

* all the whole riches.

inopiam; fereque accidunt ut alteri sint alterorum sorte dignissimi; quum illi sint rapaces, improbi atque inutiles; contra hi modesti uiri ac simplices, et cotidiana industria in publicum quam in semet benigniores.

Adeo mihi certe persuadeo, res aequabili ac iusta aliqua ratione distribui, aut feliciter agi cum rebus mortalium, nisi sublata prorsus proprietate, non posse; sed manente illa, mansuram semper apud

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1 Latimer repeats More's complaint, but he will not admit the cause of the evil to be the same. 'And here,' he says, 'I have occasion to speak of the proprieties of things: for I fear, if I should leave it so, some of you would report me wrongfully, and affirm that all things should be common. I say not so. Certain it is that God hath ordained proprieties of things, so that that which is mine is not thine; and what thou hast I cannot take from thee. If all things were common, there could be no theft, and so this commandment, Non facies suorum, "Thou shalt not steal," were in vain.' The true communism, he continues, is that taught us by St. Paul: Sitis necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes; 'Help the necessity of those which be poor.' 'Our good is not so ours that we may do with it what us listeth; but we ought to distribute it to them which have need.'—Sermons, ed. 1844, pp. 406-407.

2 This sounds rather rhetorical. But perhaps More had in mind a passage from the Menippus of Lucian, in which the trial of the rich is described. The crimes alleged against them are, in the words of his own translation, 'violentia, superbia, fastus, iniuriae.' Part of the penalty decreed by the Plutonian court is that their souls shall inhabit the bodies of asses on earth for 250,000 years.—See the Lucubrationes, ed. 1563, p. 301.

3 The alteration seems to show that Robynson did not feel it right to make riches the subject of is. But he elsewhere uses the word as a singular, in the same form as the French richesse.
contynew, so long shal remayn among the most and best part of men the heuy and ineuitable burden of pouerty and wretchednes. Which, as I graunt that it may be sumwhat eased, so I vtterly deny that it can holy be taken away. For if ther wer a statute made, that no man should possesse aboue a certeine measure of ground\textsuperscript{1}, and that no man should haue in his stocke aboue a prescrípte and appointed some of money; if it were by certeine lawes decreed that nether the king should be of to greate powre, nether the people to provd\textsuperscript{a} and wealthye; and that offices shold not be obtained by inordinate suyte or by brybes and giftes; that they should nether be bought nor sold, nor that it sholde be nedeful for the officers to be at any cost or charge in their offices: for so occasion is geuen to the officers\textsuperscript{b} by fraud and rauin to gather vp their money again\textsuperscript{2}, and

\textit{multo maximam multoque optimam hominum partem egestatis et erumnarum anxiam atque ineuitabilem carcinam. Quam ut fateor leuari aliquantulum posse, sic tolli plane contendo non posse. Nempe si statuatür ne quis supra certum agri modum possideat, et uti sit legitémis cuique census pecuniae; si fuerit legibus quibusdam cautum, ut neque sit princeps nimium potens, neque populus nimis insolens; tum magistratus ne ambiatur, neu dentur uenum, aut sumptus in illis fieri sit necesse: aloquín et occasio datur per fraudem ac rapinas}

\textsuperscript{1} Some limitation of this kind, as regards the acquisition of fresh farms by landed proprietors, was attempted by a bill of 1548. See the Introduction to the \textit{Discourse of the Common Weal of... England, ed. 1893, pp. xvi, xlvi.}

\textsuperscript{2} That is, to recoup themselves for what they have had to lay out. Latimer, in his Fifth Sermon before King Edward VI (April 5, 1549), inveighed against the abuse which More here has in his mind:\textemdash One will say, peradventure, "You speak unseemly and inconveniently, so to be against the officers for taking of rewards in doing pleasures. Ye consider not the matter to the bottom. Their offices be bought for great sums; now how should they receive their money again but by bribing? Ye would have them undone. Some of them gave two hundred pound, some five hundred pound, some two thousand pound; and how shall they gather up this money again [Robynson's phrase], but by helping themselves in their office"? Still more vigorously, in the Last Sermon before the King, he assails the takers of bribes in office,
of Utopia.

by reason of giftes and bribes the offices be geuen to rich men, which shoulde rather haue bene executed of wise men; by such lawes, I say, like as sickie bodies that be desperat and past cure, be wonte with continual good cherissing to be kept vp\(^a\), so thies euelles also might be lightened and mytygated. But that they may be perfectlye cured and brought to a good and vpryght state, it is not to be hoped for, whiles euery man is maister of his owne to hym selfe. Yea, and whyles yow goo abowt to do your cure of one part, yow shall make bygger the sore of an other parte: so the healpe of one causeth anothers harme, for as much as nothynge can be geuen to annye man\(^b\), onles that be taken from an other.\(^1\)

'But I am of a contrary opinion' (quod I) 'for me thynketh that men shal neuer there lyue wealthelye, where all thynges be commen. For how can there be abundaunce of gooddes, or of any thing, where euery man with draweth his hande from labour? whome the regarde

\(^a\) kept and botched vp for a time.  
\(^b\) one.

sarciondæ pecuniae, et fit necessitas eis muneribus praeficiendi diuites, quae potius fuerant administranda prudentibus: talibus, inquam, legibus, quemadmodum aegra assiduis solent fomentis fulciri corpora deploratae valetudinis, ita haec quoque mala leniri quaeant ac mitigari: ut sanentur uero atque in bonum redeant habitum, nulla omnino 67 spes est, dum | sua cuique sunt propria. Quin dum unius partis curae studes, aliarum uulnus exasperaueris. ita mutuo nascitur ex alterius medela alterius morbus, quando nihil sic adici cuuiquam potest, ut non idem adimatur alii.

At mihi, inquam, contra uidetur, ibi nunquam commode uiui posse, ubi omnia sint communia. Nam quo pacto suppetat copia rerum, uno quoque ab labore subducente se; utpote quem neque sui quaestus

and declares that 'it will never be merry in England, till we have the skins of such.' See pp. 185, 260 of Latimer's Sermons, as before.

\(^1\) 'Remembering always the great, palpable, inevitable fact—the rule and root of all economy—that what one person has, another cannot have,' Ruskin: Unto this last, ed. 1893, p. 171. Compare also Bacon's dictum: 'whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost' (Essay of Seditions and Troubles), and the illustrative passages collected there by Mr. Reynolds.
of his owne gaines driueth not to woorke, and the hoope that he hath in other mens trauayles maketh hym slowthfull. Then when they be prycked with pouertye, and yet no man can by any law or right defend that for his owne, which he hath gotten wyth the laboure of his owne handes, shall not ther of necessitie be continuall sedition and bloodshed? specially the authoritie and reuerende of magistrates being taken away; which what place it maye haue wyth suche men, amonge whome is no difference, I can not deuise.' 'I maruell not' (quod he) 'that you be of this opinion. For you conceaue in your mynde other none at all, or els a very false ymage and symylitude of thys thynge.' But yf yow hadde bene wyth me in Vtopia, and hadde presently sene their fasshions and lawes, as I dyd, whiche liued ther v. yeares and moore, and wolde neuer haue commen thence, but only to make that new lande knowen here; then dowteles you wold

urget ratio, et alienae industriae fiducia reddit segnem? At quum et stimulentur inopia, nec quod quisque fuerit nactus, id pro suo tueri ulla possit lege, an non necesse est perpetua caede ac seditione laboretur? sublata praesertim autoritate ac reuerentia magistratuum; cui quis esse locus possit apud homines taleis, quos inter nullum discrimin est, ne comminisci quidem queo. Non miror, inquit, sic iuder i tibi, quippe cui eius imago rei aut nulla succurrit aut falsa. Verum si in Vtopia fuisses mecum, moresque eorum atque instituta uidisses praesens, ut ego feci, qui plus annis quinque ibi uixi, neque unquam uluissem inde discedere, nisi ut nouum illum orbem prode-

1 More, speaking in the person of Hythloday, does not meet the force of this objection directly. To find an answer to it, he points to the state of things prevailing in Utopia. The only possible answer to it would appear to be, that work should be done from new and higher motives, not from mere considerations of self-interest. So done, it would bring about the state of things in the socialist's dream:—

'All work is now pleasurable; either because of the hope of gain in honor and wealth, with which the work is done . . . or else, because it is grown into a pleasurable habit, as is the case with what you may call mechanical work.'—W. Morris: News from Nowhere, 1890, p. 127.
of Utopia.

graunt, that you neuer sawe people well ordered, but only there.’

‘Surely’ (quod maister Peter), ‘it shalbe harde for you to make me beleue, that ther is better order in that newe lande, then is here in thies countreys that wee knowe. For good wyttes be aswell here as there; and I thynke owr commen wealthes be auncienter than theires: wherein long vse and experience hath fownde owt many things commodious for mannes life, besides that many things here amonge vs haue bene founde by chaunce, whych no wytte colde euer haue deyseyd.’

‘As towchynge the auncyetnes’ (quod he) ‘of common wealthes, than ¹ you might better iudge, if you had red the histories and chronicles of that lande; which if wee may beleue, cities were there, before there were men a here. Now what thinge socuer hitherto by witte hath bene deuisd, or found by chaunce, that myghte be aswell there as here. But I thynke verily, though it were so that we did passe them in witte, yet in studye and b laboursome endeououre they farre passe vs. For (as there Cronicles

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¹ men were.

rem; tum plane faterere populum recte institutum nusquam alibi te uidisse quam illic.

Atqui profecto, inquit Petrus Aegidius, aegre persuadeas mihi, melius institutum populum in nouo illo quam in hoc noto nobis orbe reperiri; ut in quo neque deteriora ingenia et uetustiores opinor esse quam in illo Republicas, et in quibus plurima ad uitam commoda longus inuenit usus; ut ne adiciam apud nos casu reperta quaedam, quibus excogitandis nullum potuisset ingenium sufficere.

Quod ad uetustatem, inquit ille, rerum attinet publicarum, tum pronunciare posses rectius, si historias illius orbis perlegisses; quibus si fides haberii debet, priius apud eos erant urbes quam homines apud nos. Iam uero quicquid hactenus uel ingenium inuenit, uel. casus repperit, hoc utrobique potuit extitisse. Caeterum ego certe puto, ut illis praestemus ingenio, studio tamen atque industria longe a tergo relinquimus. Nam (ut ipsorum habent annales) ante appulsam illuc

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¹ That-is, then.

² More correctly, existere.
testifie) before our arriuall ther they neuer harde any thinge of vs, whome they call the ultraequinoctialles; sauinge that ones about .M.CC. yeares ago, a certein shyppe was loste by the Ile of Vtopia whiche was driuen thither by tempest. Certeyn Romayns and Egyptyans\(^1\) were caste on lande, whyche after that neuer wente thence.

‘Marke nowe what profyte they tooke of thys one occasion, through delygence and earneste truaile. There was no craft nor scyence within the impery\(^2\) of Rome, wher of any profyte could rise, but they other lerned it of thies straungers, or els, of them taking occasion to searche for yt, fownde it owte. So great proffyte was it to them that euer annye wente thyther from hence\(^3\). But yf annye lyke chaunce before thys hath brought any man from thence hether, that is as quyte out of remembraunce, as this also perchaunce in time to come shalbe forgotten that euer I was there. And like as they quickelye, almooste at the first

\[\text{nostrum de rebus nostris (quos illi vocant Vltraequinoctialeis) nihil unquam quicquam audierant, nisi quod olim annis abhinc ducentis supra mille, nauis quaedam apud insulam Vtopiam naufragio periiit, quam tempestatas eo detulerat. Eiecti sunt in littus Romani quidam, atque Aegyptii, qui postea nunquam inde discessere.} \]

\[\text{Hanc unam occasionem uide quam commodam illis sua fecit industria. Nihil artis erat intra Romanum imperium, unde possit aliquis esse usus, quod non illi aut ab expositis hospitibus didicerint, aut acceptis quarerendi seminibus adiu Maherat. tanto bono fuit illis aliquos hinc semel illuc esse delatos. At siqua similis fortuna quempiam antehac illinc hoc perpulerit, tam penitus hoc obliteratum est, quam istud quoque forsanc excidet posteris, me aliquando illic fuisse. Et ut} \]

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\(^1\) The joining of these two seems to point to a ship of Alexandria, such as conveyed St. Paul to Rome. ‘About 1200 years’ before the *Utopia* was written would bring us to the end of the reign of Diocletian (ob. A.D. 313); but it is not likely that More had any reason beyond mere fancy for naming this particular time.

\(^2\) That is, empire (*imperium*).

\(^3\) This does not express the sense very well. Burnet has: ‘So happily did they improve that Accident, of having some of our People cast upon their Shore.’
meting, made their owne, what so euer is among vs wealthy\(^1\) deuysed; so I suppose it wold be longe befor we wolde receaue any thing that amonge them is better instytuted then amonge vs\(^2\). And thys I suppose is the chiefe cause whie theyr common wealtthes be wyselyere gouerned, and do florysh in more wealth then ours; though wee nother in wytte nor in\(^a\) ryches be ther inferiours.'

'Therfore, gentle maister Raphaell' (quod I) 'I praye you and besche yow describe vnto vs the Iland. And study not to be shorte; but declare largely in order their groundes, there ryuers, their cities, theire people, theire manners, their ordenaunces, ther lawes, and, to be short, al thinges that you shal thinke vs desierous to knowe. And you shal thinke vs desierous to know what soeuer we knowe not yet.' 'There is nothing' (quod he) 'that I will

\(^a\) in omitted.'

illi uno statim congressu quicquid a nobis commode inuentum est fece-runt suum; sic diu | futurum puto, priusquam nos accipiamus quic-[67] quam, quod apud illos melius quam nobis est institutum. Quod unum maxime esse reor in causa, cur quum neque ingenio neque opibus inferiores simus eis, ipsorum tamen res quam nostra prudentius administretur, et felicius efflorescat.

Ergo, mi Raphael, inquam, quae so atque obsecre, describe nobis insulam; nec uelis esse breuis, sed explices ordine agros, fluuios, urbes, homines, mores, instituta, leges, ac denique omnia quae nos putes uelle cognoscere: putabis autem uelle quicquid adhuc nescimus.

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\(^1\) That is, 'well.' See the Glossary.

\(^2\) The slowness of our countrymen to adopt new ideas, or to admit improvements discovered by foreigners, has often been remarked. It is hard to select instances in so wide a field, but the proverb 'they manage these things better in France' may be readily illustrated—to take but a single example—from Evelyn's Diary. Compare his entries under Dec. 24, 1643, where he speaks of the flat stone pavement in the streets of Paris, and contrasts it with 'our pebles in London'; or under Aug. 30. 1653, where he describes the recent drainage works in the fens of Lincolnshire, suggested by similar works in Holland, at which the inhabitants, 'consisting of a poore and very lazy sort of people,' were much displeased.
do gladlier. For all these thinges I haue freshe in mind. But the matter requireth leasure. ‘Let vs go in therfor’ (quod I) ‘to dinner: afterward we will bestowe the time at our pleasure.’ ‘Content’ (quod he) ‘be it.’ So we went in and dyned.

When diner was done, we came into the same place again, and sate vs downe vpon the same benche, commandung our seruauntes that no man should trowble vs. Then I and maister Peter Giles desiered maister Raphaell to performe his promise. He therefore seinge vs desierous and willinge to harken to him, when he had sit still and paused a litle while, musing and bethinkynge himself, thus he began to speake.

The ende of the ffyrste boke.


Pransi, in eundem reuersi locum, in eodem sedili consedimus, ac iussis ministris ne quis interpellaret, ego et Petrus Aegidius hortamur Raphaelem ut praestet quod erat pollicitus. Is ergo ubi nos uidit intentos atque auidos audiendi, quum paulisper tacitus et cogitabundus assedisset, hunc in modum exorsus est.

PRIMI LIBRI
FINIS*.

* Addunt A. et B. sequitur secundus.

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1 This may have been suggested by the way in which Cicero introduces the discourse, in the early part of his Brutus, § 24: ‘Sed quo facilius sermo explicetur, sedentes, si videtur, agamus. Quum idem placuisset illis, tum in pratulo propter Platonis statuam consedimus.’
REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE WOODCUT OF THE ISLAND OF UTOPIA
The second
Boke of the communication
of Raphael Hythlodaye, concernyng
the best state of a common wealthe: con-
teynyng the discription of Vtopia,
with a large declaration of the
Godly* goernement, and of
all the good lawes and
orders of the same
Ilande.

The Ilande of Vtopia conteyneth in breadthe in the
myddell part of it (for there it is brodest) CC. miles.
Whiche bredthe continueth through the moste parte of the
lande, sauyng that by lytle and lytle it commeth in and
* politike.

SERMONIS QVEM

RAPHAEL HYTHLODAEVS DE OPTI
MO REIP. STATV HABVIT, LI
BER SECVNDVS, PER THO
MAM MORVM CIVEM
ET VICECOMITEM
LONDINENSEM ¹.

VTOPIENSIVM INSVLA in media sui parte (nam hac latissima
est) millia passuum ducenta porrigitur, magnumque per insulae
spatium non multo angustior, fines uersus paulatim utrinque

¹ A. and B. have the shorter title: Reip. statu, per Thomam Morum.
Raphaelis Hythloedi sermo de optimo Liber secundus.
waxeth narrower towards both the endes. Whiche fetchynge about a circuite or compasse of .v.c.1 myles, do fassion the hole Ilande lyke to the newe mone2. Betwene thys two corners the sea runneth in, diuuydyng them a sonder by the distaunce of .xi. miles or there aboutes, and there surmounteth into a large and wyde sea3, which, by reason that the lande of every syde compasseth it about, and shiltreteth it from the windes, is not rough nor mountith not with great waues, but almost floweth quietlye, not muche vnlike a great standing powle; and maketh almooste4 al the space within the bellye of the lande in maner of a hauen; and to the great commoditie of the Inhabitauntes receaueth in shyppe towards euyry parte of the lande. The forefrontes or frontiers of the .ii. corners, what wythe fordys and shelues, and what with rockes, be very ieoperdous and daungerous5. In the middel distaunce betwene

a welniege.

tenuatur. hi uelut circunducti circino quingentorum ambitu millium, insulum totam in lunae speciem renascentis effigiant4. Cuius cornua fretum interfluens millibus passuum plus minus undecim dirimit, ac per ingens inane diffusum, circumiectu undique terrae prohibitis uentis, uasti in morem lacus, stagnans magis quam saeuens, omnem prope eius terrae aluum pro portu facit, magnoque hominum usu naues quaqua uersus transmittit. fauces | hinc uadis inde saxis formidolosae. 71

1 That is, five hundred.
2 The editions of 1516 and 1518 illustrate this description by a woodcut, giving a bird's-eye view of the island, which was reproduced, in smaller size, in the Lucubrationes of 1563. See the Introduction, § 5.
3 The island is conceived of as something in the shape of a horse-shoe, the two ends of it only eleven miles apart. Between these extremities, as between two projecting moles of a harbour, the sea flows in, expanding on the concave side of the crescent into a vast, sheltered bay.

4 The verb effigiare is found in Prudentius. See also the Cornucopiae (ed. 1513), col. 754.
5 As a fair specimen of the difference in style between the older translation and Burnet's, and also as helping to make the description clearer, the opening section in Burnet's rendering may be given here:—

'The Island of Utopia is in the Middle two hundred Miles broad, and holds almost at the same Breadth over a great Part of it; but it grows narrower towards both Ends. Its Figure is not unlike a Crescent: Between its Horns
them both standeth vp aboue the water a great rocke, which therfore is nothing perillous because it is in sight. Vpon the top of this rocke is a faire and a strong towre builded, which thei holde with a garison of men. Other rockes ther be, that lyeth hidde vnder the water, and therefore be daungerous. The channelles be knownen onely to themselves. An therfore it seldome chaunceth that any straunger, oneles he be guided by a Vtopian, can come in to this hauen. In so muche that they themselfes could skaselie entre without ieoperdie, but that their way is directed and ruled by certaine lande markes standing on the shore. By turning, translatyenge, and remouinge this markes into other places, they maye destroye their enemies nauies, be thei neuer so many. The out side of the lande is also full of hauens; but the landing is so surely

a lyinge.  

b which.  
c o ytter circuete of.

In medio ferme interstitio una rupeis eminet, eoque inaedificatam turrim praeidio tenent: caeterae latentes et insidiosae. Canales solis ipsis noti; atque ideo non temere accidit ut exerus quisquam hunc in sinum, nisi Vtopiano duce, penetret; ut in quem uix ipsis tutus ingressus est, nisi signis quibusdam et litoire uiam regentibus. His in diuersa translatis loca, hostium quamlibet numerosam classem facile in perniciem traherent. Ab altera parte non infrequentes portus.  

a nusquam ... non, A.

the Sea comes in eleven Miles broad, and spreads itself into a great Bay, which is environed with Land to the Compass of about five Hundred Miles, and is well secured from Winds: In this Bay there is no great Current; the whole Coast is, as it were, one continued Harbour, which gives all that live in the Island great Convenience for mutual Commerce: But the Entry into the Bay, occasioned by Rocks on the one hand, and Shallows on the other, is very dangerous.'

1 Still used provincially for 'and.'  
2 That is, transferring, or changing. The word is still used in its literal sense of changes in episcopal sees. The reader will be inclined to apostrophize the one poor Latin term, *translatis*, in the words of Quince to Bottom, as he marks how Robynson struggles with it.  
3 On this and other repellent features of the Utopian character, as drawn by More, see the Introduction, § 4, p. xlvii.
defenced, what by nature and what by workmanshyp of mans hande, that a fewe defenders maye dryue backe many armies.

Howbeit, as they saye, and as the fascination of the place it selfe doth partely shewe, it was not euer compassed about with the sea. But kyng Vtopus, whose name as conquerour the Iland beereth (for before that tyme it was called Abraxa), which also brought the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection, in al good fassions, humanitie, and ciuile gentilnes, wherin they now go beyond al the people of the world; euen at his first arriuinge and enteringe vpon the lande, furth with obteynynge the victory caused .xv. myles space of vplandyshe grounde, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and dygged vp; and so brought the sea rounde aboute the lande. He set to thys worke not only the inhabitauntes of the Ilande (because they should not thynke it done in contumelye and

descensus in terram ita natura munitus, aut arte, ut ingentes copiae paucis inde queant propugnatoribus arceri.

Caeterum, uti fertur, utique ipsa loci facies prae se fert, ea tellus olim non ambiebatur mari. Sed Vtopus, cuius utpote uictoris nomen refert insula (nam ante id tempus Abraxa dicebatur) quique rudem atque agrestem turbam ad id, quo nunc caeteros prope mortales antecellit, cultus humanitatisque perduxit, primo protinus appulsu victoria potitus, passuum milia quindecim, qua parte tellus continenti adhaesit, exscindendum curuit, ac mare circum terram duxit. Quumque ad id operis non incolas modo coegisset (ne contumeliae loco laborem ducerent)

1 It is not easy to say whether More had any special idea in his mind, when he devised this name. He may have intended to express the notion of roughness or ruggedness, as Strabo did by his derivation of the river-name Araxes. Or possibly, as he calls the name of the river of Amaurote 'Waterless' (Anydrus), he may have meant something of the same kind by Abraxa, as if Αβρέκτος, 'not rained upon.'
despyte), but also all hys owne soldiours. Thus the worke, beyng diuyded into so great a numbre of worke-men, was with exceeding maruelous spede dyspatched: In so muche that the borderers, whiche at the fyrst began to mocke and to gieste at thys vayne enterpryse, then turned theyr laughter to marueyle at the successe, and to feare.

There be in the Ilande .liii.1 large and faire cities or shiere townes, agreyng all together in one tonge, in lyke maners, institucions, and lawes. They be all set and situate a lyke, and in all poyntes fashioned a lyke, as farfurth as the place or plotte suffereth. Of thies ctyes they that be nighest together be xxii. myles a sonder. Again there is none of them distaunt from the next aboue one dayes iorneye a fote.

There cum yearly to Amaurote out of every ctye .iii. olde men, wyse and well experienced, there to entreate and sed suos praeterea milites omnes adiungeret, in tantam hominum multitudinem opere distributo, incredibili celeritate res perfecta; finitimosque a (qui initio uanitatem incoepti riserant) admiratione successus ac terrore perculerit.

70 Insula ciuitates habet | quatuor et quinquaginta, Oppida Vtopiae insulae.
[72] spatiosas omnes ac magnificas, lingua, moribus, institutis, legibus prorsus iisdem. idem situs omnium, Similitudo concordiam facit. eadem ubique quatenusper locum licet rerum facies.
Harum quae proximae inter sunt b, millia quatuor Vrbium inter se mediocre interuallum.
ac uiginti separat. Nulla rursus est tam deserta, e qua non ad aliam urbem pedibus queat unius itinere diei perueniri.

Ciues quaque ex urbe terni senes ac rerum periti tractatum de

* que om. A. Legend, ut finitimos. b inter se sunt, A.

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1 In England and Wales together we now reckon fifty-two shires; but in Harrison's *England* (ed. by Furnivall, 1877), pp. 96, 97, the number is given as fifty-three. Monmouthshire is there classed as a Welsh county, making thirteen; and the county of Richemond, in place of it, keeps up the English number to forty. As undersheriff of London, More may have been often reminded that the City was a county in itself; and thus, perhaps, his number of fifty-four was made up.
debate of the common matters of the lande. For thys cytie (because it standeth iust in the myddes of the Ilande, and is therfore moste mete for the embassadours of all partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and head cytie. The precinctes and boundes of the shieres be so commodiously appoynted out, and set furth for the cyties, that neuer a one of them all hath of anye syde lesse then xx. myles of grounde, and of som syde also muche more, as of that part where the cyties be of farther distaunce a sonder. None of the cities desire to enlarge the boundes and lymites of their shieres. For they count them selfes rather the good husbandes, then the owners of their landes.

They haue in the countrey in all partes of the shiere howses or fermes buylded, wel appointed and furnyshed with all sortes of instrumentes and tooles belongyng to husbandrie. Thies houses be inhabited of the cytezens, whiche cum thyther to dwel by course. No howsholde

* that none.

rebus insulae communibus quotannis conueniunt Amaurotum. Nam ea urbs (quod tanquam in umbilico terrae sita maxime iacet omnium partium legatis opportuna) prima princepsque habetur. Agri ita commode ciuitatibus assignati sunt, ut ab nulla parte minus soli quam xx a passuum millia una quaeuis habeat, ab aliqua multo etiam amplius; uidelicet qua parte longius urbes inter se disiunguntur. Nulli urbi cupidido promouendorum finium. Quippe quos habent, agricolas magis eorum se, quam dominos, putant.

Habent ruri per omnes agros commode dispositas domos, rusticis instrumentis instructas. Hae habitantur ciuiibus per uices eo commigrantibus. Nulla familia rus-

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1 But yet, as said before, so as not to exceed a day's journey on foot.
2 The marginal note in the Latin calls attention to this love of territorial aggrandizement as one of the great plagues of the time. See above, p. 81, for examples.
or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then .xl.\(^1\) persones, men and women, besydes two bonden men, whiche be all vnder the rule and order of the good man and the good wyfe of the house, beynge bothe very sage and discrete\(^a\) persones. And euery .xxx. fermes or famelies haue one heade ruler, whiche is called a Phylarche\(^2\), being as it were a hed baylyffe. Out of euery one of thies fermes or fermes cummeth euery yeare into the cytie .xx. persones whiche haue contynewed .ii. yeres before in the countrey. In their place so manye freshe be sent thither out of the citie\(^3\), whiche of them that haue bene there a yeare all ready, and be therfore expert and conninge in husbandry, shalbe instructed and taught; and they the next yeare shall teache other. This order is vsed, for feare that other skarsenes of victualles or some other like incommoditie shuld chaunce through lacke of knowledge, yf they should be al together newe and fresh and vn-experte in husbandrie. This maner and fassion of yearlye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of husbandrie,

\(^a\) discrete and aunciente.

tica in uiris mulieribusque pauciores habet quam quadraginta, praeter duos ascriptitios seruos, quibus pater materque familias graues ac maturi praeficiuntur; et singulis tricenis familiiis philararchus unus. E quaque familia uiginti quotannis in urbem remigrant, hi qui bien-nium ruri compleuere. In horum locum totidem recentes ex urbe subrogantur, ut ab his qui annum | ibi fuere, atque ideo rusticarum peritiores rerum, instituantur; alios anno sequente docturi: ne, si pariter omnes ibi noui agricolationisque\(^4\) rudes essent, aliquid in annona per imperitiam peccaretur. Is innouandorum agricolarum mos etsi solemnis sit, ne quisquam inuitus asperiorem uitam cogatur

\(^1\) In Dibdin's edition (Boston reprint, 1878, p. 234) this is for some reason given as 'fifty persons.'

\(^2\) See the note below, p. 124. The description of this officer as a sort of head bailiff, is inserted by Robynson from what More says a little later on.

\(^3\) The benefit of such an alternation of town and country life, where attainable, is obvious. See W. Morris's News from Nowhere, 1890, p. 19.

\(^4\) The word *agricolatio* is found in Columella.
though it be solemne and customablie vsed, to thintent that no man shall be constrained against his wil to continewe longe in that harde and sharpe\(^1\) kynde of lyfe, yet manye of them haue suche a pleasure and delete in husbandrye, that they obteyne a longer space of yeares. Thies husbandmen plowe and till the grounde, and bryde\(^2\) vp cattell, and make\(^*\) readye woode, whiche they carrye to the cytie, other by lande or by water, as they maye moste conuenyently. They brynge vp a greate multytude of pulleyne, and that by a meruelous policie. For the hennes doo not syt vpon the egges: but by kepynge them in a certayne equall heate, they brynge lyfe into them, and hatche them\(^3\). The chykens, assone as they be come owte of the shell, followe men and women in steade of the hennes.

\(^{*}\) prouide and make.


\(^1\) Lit. 'the rougher life'—of the husbandman.
\(^2\) That is, *breed.*
\(^3\) The now familiar process of artificial incubation is alluded to by Bacon as something which rested only on hearsay. 'Eggs, as is reported by some, have been hatched in the warmth of an oven.' *Nat. Hist. Cent.* ix. § 856. But Pliny had referred to it long before as practised in Egypt. *Hist. Nat.* x. 54. There is a curious passage relating to the same subject in *The Voyage and Travaile* of Sir John Maundeville, ed. 1883, p. 49, where, speaking of Cairo, he says: 'There is a comoun Hows in that Cytee, that is fulle of smale Furneys; and thidre bryngen Wommen of the Toun here Eyren of Hennes, of Gees and of Dokes, for to ben put in to tho Furneyses. And thei that kepren that House coveren hem with Hete of Hors Dong, with outen Henne, Goos or Doke or any other Fowl; and at the ende of 3 Wekes or of a Monethe, thei comen ayen and taken here chikenes and norisssche hem and bryngen hem forthel'. Even Sir John, however, does not cite the additional marvel with which More concludes his description.
They bryng vp very fewe horses; nor non, but very fearce ones; and for none other vse or purpose, but only to exercyse their youthe in rydynge and feates of armes. For oxen be put to all the labour of plow-ynge and drawyng. Whiche they graunte to be not so good as horses as sodeyne brunt, and (as we saye) at a dead lifte; but yet they holde opinion, that oxen wyll abyde and suflre much more laboure and payne then horses wyl. And they thinke that they be not in daunger and subiecte vnto so manye dysseases, and that they bee kepte and maynteyned wyth muche lesse coste and charge; and fynally that they be good for meate when they be past labour.

They sowe corne onlye for bread. For their drynke is other wyne made of grapes, or els of apples or peares,

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1 Burnet’s rendering, ‘full of mettle,’ is better.
2 The thought may have been suggested by a passage in the *Republic*, Bk.V. §467 (tr. by Davies and Vaughan): ‘We must put them [the children] on horseback at the earliest possible age; and when we have taught them to ride, we must take them to see the fighting, mounted, not on spirited animals, or good chargers, but on horses selected for speed and docility.’
3 ‘Sodeyne brunt’ and ‘dead lifte’ (that is, a lift or pull when there is no way or momentum on the load to make it easier) represent the single word *impetus* in the Latin.
4 Burnet, more concisely: ‘Wine, Cyder, or Perry.’
5 A word found in some MSS. of Quintilian, *Instit. x. 3. 10*, instead of *efferentes se*, as an epithet of *equos*. The *Cornucopiae* gives it.
or els it is cleane water; and many tymes methe made of honey or liqueresse sodde in water\(^1\), for therof they haue great store. And though they knowe certeynlye (for they knowe it perfetly in dede), how much victayles the cytie with the hole countrey or shiere rounde a boute it dothe spende; yet they sowe much more corne, and bryed vp muche more cottell, then serueth for their own vse. And the ouerplus they parte\(^a\) amonge their borderers. What soeuer necessary thynges be lackynge in the countrey, all suche stuffe they fetche out of the citie; where without anye exchaunge they easelye obteyne it of the magistrates of the citie. For euyere moneth manye of them goo into the cytie on the hollye daye. When theyr haruest daye draweth nere and is at hande, then the Philarches\(^2\), whiche

\(^a\) partynge the overplus.

aquam nonnunquam meram; saepe etiam qua mel aut glycyrazim incoxe-rint, cuius haud exiguum habent copiam. Quum exploratum habeant (habent | enim certissimum) quantum annonae consumat urbs, et circumiectus urbi conuentus, tamen multo amplius et sementis faciunt et pecudum educant, quam quod in suos usus sufficiat, reliquum impartituri finitimis. Quibuscunque rebus opus est, quae res ruri non habentur, eam supellectilem omnem ab urbe petunt, et sine ulla rerum commutatione a magistratibus urbanis nullo negocio consequuntur. Nam illo singulo\(^3\) quoque

\(^1\) The drink here described as made by an infusion of honey or liquorice, may have been a kind of mead, as Robynson takes it. Harrison, in his Description of England, Bk. II. (ed. 1877, p. 161), speaks slightly of a beverage known by this name, made by the Essex goodwives ‘with honi-combs and water,’ but not to be compared with the true metheglin, with which mead is sometimes identified. The word appears, however, to have been sometimes used in a more general sense, as by Milton, when he represents Eve as preparing to entertain the angel guest:—

‘for drink the grape
She crushes, inoffensive must, and
meaths
From many a berry, and from sweet
kernels press’d
She tempers dulcet creams.’

\(^2\) The change of spelling (see above, p. 121) is only capricious, and not meant to indicate a derivation from φιλαρχοι instead of φιλαρχοι. For the officers themselves, see below, p. 135.

\(^3\) The singular is found in Plautus, Cist. iv. 2. 36.
be the hed officers and bayliffes of husbandrye, sende woorde to the magistrates of the citie, what nombre of haruest men is nedefull to bee sente to them out of the cytie. The whiche companye of haruest men, beyng there\(^a\) readye at the daye appoynted, almoste in one fayre daye dispatcheth all the haruest woorke. (\ldots\)

\(^a\) there omitted.

mense plerique ad festum diem conueniunt. Quum frumentandi dies instat, magistratibus urbanis agricolarum phy-
larchi denunciant, quantum ciuium numerum ad se mitti conueniat; quae multitudo frumentatorum, quum ad ipsum diem opportune adsit, uno prope sereno die tota frumen-
tatione defunguntur.
Of the cyties and namely of Amaurote.

As for their Cyties, he that knoweth one of them knoweth them all: they be all so lyke one to an other, as ferfurth as the nature of the place permytteth. I wyll descriybe therfore to yowe one or other of them, for it skylleth not greatly whych; but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthiest and of moste dignitie. For the resydwe knowledge it for the head cytie, because there is the councell house. Nor to me any of them al is better beloued, as wherin I lyued fyue hole yeares together.

A who so.

DE VRBIBVS, AC NOMINA

TIM DE AMAVROTO.

VRBium qui unam norit, omnes nouerit: ita sunt inter se (qua-tenus loci natura non obstat) omnino similes. Depingam igitur unam quampiam (neque enim admodum refert quam). Sed quam potius quam Amaurotum? qua nec ulla dignior est, quippe cui senatus gratia reliquaque deferunt, nec ulla mihi notior, ut in qua annos quinque descriptio perpetuo uixerim.

1 The name is evidently derived from ἀμαυρός, 'dim,' whence ἀμαύρωσις, 'obscuration,' &c. Baumstark, in his Thomas Morus, 1879, p. 90, oddly interprets the word by 'mauerlos,' 'without walls,' though he adds just after that 'die Stadt ist mit Thürmen, Bollwerken und Mauern befestigt.' A passage in Mr. John Watney's Account of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acons, 1892, p. 115, shows that London in More's time, as now, was subject to fogs; and possibly there may have been some thought of this in the author's mind, as his Amaurotum is evidently drawn with reminiscences of London. But most likely the name was only meant to convey the same impression of vagueness or non-existence as Utopia itself.

2 An anglicism.

3 Deferre in the sense of 'defer to,' is
The cytie of Amaurote standeth upon the syde of a low hill, in fashion almoste four square. For the bredeth of it begynneth a little benethe the toppe of the hyll, and styll contyneweth by the space of twoo miles vntyll it cum to the ryuer of Anyder. The lenghte of it whiche lyeth by the ryuers syde is sumwhat more.

The ryuer of Anyder\textsuperscript{1} rysethe xxiii. myles aboue Amaurote owte of a lytle sprynge. But beynge increasede by other small floodes\textsuperscript{a} and broukes that runne into yt, and amonge otheh .ii. sumwhat bygge ons, before the cytye yt ys halfe a myle brode, and farther broder. And .lx.\textsuperscript{b} myles beyonde the citye yt falleth into the Ocean sea. By al that space that lyethe betwene the sea and the cytye, and a good sorte of\textsuperscript{c} myles also aboue the cytye, the water ebbethe and flowethe vi. houres togethre wyth a swyfte tyde. Whan the sea flowethe in for the lenghte of xxx. myles, yt fyllethe all the Anyder wyth salte water,

\textsuperscript{a} riuers. \textsuperscript{b} fortie. \textsuperscript{c} and certen.

Situm est igitur Amaurotum in leni deiectu montis, figura fere quadrata. Nam latitudo eius paulo infra collis incoepa uerticem, milli bus passuum duobus ad flumen Anydrum pertinet, secundum ripam aliquanto longior.
Oritur Anydrus milibus octoginta supra Amaurotum, modico fonte, sed aliorum occursu fluminum, atque in his duorum etiam mediocrium, auctus, ante urbm ipsam quingen- tos in latum passus extenditur. Mox adhuc amplior, sexaginta milia prolapsus, excipitur oceano. Hoc toto spacio, quod urbem ac mare interiacet, ac supra urbem quoque aliquot milia, sex horas perpetuas influens aestus ac refluus alternat celeri flumine. Quum sese pelagus infert, triginta in longum milia, totum Anydri alueum suis occupat

\textsuperscript{1} Anyder, or rather Anydrus, '\textit{Aunydrus, waterless},' is a name in keeping with the rest. The description of it, in some particulars, would accord with that of the Thames; and this resem-

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\textsuperscript{a}---

late Latin. The construction probably arose from an ellipse of \textit{honorem}, note which follows. But the measurements would not by any means agree. From London Bridge to the Nore is about 45 miles, not 60; and the length of stream above bridge to its source is about 160 miles, not 24.
and dryueth the backe the fresshe water of the ryuer. And 
sumwhat furthere yt chaungethe the swetenes of the 
freshe water wyth saltynes. But a letell beyonde that, the 
ryuer waxeth swet, and runneth forby the city fresh and 
pleisaunt. And when the sea ebbeth, and goyth backe 
agayn, the freshe water followeth yt almoste eu to the 
verye falle in to the sea.

There goeth a brydge ouer the ryuer made not of pyles 
or of tymber, but of stonewarke, with gorgious and 
substanciall archeis at that parte of the cytye that is 
farthest from the sea; to the intent that shyppes maye 
goo alonge forbie all the syde of the cytie without lette. 
They haue also an other ryuere, whiche in dede is not 
very great. But it runneth gentelly and pleasauntlye.

undis, profligato retrorsum fluuio. Tum aliquanto ultra liquorem eius 
salsugine corrumpit; dehinc paulatim dulcescens amnis syncerus 
urbem perlabitur, ac refugientem uicissim purus et incorruptus ad 
ipsas propre fauces insequitur.

Vrbs aduersae fluminis ripae, non pilis ac sublicibus ligneis sed ex 
opere lapideo egregie arcuato ponte, commissa est, ab 
ea parte quae longissime distat a mari, quo naues 
totum id latus urbis possint inoffensae praeteruehi. 
Habent alium praeterea fluuium, haud magnum qui-
dem illum, sed perquam placidum ac iucundum. Nam ex eodem

1 The German vorbei, 'past.'
2 According to Maitland, Hist. of London, 1739, p. 34, the old London 
Bridge, of stone, was begun in 22 Hen. II, and finished 10 John 
(1209).
3 A reminiscence to some extent of the Flete river. Our barbarous treat-
ment of rivers and streams is of very old standing, and More's description 
of this tributary of the Anyder sets forth what the Flete, with the other
For it ryseth euen out of the same hyll that the cytie standeth vpon, and runneth downe a slope through the myddes of the citie into Anyder. And because it ryseth a lytle without the citie, the Amaurotians haue inclosed the head sprynge of it with stronge fences and bulwarkes, and so haue ioyned it to the cytie. Thys is done to the intente that the water should not be stopped, nor turned a waye, or poysioned, if their enemyes should chaunce to come vpon them. From thence the water is deryued and brought downe in cannellis of brycke dyuers waves into the lower partes of the cytie. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place wyll not suffer it, there they gather the rayne water in greate cisternes, which doth them as good seruice.

The cytie is compassed aboute wyth a highe and thycke walle, full of turrettes and bulwarkes. A drye dyche, but deape and brode and overgrowen with busshes, briers, and thornes, goeth about .iii. sydes or quarters of the cytie. To the fowrth syde the ryuer it selfe serueth for a dytche.

scaturiens monte, in quo ciuitas collocatur, medium illam per deuexa perfluens Anydro miscetur. Eius fluuii caput fontemque, quod paulo extra urbem nascitur, munimentis amplexi Amaurotani iunxerunt oppido, ne si qua uis hoistium ingruit, intercipi atque auerti aqua, neue corrumpi queat. Inde canalibus coctilibus diversim ad inferiores urbis partes aqua diriuatur. id sicubi locus fieri uetat, cisternis capacibus collecta pluvia tantundem usus adfert.

Murus altus ac latus oppidum cingit, turribus ac propugnaculis frequens, arida fossa, sed alta lataque, ac ueprium sepibus impedita, tribus ad lateribus circumdat moenia, quarto flumen ipsum pro fossa est. Plateae cum ad

1 Comp. 2 Kings xviii. 17.
2 For an example of this on a large scale, see Davis: Carthage and her remains, 1861, p. 393. We have not yet learnt to husband our rain-water.
3 The ditch or moat surrounding the Tower of London may have been in More's mind. This was not, however, drained and planted till 1843.
The stretes be appoynted and set forth verye commodious and handsome, bothe for carriage and also agaynst the wyndes. The houses be of fayre and gorgious buyldyng, and in a the streete syde they stonde ioyned together in a longe rowe throughe the hole streate without anye partition or separatcion. The stretes be twenty fote brode.

On the backe syde of the houses, through the hole lengthe of the strete, lye large gardeynes, whyche be closed in rounde about with the backe parte of the stretes. Every house hath two doores; one into the strete, and a posternne doore on the backsyde into the gardyne. Thyes doores be made with two leaues, neuer locked nor bolted, so easye to be opened that they wil followe the least drawing of a fynger and shuttle agayne by themselfes. Everye man that wyll maye goo yn, for there is nothynge wythin the howses that ys pryuate, or anyne mannes owne. And euerye x. yeare they change their howses by lotte.

\[\text{a on.}\]
\[\text{b [whyche ... in] inclosed.}\]
\[\text{c alone.}\]
\[\text{d [Euyry ... that] Whoso.}\]

1 This is a lax rendering. The sense is: 'a long row of buildings, stretching the whole length of the streets, makes a fine spectacle, as the fronts of the houses face you.'

2 See the Introduction, §2, p. xxx.

3 Community of dwelling-houses was included in the general communism of the Republic. 'No one,' so it was provided, 'should have a dwelling or storehouse, into which all who please may not enter.'—Davies and Vaughan's translation, p. 116.
They set great store by their gardens. In them they have vineyards, all manner of fruit, herbs, and flowers, so pleasing, so well furnished, and so finely kept, that I never saw anyplace more fruitful nor better trimmed in any place. Their study and diligence herein not only of pleasure, but also of a certaine stryffe and contentyon that is betwene strete and strete, concerning the trimming, husbanding, and furnishing of their gardens, euery man for hys owne part. And verily you shall not lightly fynde in all the citye anye thing that is more commodious, other for the profyte of the citizens, or for pleasure. And therfore it may seem that the first foundery of the city mynded nothynge so muche as he dyd a thies gardeyns.

For they say that kyng Vtopus himself, even at the first begenning, appointed and drew furth the platte fourme of

a he dyd omitted.

Hos hortos magnificiunt. in his uineas, fructus, herbas, flores, habent, tanto nitore cultuque, ut nihil fructuosius usquam uiderim, nihil elegantius. qua in re studium horum non ipsa uoluptas modo, sed uicorum quoque inuicem de suo ciusque horti cultu certamen accendit. et certe non aliud quicquam temere urbe tota reperias, sine ad usum 77 ciuium, siue ad uoluptatem com|modius. eoque nullius rei, quam huiusmodi hortorum, maiorem habuisse curam uidetur is qui condidit. Nam totam hanc urbis figuram, iam inde ab initio descriptam ab

1 The London of Mores time was not without its vineyards, unlikely as that may now seem. Vine Street, Saffron Hill, took its name from the adjacent vineyard of Ely Place. There was another at Westminster, near St. John’s Church. Vinegar-yard, Drury Lane, is the Vinegarth yard. An extensive vineyard, where wine was made and sold, existed near what is now Addison Road Station, till the latter end of last century. See Faulkner’s Hammersmith, p. 42.

2 The reference is to Virgil. Georg. iv. 118:

Forsitan et pingues hortos quae cura colendi
Ornaret, canerem, &c.
This part of his subject, which Virgil left unfinished, was followed out by Columella, and after him by René Rapin.
the city into this fasion and figure that it hath nowe; but
the gallaunt garnishing, and the bewtiful setting furth of
it, wherunto he sawe that one mans age wold not suffice,
that he left to his posterity. For their Cronicles, which
they kepe written with al diligent circumspection, contei-
ing the history of m. viic. lx.\(^1\) years, even from the fyrste
conquest of the Iland, recorde and witnessse that the
howses in the beginning were verye lowe, and lyke
homelye cotages, or poore shepparde howses, made at all
aduentures of euerye rude pyece of woode\(^a\) that came
fyrste to handes, wyth mudde walles, and rydged roofes
thatched ouer with straw\(^2\). But nowe the houses be
curiously builded, after a gorgiouse and gallaunt sort, with
.iii. storries one ouer another\(^3\). The owte sydes of the

\(^a\) tymber.

ipso Vtopo ferunt. Sed ornatum, caeterumque\(^a\) cultum, quibus unius
actatem hominis haudd suffiecturam uidit, posteris adiciendum reliquit.
Itaque scriptum in annalibus habent, quos ab capta usque insula
mille septime torum ac sexaginta annorum complectentes historiam
diligenter et religiose perscriptos adseruant, aedes initio humiles, ac
veluti casas et tuguria fuisse, e\(^b\) quolibet ligno temere factas, pa-
rieties luto obductos, culmina in aciem fastigiata stramentis operue-
rant. At nunc omnis domus uisenda forma tabulorum trium.

\(^a\) ornatum caeterumque om. A. \(^b\) om. A.

\(^1\) That is, 1760.

\(^2\) Even as late as Evelyn's time, this
description would apply to many parts
of England. Salisbury he describes,
in 1653, as a city which at small cost
might be purg'd and render'd infinitel-
ity agreeable, and made one of the
sweetest townes; but now the common
buildings are despicable and the streets
dirty.' Uppingham about the same
time is remarkable for being 'well
builte of stone, which is a rarity in
that part of England, where most of
the rural parishes are but of mud.'—
Diary, ed. 1890, pp. 233. 235.

\(^3\) According to Martin (Mediaeval
Houses and Castles in England, 1862,
p. 9) the addition of even a second
storey was of comparatively recent
introduction. 'Late in the fifteenth
and at the beginning of the sixteenth
century the houses of the preceding
period were almost universally altered.
The hall was divided into two stories.
Being no longer required for the enter-
tainment of a feodal retinue, a smaller
height was sufficient; and the altered
customs of the time rendered addi-
tional bed-room accommodation neces-
sary. Both purposes were answered
walles be made other of harde Flynte or of plauster, or elles of brycke; and the ynner sydes be well strengthened with tymber woorkê. The roofses be playne and flatte, couered with a certayne kinde of plaster, that is of no coste, and yet so tempered that no fyre can hurte or peryshe it, and withstandeth the violence of the weither better then anye leade. They kepe the wynde out of their windowes with glasse, for it is there much vsed; and sumwhere also with fyne lynnyn clothe dipped in oyle or

parietum facies, aut silice, aut cementis aut latere coctili constructae, in aluum introrsus congesto rudere. Tecta in planum subducta, quae intritis quibusdam insternunt, nullius impendii, sed ea tempaturae quae nec igni obnoxia sit, et tolerandis temperraturae inuiariis plumbum superet. Ventos e fenestrís uitro (nam eius ibi creberrimus usus est) expellunt; interim etiam lino tenui, quod perlucido oleo aut succino perlinunt,

*Loco verborum aut caementis ... aluum exhibit A. aut lapide duro aut denique coctile [sic] constructae in alueum. Inserit B. denique ante coctili.

* * *

by inserting a floor at the level of the bed-room. From this to the so-called Elizabethan house the transition was almost imperceptible.1

1 It is interesting to compare with this what Harrison wrote in 1577, in his *Description of England*, Bk. II. c. 10 (pp. 233 sqq. in Dr. Furnivall’s reprint, 1877). The houses then were still mostly of timber. The ‘certayne kinde of plaster’ spoken of in the text, is called plaster of Paris by Harrison, made of ‘fine alabaster burned, whereof in some places we haue great plentie, and that verie profitable against the rage of fire.’ A kind of stucco is also described in Erasmus’s Dialogue, *Convivium Religiosum*.

2 Eden (State of the Poor, i. p. 77) infers from Harrison’s description, in the chapter just referred to, that glass windows were not introduced into farm-houses much before the reign of James I. They are mentioned in a lease dated 1614. In the houses of richer people they were probably introduced in the reign of Henry VIII. ‘Of old time,’ says Harrison, ‘our countrie houses, in steed of glasse, did vsue much lattise, and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oke in chekerwise.’ It is not clear what period Harrison meant by ‘of old time,’ but he mentions a specimen of glazing with beryl as still extant at Sudley castle. As for the use of 'panels of horne,' he says that they are now 'quite laid downe in euerie place,' and lattices less used, glass being so plentiful. *Description of England*, as before, pp. 236, 23.

3 *Interim, in the sense of interdum, is found in Seneca and Quin-tilian.*
ambre; and that for two commodities. For by thys meanes more lyght cummeth in, and the wynde is better kept out.

gemino nimirum commodo. Si quidem ad eum modum fit, ut et plus lucis transmittat, et uentorum minus admittat.
Of the Magistrates.

Everye thrty families or fermes chewse them yearlye an offycer, whyche in their olde language is called the Syphograunte\(^1\), and by a newer name the Phylarche. Everye tenne Syphoagrauntes, with all their 300\(^a\) families, bee vnder an offycer whyche was ones called the Tranibore\(^2\), now the chiefe Phylarche.

Moreover, as concerninge the electyon of the Prynce,

\(^a\) thirtie.

DE MAGISTRATIBVS.

Everye thrty families or fermes chewse them yearlye an offycer, whyche in their olde language is called the Syphograunte\(^1\), and by a newer name the Phylarche. Everye tenne Syphoagrauntes, with all their 300\(^a\) families, bee vnder an offycer whyche was ones called the Tranibore\(^2\), now the chiefe Phylarche.

Moreover, as concerninge the electyon of the Prynce,

\(^a\) thirtie.

\(^1\) As the old language of the Utopians is here contrasted with the new, in which the names of the magistrates are of Greek formation, it might be natural to suppose that such words as Syphogranti and Tranibori were meant to be simply unintelligible jargon, like the specimen of Utopian speech given above (p. xciv). But as More tells us later on, that the Utopian language, though in other respects not unlike the Persian, 'keepeth dyuers signes and tokens of the Greke langage in the names of their cityes and of their magistrates' (p. 214), we are encouraged to look for a Greek origin in the words now before us. And it must be admitted that while one of them has a suspicious resemblance to θρανίβορος 'bench-eaters,' the first part, at any rate, of the other recalls οὐφος 'a sty.' Can More have been thinking of the Benchers and Steward (Sty-ward) of his old Inn? It may seem an idle guessing of riddles. But it is certain that in his account of the public meals of the Utopians there are reminiscences of his old life at an Inn of Court. See below, p. 164, where the dining together in 'messes' of four is described.

\(^2\) See the preceding note.
all the Syphoagrauntes, which be in number 200, first be sworn to chewse him whome they thynke moste mete and expedyente. Then by a secrete electyon they name prynce\textsuperscript{1} one of those .iii. whome the people before named vnto them. For owte of the .iii. quarters of the citie there be .iii. chosen, owte of euerye quarter one, to stande for the election, whiche be put vp to the counsell. The princes office contineweth all his liffe time, onles he be deposed or put downe for suspition of tirannye. They chewse the tranibores yearlye, but lightlye they chaunge them not. All the other offices be but for one yeare. The Tranibores euerye thyrde daye, and sumtymes, if neade be, oftener, come into the councell howse with the prynce. Theire councell is concernynge the common wealth. Yf there be annye controuersyes amonge the commoners, whyche be very fewe, they dyspatche and ende them by and by\textsuperscript{2}. They take euer ii. Siphograntes to them in cowncell, and euerye daye a newe coupel. And that ys prouydede that no thynge towchynge the common wealthe shalbe con-

\textsuperscript{1} It is evident from the description that this 'prince' \textit{princeps} is the chief magistrate of each city only, and not king of the whole island. See the Introduction, above, p. xlv.

\textsuperscript{2} Lat. \textit{mature}, 'quickly.' This is the old sense of 'by and by,' as in Luke xxii. 9, 'but the end is not by and by,' where the Revised Version has 'immediately.'
fyrmed and ratified, on les yt haue bene reasonede of and debatede iii. dayes in the cownccell, before yt be decreed. It is deathe to haue annye consultatyon for the common wealthe owte of the cownsell, or the place of the common electyon. Thys statute, they saye, was made to thentente, that the prynce and Tranibores myghte not easely con-spire together to oppresse the people by tyrannye, and to chaunge the state of the weale publique. Therfore matters of greate weyghte and importaunce be brought to the electyon house of the syphograuntes, whyche open the matter to their familyes; and afterwarde, when they haue consulted among them selfes, they shewe their deuyse to the cowncell. Sumtyme the matter is brought before the cowncell of the hole Ilande.

Furthermore thys custome also the cowncell vseth, to dyspute or reason of no matter the same daye that it ys fyrste proposed or putt furthe, but to dyfferre it to the nexte syttynge of the cownsell. Bycause that no man when he hathe rasshelye there spoken that cummeth fyrste a to hys tonges ende, shalt then afterwarde rather studye for reasons wherewyth to defende and confyrme b hys fyrste folyshfe sentence, than for the commodytye of

a fyrste omitted.  
b mainteine.
the common wealthe; as one rather wylynge the harme or hynderaunce of the weale publyque, then annye losse or dymynutyon of hys owne existymatyon; and as one that wolde not for shame (which is a verye folyshe shame) be cowntede\(^a\) annye thynge ouerseen\(^1\) in the matter at the fyrste\(^b\); who at the fyrste owghte to haue spoken rather wysely then hastely or rashelye.

\(^a\) wolde be ashamed \ldots to be. \(^b\) at the firste ouersene in the matter.

blicae usu sint; malitque salutis publicae quam opinionis de se iacturam facere, peruerso quodam ac praepostero pudore, ne initio parum prospexisse uideatur. Cui prospeciedandum initio fuit, ut consulta potius quam cito loqueretur.

1 The Latin means literally 'deficient in foresight.' Halliwell illustrates this use of 'ouersee' in the sense of 'deceived' by a passage from Terence in English, 1614: 'where if thou be ouersee in anything, be it never so little, I shall utterly perish.'

2 Erasmus gives the proverb under the heading 'In nocte consilium' (Adag. ed. 1629, p. 199 b). See also Herod. vii. 12. Erasmus shows the application of the saying to be against rashness or precipitancy; so that this marginal note should rather be attached to the words 'sed infrequentem senatum differatur.'
Of scyences
Craftes and Occupatyons.

Husbandrye is a scyence common to them all in-generall, both men and women, wherin they be all experte and cunnynge. In thys they be all instructe euen from their youth; partely in scholes with traditions and preceptes, and partely in the contrey nighe the cytye, brought vp as it wer in playing, not onlye beholdynge the vse of it, but by occasyon of exercisinge their bodies practising it also.

 Besides husbandry, which (as I sayde) is common to them all, euyery one of them learneth one or other seuerall and particuler science, as hys owne proper crafte. That is most commonly other clotheworkinge in wolle or flaxe, or masonrie, or the smythes crafte, or the carpentes

DE ARTIFICIIS.

Agricola, qui est omnibus uiris mulieribusque promiscua agricultura, cuius nemo est expers. Hac a pueritia erudituntur omnes, partim in schola traditis praeciptis, partim in agros viciniros urbi, quasi per ludum, educti; non intuentes modo, sed per exercitandis corporis occasionem tractantes etiam.

Praeter agriculturam (quae est omnibus, ut dixi, communis) quilibet unam quampilam, tanquam suam, docetur. ea est fere aut lanificium, aut operandi lini studium, aut cemen
tariorum, aut fabri, seu ferrarii seu materiarii, artifi-

1 Robynson has confused educi with educati. What More says is, that all are trained in husbandry from childhood; partly by rules taught in school, and partly by being taken out, as in play, into the fields adjoining their city, which would serve as the best kind of object lesson.

2 More probably specifies this in the first place, as the manufacture of
science. For there is none other occupacyon that anye nymbre to speke of doth vse there. For their garmente, whyche through owte all the Ilande be of one fassion, (sauynge that there is a difference betwene the mans garmente and the womans, betwene the maried and the unmaryed), and this one continueth for euer more unchaunged, semely and comely to the eye, no let to the mouynge and weldeynge of the bodie, also fitte bothe for winter and summer: as for thies garmente (I saye), euery familye maketh theire owne. But of the other foreseyde craftes euerye man learneth one; and not only the men, but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sorte, be put to the easere craftes. They a worke wull and flaxe. The other more laborsome sciences be committed to the men. For the moste parte euerye man is brought vp in

a as to.  
b other omitted.

cium. Neque enim aliud est opificium ullum, quod numerum aliquem dictu dignum occupet illic. Nam uestes, quaram, nisi quod habitu sexus discernitur, et caelibatus a coniugio, una per totam insulam forma est, eademque per omne aevum perpetua, nec ad oculum indecora, et ea corporis motum | habilis, tum ad frigoris aestusque rationem appositas, cas, 8o inquam, quaeque sibi familia conficit. Sed ex aliis illis artibus unus quisque aliquam discit, nec uiri modo, sed mulieres etiam. Caeterum hae, uelut imbeciliores, leuiora tractant. lanam fere linumque operantur. uiris ars reliquae magis laboriosae mandantur. maxima ex parte quisque in

woollen cloths was so important an industry both in Flanders, where he wrote, and in his native country. Masonry may have been placed next, from the great activity in building shown in England during the fiftieth century. See Denton's *England in the Fifteenth Century*, 1888, and Professor Thorold Rogers' Introduction to Gascoigne's *Loci*, 1881, p. xxiv.

1 'I knewe the time,' says one of the interlocutors in *The Common Weal of this Realm of England*, 1549 (ed. 1893, p. 125), 'when men weare contented with cappes, hattes, girdelles, and poyntes and all maner of Garrett made in the townes next adiyninge... Nowe the porest yonge man in a countrye can not be contented either with a lether girdle, or lether pointes, gloues, knyues, or daggers made niche home.'
his fathers craft. For moste commonly they be naturally therto bente and inclined. But yf a mans minde stonde to any other, he is by adoption put into a famelye of that occupation which he doth most fantasy. Whome not only his father, but also the magistrates do diligently looke to, that he be putt to a discrete and an honest householder. Yea and if any person, when he hath lerned one crafte, be desierous to lerne also another, he ys lykewyse suffrede and permytted. When he hathe learned bothe, he occupyethe whether he wyll; onles the cytye haue more neade of the one then of the other.

The chyefe and almoste the onelye office of the Syphograuntes ys to see and take hede that no man sytte ydle, but that everye one applye hys owne crafte wyth earneste delygence; and yet for all that not to be weryed from earlye in the mornyngye to late in the euennynge wyth contynuall woorke, lyke laborynge and toolynge beastes. For thys ys worse then the myserable and wretced con-dytyon of bondemen; whyche neuer the lesse is almoste euerly where the lyffe of woorkemen and artyfycers, sauynge in vtopia. For they, dyuydinge the daye and the nyghte into xxiii. iust houres, appoynte and assygne only

patriis artibus educatur, nam eo plerique natura feruntur. Quod si quem animus alio trahat, in eius opificii, cuius capitur studio, familiam quamiam adoptione traducitur, cura non a patre modo eius, sed magistratibus etiam praestita, ut graui atque honesto patrifamilias mancipetur. Quin si quis unam perdoctus artem aliam praeterea cupiuerit, eodem modo permittitur. Vtramque nactus, utram uelit exercet, nisi alterutra ciuitas magis egeat.

Syphograntorum praecipuum ac prope unicum negocium est, curare ac prospicere ne quisquam desideat ociosus, sed uti suae quisque arti sedulo incumbat, nec ab summo mane tamen, ad multum usque noctem perpetuo labore, uelut iumenta, fatigatus. nam ea plus- quam seruillus erumna est; quae tamen ubique fere opificum uita est, exceptis Vtopiensibus; qui cum in horas uiginti quatuor aequales diem connumerata nocte diuidant,
vi. of those hours to woorke; iii. before none, vpon the whyche they goo streyghte to dyner; and after dyner, when they haue rested ii hours, then they woorke(iii.);
and vpon that they goo to supper. Aboute viii. of the clocke in the euenyng (cowntyng one of the clocke at the fyrste hour after none) they go to bedde. viii. hours they giue to sleape. All the voide time, that is betwene the hours of woorke, slepe, and meate, that they be

sex duntaxat operi deputant; tres ante meridiem, a quibus prandium iunct; atque a prandio duas pomeridianas horas quum interquicuerint, tres deinde rursus labori datas coena claudunt. Quum primam 81 horam ab meridie numerent, sub octaum cubitum eunt. horas octo somnus uendicat. Quicquid inter operis horas ac somni cibique me-

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1 These Utopian hours of labour must have presented a sharp contrast to those actually in use in More's time. By a statute of 11 Hen. VII. (1495-6), cap. 22, it was enacted that every artificer and labourer be at his work, between the midst of the month of March and the midst of the month of September, before five of the clock in the morning, and that he have but half an hour for his breakfast, and an hour and a half for his dinner, of such time as he hath season for sleeping, to him appointed by this said statute; and at such time as is here appointed that he shall not sleep, then he to have but one hour for his dinner, and half an hour for his noon-meat; and that he depart not from his work, between the midst of the said months of March and September, till between seven and eight of the clock in the evening... and that, from the midst of September to the midst of March, every artificer and labourer be at their work in the springing of the day, and depart not till night of the same day.' See Eden's State of the Poor, 1797, i. p. 75, and Cunningham's Growth of English Industry, 1890, p. 476. In 1514 an act was passed, almost identical in terms with this of 1495; but a special exemption had to be made in it in respect of London, where a higher rate of wages prevailed. The subject, as we may thus see, had been very recently brought under More's notice.

2 This would make four o'clock the hour for rising. Cecil, to whom Robynson's translation was dedicated, used to rise at that hour when at St. John's College, Cambridge; a College which had, 'as I have heard grave men of credit report, more candles lighted in it every winter morning before four of the clock, than the four of the clock bell gave strokes.' T. Nash, quoted in Mayor's edition of Ascham's Scholemaster, 1863, p. 277. For More's own custom in this respect, see above, p. 4 n.
suffered to bestowe, euerye man as he lyketh beste hym selfe: not to thyntente they\(^a\) shoulde myspende thys tyme in ryote, or sloughfullenes; but, beynge then lycensed from the labour of theyr owne occupacyons, to bestowe the time wel and thriftely vpon some other good\(^b\) science, as shall please them. For yt ys a solempe custome there, to haue lectures daylye earlye in the morning; wher to be present they onlye be constreined that be namelye chosen and appoynted to learnynge. Howe be yt a greate multy-tude of euerye sorte of people, bothe men and women, goo to heare lectures; some one and some an other, as euerye mans nature is inclyned. Yet, this notwithstanding, yf any man had rathere bestowe thys tyme vpon hys owne occupatyon (as yt chaunceth in manye, whose myndes ryse not in the contemplatyon of annye scyence lyberal), he is not letted nor prohibited, but is also prayed and commended, as profitable to the common wealth.

After supper they bestowe one houre in playe; in somer in their gardeynes, in winter in their commen halles, where they dyne and suppe. There they exercise them selfes in musyke, or els in honeste and holsome communicacion.

\[^a\] that they.

\[^b\] good omitted.

dium esset, id suo cuiusque arbitrio permittitur; non quo per luxum aut segniitem abutatur, sed quod ab opificio liberum ex animi sententia in aliud quippiam studii bene collocet. has intercapedines plerique impendunt literis. Solenne est enim publicas cotidie lectiones haberi antelucanis horis, quibus ut intersint ii dumtaxat adiguntur, qui ad literas nominatim selecti sunt. Caeterum ex omni ordine mares simul ac foeminae, multitudo maxima, ad audiendas lectiones, alii alias, prout cuiusque fert natura, confluit. Hoc ipsum tempus tamen, si quis arti suae malit insumere, quod multis usu ueniit (quorum animus in nullius contemplatione disciplinae consurgit) haud prohibitur: quin laudatur quoque, ut utilis reipublicae.

Super coenam tum unam horam ludendo producunt, Lusus in coenis.
aestate in hortis, liyeme in aulis illis communibus, in quibus comedunt. Ibi aut musicen exercent, aut se sermone
Diceplaye, and suche other folish and pernicious games, they knowe not; but they vse .ii. games not mucche vnlike the chesse. The one is the battell of nombers, wherin one numbre stealethe awaye another. The other is wherin vices fyghte wyth vertues, as it were in battell array, or a set fyld. In the which game is verye properlye shewed bothe the striffe and discorde that vices haue amonge themselfes, and agayne theire unitye and concorde againste vertues; and also what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues; with what powre and strengh they assaile them openlye; by what wieles and subteltye they assaute them secretelye; with what helpe and aide the vertues resiste, and overcomethe puissaunce of the vices; by what craft

recreant. Aleam atque id genus ineptos ac perniciosos ludos ne

cognoscunt quidem. caeterum duos habent in usu

ludos, latrunculorum ludo non dissimiles: alterum,

numerorum pugnam, in qua numerus numerum praeda-

tur: alterum, in quo collata acie cum uirtutibus uitia

confligunt. Quo in ludo perquam scite ostenditur

et uitiwm inter se dissidium, et aduersus uirtutes concordia; item quae uitia quibus se uirtutibus opponant, quibus uiribus aperte

oppugnent, quibus machinamentis ab obliquo adoriantur, quo praesidio uirtutes uitiwm uires infringant, quibus artibus eorum conatus

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1 More is here almost describing by

anticipation the life of his own house-

hold at Chelsea. 'It was one of the

necessities of his dignity at court that

he should have several attendants

when he went out. When they were

not engaged in this service he would

not allow them to remain idle. He

divided his garden into portions, to

each of which he assigned one of his

men as its cultivator. Some learnt to

sing, others to play on the organ; but

he absolutely forbade games of cards

or dice, even to the young gentlemen

in his house.'—Bridget's Life, p. 139.

2 'Playing at Vertues' is the head-

ing of one game for maidens in The

French Garden for English Ladies and

Gentlewomen, 1621, quoted in Brand's

Popular Antiquities. The 'battell of

nombers,' at which one 'makes booty

of (praedatur) another,' might answer

to more than one still-familiar game.

Playing at 'odd and even' is men-

tioned by Plato, Lysis, § 206 E, and

commentators on the Republic, § 422

(sub fin.), tell us that there was 'a

game called "Cities" played with

counters.' See Davies and Vaughan,

as before, p. 121 n.
they frustrate their purposes; and finally by what sleight or means the one g etteth the victory.

But here, lease ¹ you be deceaued, one thinge you muste looke more narrowly vpon. For seinge they bestowe but vi. houres in woork ², perchaunce you maye thinke that the lacke of some necessarye thinges herof may ensewe. But this is nothinge so. For that small time is not only inough, but also to muche, for the stoore and abundance of all thinges that be requisite, other for the necessitie or commoditie of liffe. The whiche thing yow also shall perceau, if you weye and consider with your selfes how great a parte of the people in other contreis lyueth ydle. First, almoost all women, which be the halfe of the hole numbre; or els, if the women be annye ³ where occupied, their most comonlye in their steade the men be ydle. Besydes thys, how great, and howe ydle a companye ys theyr of prystes, and relygyous men, as they call them ³?

eludant, quibus denique modis alterutra pars uictoriae compos fiat.

Sed hoc loco, ne quid erretis, quiddam pressius intuendum est. Etenim quod sex dumtaxat horas in opere sunt, fieri fortasse potest ut inopiam aliquam putes necessariarum rerum sequi. Quod tam longe abest ut accidat, ut id temporis ad omnium rerum copiam, quae quidem ad uitae uel necessitatem requirantur uel commoditatem, non sufficiat modo sed supersit etiam: id quod nos quoque intelligetis, si uobiscum reputetis apud alias gentes quam magna populi pars iners degit. primum mulieres fere omnes, totius summae dimidium; aut, sicubi mulieres negocisae sunt, ibi ut plurimum earum uice uiri stertunt. ad haec, sacerdotum ac religiosorum, quos uocant, quanta quamque ociosa turba.

¹ Lest.
² This is the estimate of the time necessary for labour formed by many modern socialists. 'If six hours' work per diem,' says Marx, 'would suffice to keep the labourer and his family, and he works ten, who gets the benefit of the other four?'—See Woolsey's

Communism and Socialism, p. 162.
³ Compare what Pole is made to say in the Dialogue (p. 156) about the 'grete nombur and vnprofytabul' of 'relygyouse personys'; and the passage in Erasmus's De sarcienda Ecclesiae concordia beginning 'Dolen dum est tam multos esse monachos.'
Put there to all ryche men, specially all landed men, whyche comonly be called gentylmen, and noble men. Take into this numbre also their seruauntes; I meane, all that flocke of stout, bragging, russhe bucklers. Ioyne to them also sturdy and valiaunt beggers, clokinge their idle leffe and under the colour of some disease or sickenes. And truely yow shall find them much fewer then yow thought, by whose labour all these thynges be gotten, that men vse and lyue bye also sturdy and valiaunt beggers, clokinge their idle leffe under the colour of some disease or sickenes. And truely yow shall find them much fewer then yow thought, by whose labour all these thynges be gotten, that men vse and lyue bye.

Nowe consyder wyth youre selfe, of thies fewe that do worke, how few be occupied in necessariis opificiis; siquidem ubi omnia pecuniis metimur, multas artes necesse est exercerii inanes prorsus ac superflua, luxus tantum ac libidinis ministras. nam haec ipsa multitudo, quae nunc operatur, si partiretur in tam paucas artes, quam paucas commodus naturae usus postulat, in tanta rerum abundantia, quanta nunc

adiice diuites omnes, maxime praediorum dominos, quos uulgo generosos appellant, ac nobiles: his adnumera ipso-rum famulitium, totam uidelicet illam cetratorum nebulonum colluuiem: robustos denique ac ualentes mendicos adiunge, morbum quempiam praetexentes inertiae: multo certe pauciores esse quam putaras inuenies eos, quorum labore constant haec omnia quibus mortales utuntur. Expende nunc tecum ex

Prudentissime dictum.

*are* are wrought.  

*b* that in mens affairs are daylye vsed and frequented.

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1 The 'swashbucklers' of Shaksphere; or, to borrow Scott's description of a Highland laird, the 'dozen young lads besides, that have no business, but are just boys of the belt, to follow the laird, and do his honour's bidding.' Dibdin tries, but wrongly, to show that the word means men with bucklers 'as flimsy as rushes.' See Nares's Glossary, s. v.

2 See the Introduction, § 2.

3 That is, life.
ensue, doubtles the prices wolde be to lytle for the artifcyers to maynteayne theyre lyuynges. But yf all thyes, that be nowe bisiede about vnprofitable occupations, with all the hole flocke of them that lyue ydellye and slouthfullye, whyche consume and waste euerie one of them more of thies thynges that come by other mens laboure, then ii. of the work men themselfes doo; yf all thyes (I saye) were sette to proftytable occupatyons, yowe easelye perceau howe lytle tyme wolde be enoughe, yea and to muche, to stoore vs wyth all thynges that maye be re- quysyte other for necessytye, or for comodityye; yea, or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be trewe and naturall.

And thys in Vtopia the thyng ye selfe maketh manifeste and playne. For there in all the citye, wyth the hole contreye or shyere adioynynge to yt, scaselye 500 persons of all the hole numbere of men and women, that be nother to olde nor to weake to woorke, be licensed from a labour. Amonge them be the Siphograuntes, which (though they be by the lawes exempte and pryuyleged from labour) yet they exempte not themselfes ; to the intent they b maye the

esse necesse sit, precia nimirum uiliora forent quam ut artifices inde uitam tueri suam possent. At si isti omnes quos nunc inertes artes distringunt, ac tota insuper ocio ac desidia languescens turba, quorum unus quiiis earum rerum quae aliorum laboribus suppeditantur, quantum duo earundem operatores consumit, in opera uniuersi atque eadem utilia collocarentur, facile animaduerti quum quantum temporis ad suppeditanda omnia, quae uel necessitatis ratio uel commoditatis efflagitet (adde uoluptatis etiam quae quidem uera sit ac naturalis) abunde satis superque foret.

Atque id ipsum in Vtopia res ipsa perspicuum facit. Nam illic in tota urbe cum adiacente uicinia uix homines quingenti a ex omni uirorum ac mulierum numero, quorum aetas ac robur operi sufficit, uacatio permittitur. In hiis syphogranti (quanquam leges eos labore soluerunt) ipsi tamen sese non eximunt, quo facilius exemplo suo reliquos

a B. recte hominibus quingenti.  Al. homines quingenti quibus.
rather by their example proue other to woorke. The same vacation from labour do they also enjoye, to whome the people, persuaded by the commendation of the priestes and secrete election of the Siphograntes, haue geuen a perpetual licence from labour to learnyng. But if any one of them proue nott accordinge to the expectation and hoope of him conceaued, he is furth with plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarye wise, often yt chaunceth that a handicraftes man doth so earnestly bestowe hys vacaunte and spare houres in learninge, and through dilygence so profytte therin, that he is taken frome hys handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned.

Owt of this ordre of the learned be chosen ambassadours, priestes, Tranibores, and finallye the prince him selfe; whome they in their olde tongue call Barzanes¹, and by a newer name, Adamus². The residewe of the people being nother ydle, nother occupied about vnprofitable

¹ It has been before noticed (p. 135), that More describes the Utopian language as being, with the exception of 'divers signs and tokens of the Greek,' 'in all other points not much unlike the Persian tongue.' See below, p 214. The choice of Barzanes for the name of a chief ruler is in accordance with this.

² As the river of the Amaurotes was Anydrus, 'without water,' so the king, by his later Greek name, was Adēmus, 'without people.' Why Robynson turned the name into Adamus, is not clear. He or his compositor may perhaps have been thinking of Adam.

³ Rarenter is post-classical for raro.
exercises, it may be easily judged in how fewe howres how much good woorke by them maye be doone to towards those thinges that I haue spoken of. This commodity they haue also aboue other, that in the most part of necessary occupations they neade not so muche worke, as other nations doo. For firste of all the buildinge or repayring of houses asketh every where so manye mens continuall labour, because that the vnthyfty heyre suffreth the howses that hys father buylded, in contynewaunce of tyme to fall in decay. So that which he myghte haue vpholden wyth lytle coste, hys successoure is constreynede to buylde yt agayne a newe, to hys greate chardge. Yea, manye tymes also the howse that stoode one man in muche moneye, anothere ys of so nyce and soo delycate a mynde that he settethe nothynge by yt. And yt beynge neglected, and therefore shortelye fallynge into ruyne, he buyldethe vppe anothere in an othere place wyth no lesse coste and chardge. But emonge the Vtopyans, where all thynges be sett in a good ordre, and the common wealthe in a good staye, yt very seldome chaunceth, that they chuse a new plotte to buylde an house vpon. And they doo not only finde spedy and quicke remedies for present

paucae horae quantum boni operis pariant. ad ea quae com-
memorauui, hoc praeterea facilitatis accedit, quod in necessariis
plerisque artibus minore opera quam aliae gentes opus habent.
Nam primum aedificiorum aut structura aut refectio
ideo tam multorum assiduum ubique requirit operam,
quod quae pater aedificauit, haeres parum frugi paula-
tim dilabi sinit: ita, quod minimo tueri potuit, successor
eius de integro impendio magno cogitur instaurare. Quin frequenter
etiam quae domus alii ingenti sumptu stetit, hanc alius delicato animo
contemnit: eaque neglecta atque ideo breuii collapsa, aliam alibi
impensis non minoribus extruit. At apud Vtopienses, compositis
rebus omnibus et constituta republica, rarissime accidit uti noua
collocandis aedibus area deligatur; et non modo remedium celeriter
fautes, but also preuente them that be like to fall. And
by this meanes their houses continewe and laste very
longe with litle labour and small reparaeions; in so much
that that kind of woorkemen sumtimes haue almost
nothinge to doo; but that they be commanded to hewe
timbre at home, and to square and trime vp stones, to the
intente that if annye woorke chaunce, it may the spedelie
rise.

Now 1, Syre, in their apparell marke, I praye yow, howe
few woorkemen they neade. Fyrste of all, whyles they
be at woorke, they be couered homely with leather or
skinnes that will last vii. yeares. When they go furthe
a brode, they caste vp upon them a cloke, whyche hydeth
the other homelye apparell. Thyes clookes thoroughe owte
the hole Ilande be all of one colour, and that is the
naturall colour of the wul. They therfor do not only
spende muche lesse wullen clothe then is spente in othere
contreys, but also the same standeth them in mucho lesse
coste. But lynen clothe ys made wyth lesse laboure, and

praesentibus uitiis adhibetur, sed etiam imminentiis occurritur.
Ita fit ut minimo labore diutissime perdurent aedificia, et id genus arti-
fices uix habeant interdum quod agant; nisi | quod materiam dolare 85
domi et lapides interim quadrare atque aptare iubentur, quo (si quod
opus incidat) maturius possit exurgere.

Iam in uestibus uide quam paucis operis egeant: primum, dum in
opere sunt, corio neglectim aut pellibus amiciuntur,
quae in septennium durent. quum procedunt in pub-
licum, superinducunt chlamydem uestem, quae rudiores
illas uestes contegat. eius per totam insulam unus color est, atque is
natiuus. Itaque lanei panni non modo multo minus quam a usquam
alibi sufficit, uerum ipse quoque multo minoris impedii est. at
lini minor est labor, coque usus crebrior. sed in lineo solus candor,

* sic A. recte pro quae.

1 Robynson shows, though a little
cumbrously, his knowledge of the force
given to a sentence by beginning with

Iam. Burnet's 'As to their Cloaths,
observe how little Work is spent in
them,' though simpler, ignores this.
ys therefore hadde more in vse. But in lynyen clothe onlye whytenese, in wullen onlye clenlynes, ys regarded. As for the smalnese or fynesse of the threde, that ys no thynge passed for. And thys ys the cause wherfore in other places .iii. or v. clothe gowynes of dyuers colours, and as manye sylke cootes, be not enoughe for one man. Yea, and yf he be of the delycate and nyse sorte, x. be to fewe; where as there one garmente wyll serue a man mooste commenlye .ii. yeares. For whie shoulde he desire moo? seing if he had them, he should not be the better hapt or couered from colde, nother in his apparell any whyt the cumlyer.

Wherefore, seynge they be all exercysed in profytable occupatyonys, and that fewe artyfycers in the same craftes be suffycyente, thys ys the cause that, plentye of all thynges beynge emonge them, they doo sumtymes bring furthe an innumerable companye of people to amende the hyghe wayes, yf annye be broken. Manye times also, when they haue no such woorke to be occupied about, an open proclamation is made that they shall bestowe fewer houreys in woorke. For the magistrates do not exercise

in laneo sola mundicies conspicitur: nullum tenuioris fili precium est. Itaque fit ut, quum alibi nusquam uni homini quatuor aut quinque togae laneae diversis coloribus, ac totidem sericiae tunicae sufficiant, delicatoribus paulo ne decem quidem, ibi una quisque contentus est a, plerunque in biennium. Quippe nec causa est ulla cur plures affectet; quas consequutus neque aduersus frigus esset munior, neque uestitu uideretur uel pilo cultior.

Quamobrem quum et omnes utilibus sese artibuys exercceant, et ipsarum etiam opera paucria sufficiant, fit nimirum ut abundante rerum omnium copia, interdum in reficiendas (si quae detritae sunt) uias publicas immensam multitudinem educant; persaepe etiam quum nec talis cuiuspiam operis usus occurrat, pauiores horas operandi publice denuntient. neque enim superuacaneo | labore ciues inuitos exercent magistratus, quandoquidem eius reipublicae institutio hunc

a om. A. Legend. sit.

2 Wrapt. See the Glossary.
their citizens against their wills in unnecessary labours. For while in the institution of that wealthy public this end is only and chiefly pretended and desired, that what time may possibly be spared from the necessary occupations and affayres of the common wealth, all that the citizens should withdraw from the bodily service to the free liberty of the mind and garnishing of the same. For herein they suppose the felicity of this life to consist.

unum scopum in primis respicit, ut, quoad per publicas necessitates licet, quam plurimum temporis ab servitio corporis ad animi libertatem cultumque ciuis unius asseratur. In eo enim sita utae felicitatem putant.
Of their living and mutuall conversation together.

But now will I declare how the citizens vses themselves one towards another; what familiar occupieng and entereteynement there is among the people; and what fasion they vses in distributinge every thynge. First, the city consisteth of families: the families most commonlie be made of kinredes. For the women, when they be maryed at a lawfull age, they goo into their husbandes houses. But the male chyldren, with al the hole male ofspring, continewe still in their owne familie, and be gouerned of the eldest and auncientest father, onles he dote for age; for then the next to hym in age is put in his rowme.

But to thintent the prescript numbere of the citzeens shoulde nether decrease, nor aboue measure increase, it is ordeined that no famylie, whiche in euerye citie be vi.

* placed.

DE COMMERCIIIS MVTVIS.

Ed iam quo pacto sese mutuo ciues utantur, quae populi inter se commercia, quaeque sit distribuendarum rerum forma, uidetur explicantum. Quum igitur ex familiis constet ciuitas, familias ut plurimum cognitiones efficiunt. Nam foeminae (ubi maturuerint) collocatae maritis in ipsorum domicilia concedunt. at masculi filii ac deinceps nepotes in familia permanent, et parentum antiquissimo parent, nisi prae senecta mente parum uluerit: tunc enim aetate proximus ei sufficitur.

Verum ne ciuitas aut fieri infrequentior, aut ultra modum possit in crescere, cauetur neulla familia, qua-
The second Boke

[Ch. V.

thousand in the hole, bysides them of the contrey, shall at 
one haue fewer chyldren of the age of xiii. yeares or there 
aboute 1 then x., or mo then xvi.; for of children vnder 
thyss age no numbre can be a appointed. This measure or 
nombre is easely obsereued and kept, by puttinge them that 
in fuller families be aboue the numbre into families of 
smaller increase. But if chaunce be that in the hole citie 
the stoore encrease aboue the iust numbre, therewith they 
full vp the lacke of other cityes. But if so be that the 
multitude throughout the hole Ilande passe and excede 
the dew numbre, then they chewse out of euyer citie 
certeyn cytezens, and buylde vp a towne vnder their owne 
lawes in the nexte lande 2 where the inhabitauntes haue 

a be prescribed or.

rum millia sex quaque ciuitas, excepto conuentu 3, complectitur, pau-
ciores quam decem, pluresue quam sexdecim puberes habeat. Impu-
berum enim nullus praefiniri numerus potest. Hic modus facile 
seruatur, transcriptis hiis in rariores familiae, qui in plenioribus 
excrescunt. At si quando in totum plus iusto abundauerit, aliarum 
urbium suarum infrequentiam sarciunt. Quod a si forte per totam | 
insulam plus aequo moles intumuerit, tum ex qualibet urbe descriptis 
cuius in continent proximo, ubicunque indigenis agri multum 
superest et cultu uacat, coloniam suis ipsorum legibus propagant,

a om. A.

1 This is a diffuse explanation of 
puberes, by which More no doubt 
simply meant 'adults,' as he meant 
'children' by impuberes.
2 Lat. in continent proximo, 'on the 
nearest part of the mainland,' Utopia 
being an island. The possibility of 
such an outlet for surplus population 
was necessary for More's purpose, and 
the assumption made must not be too 
severely scrutinized. In fact, with 
the sparse population of England in 
his day (not exceeding 2½ millions in 
England and Wales together) there 
must have been no lack of 'waste 
lands' within easy reach of many of 
its cities. See Professor J. E. Thorold 
Rogers' Industrial and Commercial 
3 This was the word used by More 
towards the end of the first chapter, 
to express the district assigned to each 
city. It is found in Pliny in the sense 
of a judge's district. Then, like the 
low Latin 'districtus,' it came to sig-
nify the diocese of a bishop; or, as 
here, an adjacent territory in general. 
See Maigne d'Arnis s. v.
much waste and unoccupied ground, receauinge also of the inhabitauntes to them, if they wil ioyne and dwel with them. They, thus ioyning and dwelling together, do easelye agre in one passion of liuing, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so brynge the matter about by their lawes, that the grounde which before was nether good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe sufficiencte and frutefull enough for them both. But if the inhabitauntes of that lande wyll not dwell with them, to be ordered by their lawes, then they dryue them out of those boundes, which they haue limited and apointed out for themselues. And if they resiste and rebell, then they make warre agaynst them. For they counte this the moste iust cause of warre, when any people holdeth a piece of grounde voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable vse, kepyng other from the vse and possession of it, whiche notwithstanding by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nowryshed and relieued. If any chaunce do so muche dimynishe the numbre of anye

ascitis una terrae indigenis, si conuiuere secum uelint. Cum uolenti-bus coniuncti in idem uitae institutum cosdemque mores facile coales-cunt; idque utriusque populi bono. efficiunt enim suis instititis ut ea terra utrisque abunda sit, quae alteris aut parca ac maligna uide-batur. Renuentes ipsorum legibus uiere propellunt his finibus quos sibi ipsi describunt. Aduersus repugnantes bello confilgunt. nam eam iustissimam bellii causam ducent, quum populus quispiam eius soli, quo ipse non utitur, sed uelut inane ac vacuum possidet, alis tamen qui ex naturae prae scripto inde nutriiri debeant, usum ac pos- sessionem interdicat. Si quando uallas ex suis urbibus aliquis casus

1 Rather, ‘which they now mark out for themselves’;—not that they had done so before.
2 Mr. St. John, in his note on the passage, justifies the doctrine here laid down by an appeal to Grotius, De Jure, Lib. II. cap. 2 § iv. [qu. § xvii?]
3 The word is unclassical as an adjective.
of their cyties, that it cannot be fylled vp agayne wythout the diminishyng of the iust numbre of the other cyties (whiche they say chaunced but twyse syns the begynnyng of the lande, through a greate pestilente plage⁠¹), then they make⁠² vp the numbre with cytezens fetched out of their owne forreyne townes; for they hadde rather suffer theyr forreyn townes to decaye and peryshe, then annye cytie of their owne Ilande to be dimynyshed.

But nowe agayne to the conversacion of the cytezens amongst themselves. The eldeste (as I sayde) rueleth the familie. The wyfes bee ministres to theyr husbandes, the chyldren to theyr parentes, and, to bee shorte, the yonger to theyr elders. Euerye cytie is diuided into foure² equall partes⁠¹. In the myddes of euery quarter there is a market place of all maner of thynges. Thether the workes of euery familie be brought in to certeyne houses. And

a fulfyll and make.  
b partes or quarters.

cousque imminuerit, ut ex aliis insulae partibus, seruato suo cuiusque urbis modo, resarciri non possint (quod bis dumtaxat ab omni aeuo, pestis grassante sacuitia, fertur contigisse), remigrantibus e colonia ciuibus replentur. Perire enim colonias potius patiuntur quam ullam ex insularis uribus imminui.


¹ The subject might be fresh in More's thoughts from the visitation in 1508, when, as a contemporary writer relates: 'passim undique occidunt vicatim in urbe hac non pauci'. Prayers were publicly offered in St. Paul's, in August of that year, 'ob hanc sudoris plagam.' In 1517 it broke out again still more dreadfully. Bishop Longland, preaching soon after, speaks of the 'terribilem sudandi novitatem,' through which all was 'longe lateque depopulata.'—See the Sermones Ioannis Longlandi, 1518, ff. 15, 64; Gairdner's Historia . . . a Bernardo Andrea Tholo-sate conscripta, 1858, pp. 126, 127; Godwin's Annales, 1630 p. 27.

² These are the four wards mentioned above, p. 136.
every kynde of thynge is layde vp seuerall in barnes or store houses. From hence the father of every famelie or every housholder fetcheth whatsoeuer he and hys haue neade of, and carieth it awaye with hym without money, without exchaunge, without annye gage or a pledge. For whye should anye thynge be denied vnto hym; seyng there is abundaunce of all thynges, and that it is not to be feared lest anye man wyll aske more then he neadeth? For whie should it be thoughte that man would aske more then enough, which is sewer neuer to lacke? Certeynly, in all kyndes of lyuynge creatures, other fere of lacke doth cause couetousnes and rauyne, or in man only pryde; whiche counteth it a gloryouse thynge to passe and excell other in the superfluous and vayne ostentacion of thynges. The whyche kynde of vice amonge the Vtopians can haue no place.

Next to the market places that I spake of stonde meate markettes, whether be brought not onlye all sortes of

1 As Mr. St. John points out (quoting Hobbes, De Cive, i. c. i.), while fear might be a motive for the formation of human societies, it is not the apprehension, but the actual consciousness, of want that rouses the savage instincts of animals.

2 'Provision markets,' as we should now call them; 'meat' being used in its old sense.

3 Found in Plautus, Asin. i. 3. 20, in the sense of requital, 'Par pari datum hostimentum est; opera pro pecunia.'
herbes, and the fruites of trees with breade, but also fishe, and all maner of iii. footed beastes, and wilde foule that be mans meate. But first the fylthynes and ordure therof is clene washed awaye in the runnynge ryuer, without the cytie, in places appoynted, mete for the same purpose. From thence the beastes brought in kylled, and cleane wasshed by the handes of their bondemen. For they permytte not their frie citezens to accustome there selfes to the killing of beastes; through the vse whereof they thinke that clemencie, the genteleste affection of our nature, doth by litle and litle decaye and peryshe. Nother they suffer anye thynge that is fylthye, lothesome, or vnclenlye, to be brought into the cytie; least the ayre, by the stench therof infected and corrupte, shoulde cause pestilente diseases.

* be brought.  b that omitted.  c doth omitted.  d to decaye.

olera modo, arborumque fructus et panes comportantur, sed pisees praeterea, quadrupedumque et auium quicquid esculentum est, extra urbem locis appositis, ubi fluento tabum ac sordes eluantur. Hinc deportant pecudes occisas depurataeque manibus famulorum; nam neque suos ciues patiuntur assuescere laniatu animalium, cuius usu clementiam, humanissimum naturae nostrae affectum, paulatim deperire putant; neque sordidum quicquam atque immundum, cuius putredme corruptus aer morbium posset inuhere, perferri in urbem sinunt.

a Post olera modo A. exhibet: fructusque et panes comportantur, sed pisces praeterea carnesque extra urbem locis appositis, ubi fluento tabum ac sordes eluantur, pecudes occisas. B. rectius pecudes occisae depurataeque.

1 See the note before, p. 128. In this respect More had not risen, nor in fact have we, above the ideas of his age, which allowed rivers to be made receptacles for garbage.

2 We have of late years made some progress in this direction. But we leave in full swing another abuse, as regards the pollution of the atmosphere, which could hardly have occurred to the mind of More. The mill chimneys, in many manufacturing towns, still discharge their volumes of smoke into the air, in defiance of all restraint. That so many tons of fuel should be daily wasted, appears to be a matter of no more concern than the blighting of the herbage for miles around, or the injury done to the health of thousands.
Moreouer euerye strete hath certeyne great large halles sett in equal distaunce one from an other, euerye one knowne by a seuerall name. In thies halles dwell the Syphograuntes. And to euery one of the same halles be apoynted xxx. families, of ether side xv. The stewardes of euery halle at a certayn houre come in to the meate markettes, where they receyue meate accordinge to the numbre of their halles.

But first and 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 haue .iii. hospitalles; so bygge, so wyde, so ample, and so lardge, that they may seme .iii. litle townes; which were deuised of that bygnes, partely to thintent the sycke, be they neuer so many in numbre, shuld not lye to thronge or strayte, and therfore uneasely and incomodiously; 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 laid a part farre from the company

Habet praeterea quilibet uicus aulas quasdam capaces, aequali ab sese inuicem | interuallo distantes, nomine quanque suo cognitas. Has colunt Syphogranti; quarum unicuique triginta familiae, uide- licet ab utroque latere quindecim, sunt adscriptae, cibum ibi sump- turae. Obsonatores cuiusque aulae certa hora conueniunt in forum, ac relato suorum numero cibum petunt. Sed prima ratio aegrotorum habetur; qui in publicis hospitiis curantur. Nam quatuor habent in ambitu ciuitatis hos- pitia, Paulo extra muros, tam capacia ut totidem oppi- duluis aequari possint, tum ut neque aegrotorum numeros quamlibet magnus auguste collocaretur, et per hoc incommode, tum quo hii qui tali morbo tenerentur, cuius contagio solet ab alio ad alium serpere,

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1 See above, p. 135. 
2 That is, to the number of persons in their respective halls. 
3 In the old sense of 'cured,' that is, being attended to, or taken care of. 
4 Note the four equivalents for capacia.
of the residue. Thies hospitalles be so well apointed, and with al thynges necessary to health so furnished; and more ouer so diligent attendaunce through the continual presence of cunnyng phisitians is geuen, that though no man be sent thither against his will, yet notwithstandinge there is no sicke persone in all the citie, that had not rather lye there then at home in his owne house. When the stewarde of the sicke hath receied suche meates as the phisitians haue prescribed, then the beste is equally deuided among the halles, according to the company of every one, sauing that there is had a respect to the prince, the byshop, the tranibours, and to ambassadours, and all straungers, if there be any, whiche be verye fewe and

longius ab aliornai coetu semoueri possint. Haec hospitia ita sunt instructa, atque omnibus rebus quae ad salutem conferant referta, tum tam tenera ac sedula cura adhibetur, tam assidua medicorum peritissimorum praesentia, ut quum illuc nemo mittatur inuitus, nemo tamen fere in tota urbe sit, qui aduersa ualetudine laborans non ibi decumbere quam domi suae praefet. Quum aegrorum obsonator cibos ex medicorum praescripto receperit, deinceps optimae quaeque inter aulas aequabiliter pro suo cuiusque numero distribuuntur, nisi quod principis, pontificis, et Tranibororum respectus habetur, ac legatorum etiam, et exterorum omnium (si qui sunt, qui pauci ac raro

\[a\] om. A.  
\[b\] traniborum, A.

1 More's enlightened discernment in all this will be readily acknowledged. But the fact that so much provision for the sick should be contemplated by him in his happy island, shows how heavily Death and Disease had laid their hands on society in his age. Comp. Wright's History of Caricature and Grotesque in Art, 1865, p. 217.

2 In reading this, we should remember what scanty provision for the sick there was in London when More wrote. St. Bartholomew's, indeed, existed; but St. Thomas's, founded as an almonry, was not opened for its present purpose till 1552. Guy's and St. George's are both of last century. The foundation of the Royal College of Physicians, with its attendant improvements in medical science, was in 1518, two years after the appearance of Utopia. Possibly Linacre was stimulated in his good work by the picture here drawn.

3 He is mentioned in the last chapter as 'the chiefe heade of them all'—that is, of the priests; but comparatively little is said about him.
seldome. But they also, when they be there, haue certeyne* houses apointed and prepared for them.

To thies halles at the set houres of dinner and supper cummith all the hole Siphograuntie or warde, warned by the noyse of a brasen trumpet; except such as be sicke in the hospitalles or els in their owne houses. Howe be it, no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halles be serued, to fetch home meate out of the market to his own house. For they knowe that no man wyl doo it without a cause resonable. For thoughge no man be prohibited to dyne at home, yet no man doth it willynglye, because it is counted a pointe of small honestie. And also it were a follye to take the Payne to dresse a badde dyner at home, when they maye be welcome to good and fyne fare so nyghe hande at the hall. In this hal all vyle seruice, all slauerie and drudgerye, with all laboursome toyle and b busines, is done by bondemen. But the women of euery famelie by course haue the office and charge of cokerye, for sethinge and dressynge the meate, and orderyng al things thereto belonging. They syt at iii. tables or moo,

*a certeyne seuerall.  
*b and base.

sunt): sed hiis quoque, cum adsunt, domicilia certa atque instructa parantur.

90 Ad has aulas prandii coenaeque statis horis tota | syphograntia conuenit, aeneae tubae clangore commonefacta, nisi qui aut in hospitiis aut domi decumbunt. quanquam nemo prohibetur, postquam aulis est satisfactum, e foro domum cibum petere. Sciunt enim neminem id temere facere. nam etsi domi prandere nulli uetitum sit, nemo tamen hoc libenter facit, cum neque honestum habeatur, et stultum sit deterioris parandi prandii sumere laborem, cum lautum atque opiparum praesto, apud aulum tam propinquam sit. In hac aula ministeria omnia, in quibus paulo plus sordis aut laboris est, obeunt serui. Caeterum coquendi parandique cibi officium, et totius denique instruendi congruii solae mulieres exercent, cuiusque uidelicet familiae per uices. Tribus
accordyng to the numbre of their company. The men syt
upon the benche next the wall, and the women agaynst
them on the other syde of the table; that, if anye sodeyne
euell should chauncy to them, as many tymes happeneth
to women with chylde, they maye ryse wythout trouble
or disturbaunce of anye body, and go thence into the
nurcerie.

The nourceis sitte seuerall alone with their yonge suckel-
inges in a certayne parloure apointed and deputed to the
same purpose, neuer without fire and cleane water, nor
yet without cradel; that when they wyll they maye laye
downe the yong infauntes, and at their pleasure take them
out of their swathynge clothes and holde them to the
fyere, and refreshe them with playe. Euery mother is
nource to her owne chylde, onles other death or syckenes
be the let. When that chaunceth, the wyues of the Sipho-
grauntes quyckelye prayde a nource. And that is not
harde to be done. For they that can do it do proffer
themselves to no seruice so gladlye as to that. Because

\[\textit{do omitted.}\]

pluribusue mensis pro numero conuiuarum discumbitur. Viri
ad parietem, foeminae exterius collocantur; ut si quid his subiti
oboriatur mali, quod uterum gerentibus interdum solet accidere,
iperturbatis ordinius exurgant, atque inde ad nutrices abeant.

Sedent illae quidem seorsum cum lactentibus in coenaculo quodam
ad id destinato, nunquam sine foco atque aqua munda, nec absque
cunis interim, ut et reclinare liceat infantulos, et ad ignem cum uelint
exemptos fascis liberare ac ludo reficere. suae quaeque soboli
nutrix est, nisi aut mors aut morbus impediat. id cum accidit,
uxores Syphograntorum propere nutricem quaerunt, nec id difficile
est. Nam quae id praestare possunt, nulli officio sese offerunt gi

\[\textit{lactantibus, A.}\]

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1 On the neglect of this first of parental duties, Erasmus has some
bitter remarks in his dialogue Puerpera. ‘In tales feminas,’ he says, ‘mihi com-
petere Graecorum videtur etymologia,
qui ῥημα δικ putant a ῥημα, hoc
est a non servando. Nam prorsus con-
ducticim nutricem infantulo adhuc a
matre tepenti adsciscere, genus est
expositionis.’
that there thyd kynde of pitie is mucho prayed; and the chylde that is nourysshed euer after taketh hys nourse for his owne naturall mother. Also amonge the nourseis syt all the chylde that be vnder the age of v. yeares. All the other children of both kyndes, aswell boyes as gyrles, that be vnder the age of marryage, too other serue at the tables, or els if they be to yonge therto, yet they stande by with meruelous silence. That whiche is giuen to them from the table they eate, and other seuerall dynner tyme they haue none. The Siphograunt and his wife sitteth in the middes of the highe table, forasmuche as that is counted the honerablest place, and because from thence al the hole companye is in their syght. For that table standeth ouer wharte the ouer ende of the halle. To

libentius, quoniam et omnes eam misericordiam laude prosequuntur, et qui educatur nutricem parentis agnoscit loco. In antro nutricum consistunt pueri omnes, qui primum lustrum non b expleuere. caeteri impuberes, quo in numero ducunt quicunque sexus alterius utrius intra nubiles annos sunt, aut ministrant discumbentibus, aut qui per aetatem nondum ualent, abstant tamen, atque id sumnum cum silentio. utrique quod a sedentibus porrigitur, eo uescuntur, nec aliiud discretion prandendi tempus habent. In medio primae mensae, qui summus locus est, et cui (nam ea mensa suprema in parte coenaculi transuersa est) totus conuentus conspicitur, Syphogranton cum uxore

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1 In a little tract, *De disciplina et institutione Puerorum*, of which the fourth edition was published in Paris in 1531, the well-taught boy has a chapter of instructions *De gestibus in ministerio mensae*. He is first taught how and in what order to ‘lay the table.’ Then, when all is ready, the direction is given him: ‘Erectus et compositis pedibus sta, sollicite animaduertens ne desit quid. Et cum infundendum, siue quid porrigendum, apponendum, aut tollendum, ciuiliter id feceris.’ As to the silence mentioned just after in the text, the rule is: ‘Astans non turbabis, uel inter-turbabis aliorum sermonem; sed interrogatus breuiter respondeto’ (p. 29).

2 In Holbein’s drawing of the family of Sir Thomas More, only two out of the ten figures are seated—Sir Thomas and his aged father. The rest are all either standing or kneeling.

3 That is, overthwart, or across.
them be ioyned ii. of the anctientest and eldest. For at every table they syt iii. at a meesse. But if there be a church standing in that Siphograuntie, or warde, then the priest and his wyfe sitteth with the Siphograunte, as chiefe in the company. On both sydes of them sytte yonge men, and nexte vnto them agayne olde men. An thus through out all the house equall of age be sette together, and yet be myxte with vnequall ages. Thys they saye was ordeyned, to the intent that the sage grauitie and reuerence of the elders should kepe the yongers from wanton licence of wordes and behavioyr; for as muche as nothynge can be so secretly spoken or done at the table, but either they that syt on the one syde or on the other must nedes perceiue it. The disshes be not set downe in ordre from the first place, but all the old men (whoes places be marked with som speciall token to be known) be first seuered of there meate, and then the residue equally. The old men deuide their dainties, as they think best, to

\(^a\) and matched with.

considet. His adiunguntur duo ex natu maximis. Sedent enim per omnes mensas quaterni. At si templum in ea Syphograntia situm est, sacerdos eiusque uxor cum Syphograntio sedent ut praesideant. Ab utraque parte collocantur iuniores; post senes rursus; atque hoc pacto per totam domum: et aequales inter se iunguntur, et dissimilibus tamen immiscentur; quod ideo ferunt institutum, ut senum grauitas ac reuerentia (quum nihil ita in mensa fieri dicie potest, ut eos ab omni parte uicinos effugiat) iuniores ab improba uerborum gestuumque licentia cohbeat. Ciborum fercula non a primo loco deinceps apponuntur, sed senioribus primum omnibus (quorum insignes loci sunt) optimus quisque cibus infertur; deinque reliquis aequaliter ministratur. At senes lautitias suas (quarum non tanta erat copia ut

1 See the Introduction, pp. xviii, xlv.
2 That is, the hall. We still speak of ‘a full house’ at a theatre, ‘houses of parliament,’ &c. In some parts of England, the one large living-room in a farmhouse, answering to the hall in a mansion, is called the ‘house-place’ or ‘house.’
3 The clause within parentheses in the Latin is left out by the translator.
of Utopia.

the yonger that sit of both sides them. Thus the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and neuerthelessse equall commoditie commeth to euery one.

They begin euerye dyner and supper of reading sum-thing that perteineth to good maners and vertue. But it is short, becawse no man shalbe greued therwith. Here of theelders take occasion of honest communication, but nother sad nor vnpleasaunt. Howbeit, they do not spend all the hole dyner time themselfes with long and tedious talkes; but they gladly here also the yong men; yea and do purposly prouoke them to talke, to thentent that they maye haue a profe of euery mans wit and towardnes or disposition to vertue, which commonly in ye liberte of

* yonger on eche syde of them.  
  b do omitted.

posset totam per domum affatim distribui) pro suo arbitratu circum-sedentibus impartiuntur. Sic et maioribus natu suus seruatur honos, et commodi tantundem tamen ad omneis peruenit.

Omne prandium coenamque ab aliqua lectione auspicantur, quae ad mores faciat; sed breui tamen, ne fastidio sit. Id hodie uix monachi observant.

Ab hac seniores honestos sermones, sed neque tristes ac infacetos, ingerunt. At nec longis logis totum occupant prandium. quin audiunt libenter iuuenes quoque; atque adeo de industria prouocant, quo et indolis cuiusque et ingenii per conuiuii libertatem prodentis sese

* nec, A.  
  b om. A.

Burnet supplies it: 'if there is not such an Abundance of them that the whole Company may be served alike.'—Lansdowne MS. 978, fol. 210. More practised the same custom at his own table. See Bridgett's Life, p. 140.

1 A common custom at the time, though the marginal note seems to point to its being on the decline. When Ralph Collingwood, Dean of Lichfield, who died in 1518, was making further provision for the College of St. Thomas in Stratford-on-Avon, he ordained that his choristers 'at dinner and supper time should constantly be in the College, to wait at the Table, and to read the Bible, or some other authentic Book.'—Lansdowne MS. 978, fol. 210. More practised the same custom at his own table. See Bridgett's Life, p. 140.

2 Compare what Erasmus says of Colet, when similarly engaged: 'He would so season the discourse that, though both serious and religious, it had nothing tedious or affected about it.' Letter to Justus Jonas (ed. 1883), p. 26.

3 Comp. Plautus, Men. v. 2. 29, 'Lo-quere, uter meruiistis culpam, paucis; non longos logos.'
feasting doth shew and utter it selfe. Theire dyners be verye short; but there suppers be sumwhat longer; because that after dynner followeth labour; after supper sleape and naturall reste; whiche they thinke to be of no more strengthe and efficacy to holsome and healthfull digestion. No supper is passed without musicke; nor their bankettes lacke no conceytes nor ionckettes. They burne swete gummes and species for perfumes and pleasant smelles, and sprinkle about swete oynmentes and waters; yea they leaue nothyng vndone that maketh for the cheryng of the company. For they be muche enclyned to this opinion: to thinke no kynde of pleasure forbidden, wherof cummeth no harme.

Thus theryfore and after this sorte they lyue togethers in the citie; but in the contrey they that dwell alone, farre from anye neyghbours, do dyne and suppe at home in their own houses. For no famelie there lacketh anye kynde of victualles, as from whome cummeth all that the cytezens eate and lyue bye.

\[ a \text{ no omitted.} \]

\[ b \text{ or.} \]

capiant experimentum. Prandia breuiuscula sunt, coenae largiores; quod labor illa, has somnis et nocturna quies excipit; quam illi ad salubrem concoctionem magis efficacem putant. Nulla coena sine musica transigitur, nec ullis caret secunda mensa bellariis. odores incendunt et unguenta spargunt, nihilque non faciunt quod exhilarare conuiuas possit. sunt enim hanc in partem aliquanto procluiiores, ut nullum uoluptatis genus (ex quo nihil sequatur incommodi) censeant interdixtum.

Hoc pacto igitur in urbe conuiuunt; at ruti, qui longius ab sese dissiti sunt, omnes domi quisque suae comedunt. nulli enim familiae quicquam ad uictum deest, quippe a quibus id totum uenit quo uescantur urbici.

\[ a \text{ spergunt, A.} \]

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1 On More's fondness for music, see the Introduction, p. xxiv, and the note below, p. 295. A viol is seen hanging up in Holbein's drawing of his household.  
2 See Ray: *English Proverbs*, 1768, p. 27.
Of their
journeyenge or trauaylynge a brode,
with dyuers other matters cunnyngly reasoned and wittilie discussed.

But if any be desierous to vysite other their fryndes that dwel in another Cytie, or to see the place it selfe, they easelye obteyne lycence of their Siphograuntes and Tranibores, oneles there bee some profitable let. No man goeth out alone; but a companye is sente furth to gether with their princes letters, whiche do testifie that they haue lycence to go that iorncy, and prescribeth also the day of their retourne. They haue a wageyn geuen them, with a common bondman, whiche driueth the oxen

* dwelling.

DE PEREGRINATIONE VTOPIENSIVM.

At si quos aut amicorum alia in urbe commorantium, aut ipsius etiam uidendi loci desyderium coeperit, a Syphograntis ac Traniboris suis ueniam facile impetrant, nisi siquis usus impeediat. Mittitur ergo simul numeros aliquis cum epistola principis, quae et datam peregrinandi copiam testatur, et reeditus diem praescribit. Vehiculum datur cum seruo publico, qui agat boues et curet.

1 Robynson properly expands the title of this chapter, which treats of many subjects besides the *Peregrinatio* of the Utopians.

2 That is, as Burnet words it, 'when there is no particular occasion for him [them] at Home.'

3 This may have been suggested by what Plutarch tells us of an ordinance of Lycurgus for the Spartans: 'For the same reason he would not permit all that desired it to go abroad and see other countries, lest they should contract foreign manners, [or] gain traces of a life of little discipline, and of a different form of government.'—*Lives*, tr. by the Langhones, ed. 1805, i. p. 155.
and taketh charge of them. But onles they haue women in their company, they sende home the wageyn againe, as an impediment and a let. And though they carrye nothyng furth wit them, yet in all their iorney they lacke nothing. For whersoeuer they come they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one day, than there every one of them falleth to his own occupation, and be very gentilly enterteined of the workmen and companies of the same craftes. If any man of his owne head and without leave walke out of his precinct and boundes, taken without the princes lettres, he is brought again for a fugitive or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is shapely punished. If he be taken in that faulte agayne, he is punished with bondage.

If anye be desierous to walke a brode into the fieldes, or into the contrey that belongeth to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obteynyng the good will of his father, and the consent of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of the contrey soeuer he cummeth, he hath no meat geuin him untill he haue wrought out his forenones taske, or els dispatched so muche worke as there is wonte to be

caeterum nisi mulieres in coetu habeant, uchicum uelut onus et impedimentum remittitur. Toto itinere cum nihil secum efferant, nihil defi tamen; ubique enim domi sunt. Si quo in loco diutius uno die commorentur, suam ibi quisque artem exercet, atque ab artis eiusdem opificibus humanissime tractantur. Si semet autore quisquam extra suos fines uagetur, reprehensus sine principis diplomate, contumeliose habitus, pro fugitio reductur, castigatus acriter. idem ausus denuo, servitute plectitur.

Quod si quem libido incessat per suae ciuitatis agros palandi, uenia patris et consentiente coniuge non prohibitur. Sed in quodcunque rus peruenirit, nullus ante cibus datur, quam ante meridianum operis pensum (aut quantam ante coenam ibi laborari solet)

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1 "The complaisance of the Utopians respect imitate their example!"—towards their wives is truly exemplary. DIBDIN.
I fear the Europeans do not in every
wrought befors supper. Obseruing this lawe and condition, he may go whether he well within the boundes of his owne citie. For he shalbe no les profitable to the citie, then if he were within it.

Now yow see howe litle libertie they haue to loyter; how they can haue no cloke or pretence to ydelnes. There be nether wyn tauernes, nor ale houses, nor stewes, nor any occasion of ube or wickednes, no lurking corners, no places of wicked councelles or vnlawfull assemblies; but they be in the present sight, and vnder the iyes of every man; so that of necessitie they must other applie their accustomed labours, or else recreate themselues with honest and laudable pastymes.

This fassion being a vsed among the people, they must of necessitie haue b store and plentie of all thinges. And seing they be al therof parteners equally, therfore cane no man there be poore or nedye. In the councel of Amaurot (whether, as I sayde 1, euery citie sendeth iii. 1 See above, p. 119.

b it cannot be chosen but that they must haue.

absoluerit. Hac lege quouis intra suae urbis fines ire licet. Erit enim non minus utilis urbi quam si in urbe esset.

Iam uidetis quam nulla sit usquam ociandi licentia, nullus inertiæ praetextus, nulla taberna unaria, nulla ceruisiaria, 94 nusquam lupanar, nulla corruptelae occasio, nullae latebrae, conciliabulum 2 nullum, sed omnium praesentes oculi necessitatem aut consueti laboris aut oei non inhonesti faciunt.


1 In the first edition, instead of Amaurotico, the word is here Menti-
men a pece yearly), assone as it is perfectly knowen of what thynges there is in euery place plentie, and agayne what thynges be skant in anye place; incontinent the lacke of the one is performed \(^1\) and fylled vp with the aboundaunce of the other. And this they doo frelye without any benifite, takyng nothing agayn of them to whom the things is geuen; but those cyties that haue geuen of their store to anye other cytie that lacketh, requyrynge nothyng agayne of the same cytie, do take suche thinges as they lacke of an other cytie, to whome\(^a\) they gaue nothyng. So the hole Ilande is as it were one familie or housholde.

But when they haue made sufficiencte prouision of stoore for them selves (whiche they thinke not doone untill they haue prouyded for two yeares followynge, bicause of the vncertentie of the nexte yeares profite \(^2\)), then of those thynges wherof they haue aboundaunce they carry furthe into other contreis greate plenty; as grayne, honnye, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple die \(^b\)

\(^a\) to the which. \(^b\) died.

omni ex urbe frequentant) ubi primum constiterit quae res quoque loco abundet, rursum cuius alicubi malignior proventus fuerit, alterius inopiam alterius protinus ubertas explet; atque id gratuito faciunt. nihil uicissim ab his recipientes quibus donant. Sed quae de suis rebus unicuipiam urbi dederint, nihil ab ea repetentes, ab alia cui nihil impenderunt, quibus egent accipiunt. Ita tota insula uelut una familia est.

Respublica nihil aliud quam magnam uim frumenti, mellis, lanae, ligni, cocci et

At postquam satis prouision ipsis est (quod non antea factum censent quam in biennium propter anni sequentis euentum prospexerint) tum ex his quae super-sunt magnam uim frumenti, mellis, lanae, ligni, cocci et

\(^1\) That is, completed. See the Glossary.

\(^2\) From being used to render the Latin euentum, this appears intended
felles, waxe, tallowe, lether, and liuyng beastes. And the seuenth part of all thies thynges they gyue franckely and frelye to the poore of that contrey. The resydewe they sell at a reasonable and meane price. By this trade of traffique or marchandise, they bring into their own contrey not only great plentie of golde and siluer, but also all suche thynges as they lacke at home, whych is almoste nothynge but Iron.

And by reason they haue longe vsed thys trade, nowe they haue more abundaunce of thies thynges then any man wyll beleue. Nowe, therfore, they care not whether they sell for reddye moneye, or els vpon truste to be paide at a daye, and to haue the most part in debtes. But in so doyng they neuer followe the credence of pryuat men, but the assureaunce or warrauntise of the hole citye, by instrumentes and writinges made in that behalfe accordinglye.

conchyliorum, uellerum, cerae, seu, corii, ad haec animalium quoque in alias regiones exportant. quarum rerum omnium septimam partem inopibus eius regiones dono dant: negotiatio Vtopiensium. reliquam precio modico uenditant. quo ex commerce non eas modo merces quibus domi egent (nam id fere nihil est praeter ferrum) sed argenti atque auri praeterera magnam uim in patriam reportant. Cuius rei diutina consuetudine supra quam credi possit, ubique iam carum rerum copia abundant. Itaque nunc parum pensi habent, praesente ne pecunia an in diem uendant, multoque maximam partem habeant in nominibus; in quibus tamen faciendis non priuatorum unquam sed confectis ex more instrumentis

__\[1\]\_ Robynson's first reading is here more correct than his second. It should be 'purple die, felles,' &c.; the items being separate. Burnet leaves the words out. 

__\[2\]\_ There is nothing to show that More is here thinking of the imports and exports of his own country. But, as a matter of fact, steel and iron were then among its imports. In The Common Weal of the Realm of England, before quoted, among the articles which the king must import from abroad, are 'yron, steile, handgonns, gonpowder,' and many other things. p. 34.

__\[3\]\_ Robynson has not understood the idiom *nomina facere*, 'to lend.' Comp. Seneca, *De Vita beata*, c. 24: 'Nunquam magis nomina facio quam cum dono.'
When the daye of paymente is come and expyred, the 
cyt{1}e{1} gathereth vp the debte of the priuate dettours, 
and putteth it into the common boxe, and so long hath 
the vse and proffytte of it, vntyll the vtopians their 
creditours demaunde it. The mooste parte of it they 
neuer aske. For that thynge whyche is to them no 
proffyte, to take it from other to whom it is proffytable, 
they thinke it no righte nor conscience. But yf the 
case so stande, that they must lende parte of that 
money to an other people, then they requyre theyre 
debte; or when they haue warre. For the whyche 
purpose onelye they keap at home al the treasure 
which they haue, to be holpen and socoured by yt other 
in extreame ieopardyes, or in suddeyne daungers; but 
especiallye and chieffelye to hier therwyth, and that for 
unreasonable greate wayges, straunge soldyours. For 
they hadde rather put straungers in ieopardye then theyre 
owne contreye men; knowinge that for moneye enouge 
theire enemyes themselvese manye tymes may be bowghte 
and* solde, or els throughge treason be sette togetheres 

\[ \text{publicam urbis fidem sequuntur. Ciuitas, ubi solutionis dies ad-} \]
\[ \text{venerit, a priuatis debitoribus exigit creditum, atque} \]
\[ \text{in aerarium redigit, eiusque pecuniae quod ab} \]
\[ \text{Vtopiensibus repetatur, usura fruitur. Illi maximam} \]
\[ \text{partem nunquam repetunt. Nam quae res apud} \]
\[ \text{se nullum habet usum, eam ab his auferre, quibus} \]
\[ \text{usui est, haud aequum censent. Caeterum si res ita} \]
\[ \text{poscat ut eius aliquam partem alii populo mutuum daturi sint, tum} \]
\[ \text{demum poscunt, aut quam bellum gerendum est; quam} \]
\[ \text{in rem unam totum illum thesaurum quem habent domi} \]
\[ \text{seruant, uti aut extremis in periculis, aut in subitis,} \]
\[ \text{praesidio sit; potissimum quo milites externos (quos} \]
\[ \text{libentius quam suos obiciunt discriminii) immodico} \]
\[ \text{stipendio conducant, gnari multitudine pecuniae} \]
\[ \text{hostes ipsos plerunque mercabiles, et uel proditione uel infestis etiam} \]

\[ 1 \text{ That is, the foreign city, to which} \]
\[ 2 \text{ Instead of daturi sint, it should} \]
\[ \text{merchandise has been exported.} \]
\[ \text{rather have been dent.} \]
by the eares emonge themselfes. For thys cause they kype an inestymable treasure; but yet not as a treasure; but so they haue yt and vse yt as in good faythe I am ashamede to shewe, fearynge that my woordes shal not be beleued. And thys I haue more cause to feare, for that I knowe howe dyffucultlye and hardelye I meselfe wolde haue beleued an othere man tellynge the same, yf I hadde not presentlye seene yt wyth myne owne iyes. For yt muste nedes be, that howe farre a thing is dissonaunt and disagreinge from the guyse and trade of the hearers, so farre shall yt be owte of theyr beleffe. Howe be yt, a wyse and indyiferente estymer of thynges wyll not greatly marueil perchaunce, seing al theyre other lawes and customes doo so muche dyfferre from owres, yf the vse also of golde and syluer amonge them be applyed rather to theyr owne fassyons then to owers. I meane, in that they occupye not moneye themselfes, but kepe yt for that chaunce; whyche as yt maye happen, so yt maye be that yt shall neuer come to passe.

signis inter se committi. Hanc ob causam inaestimabilem thesaurum servant; at non ut thesaurum tamen, sed ita habent, quomodo me narrare profecto deterret pudor, metuentem ne fidem oratio non sit habitura; quod eo iustius uereor, quo magis mihi sum conscient, nisi uidissem praesens, quam aegre potuissem ipse perduci ut alerdi idem recensenti crederem. Necessa est enim fere, quam quicquam est ab eorum qui audiant moribus alienum, tam idem procul illis abesse a fide. quamquam prudens rerum aestimator minus fortasse mirabitur, quum reliqua eorum instituta tam longe ab nostris differant, si argenti quoque atque auri usus ad ipsorum potius quam ad nostri moris rationem accommodetur: nempe quum pecunia non utantur ipsi, sed in eum servent euentum, qui ut potest usu uenire, ita fieri potest ut nunquam incidat.

1 The art shown in this prelude is pointed out in the marginal note. What More is thus preacing is the conduct of the Utopians in despising gold and silver in comparison with iron, but keeping a great store of those metals, to buy the services of such as held them precious.

2 We should now say 'from the manners and customs;' Lat. moribus. See the Glossary.

3 That is, adapted.

4 Compare the 'new ropes never occupied' (used) of Judges xvi. 11.
In the meane tyme golde and syluer, whereof moneye ys made, they doo soo vse, as none of them dothe more estyme yt, then the verye nature of the thynge deseruethe. And then who dothe not playnlye see howe farre yt ys vnder Iron? as wythoute the whyche men canne no better lyue then withowte fyere and water; whereas to golde and syluer nature hathe geuen no vse that we may not wel lacke, yt that the folly of men hadde not sette it in hygher estymacyon for the rarenes sake. But, of the contrary parte, nature, as a moste tender and louynge mother, hath placed the beste and moste necessarye thynges open a brode; as the ayere, the water, and the earth it selfe; and hath removed and hydde farthest from vs vayne and vnprofytable thynges. Therfore yt thes metalles among them shoulde be fast locked vp in some tower, it myghte be suspected that the prynce and the cowncell (as the people is euer foolysheleye ymagininge) intended by some subtyltye to deceaue the commons, and to take some profette of it to themselves. Furthermore,

Interim aurum argentumque (unde ea fit) sic apud se habent, ut ab nullo plurius aestimetur quam rerum ipsarum natura meretur. qua quis non uidet quam longe infra ferrum sunt? ut sine quo non hercle magis quam absque igni atque aqua uiuere mortales queant, quum a interim auro argentoque nullum usum, quo non facile careamus, natura tribu- erit, nisi hominum stultitia precium raritati fecisset. quin contra, uelut parens indulgentissima optima quaeque in propatulo posuerit, ut aerem, aquam ac tellurem ipsam; longissime uero uana ac nihil profutura semouerit. Ergo haec metalla si apud eos in turrim aliquam abstruderentur, princeps ac senatus in suspicacionem uenire posset (ut est uulgi stulta solertia) ne, deluso per technam populo, ipsi aliquo inde commodo fruerentur. porro si phylas inde aliaque id genus

\[\text{Interim aurum argentumque (unde ea fit) sic apud se habent, ut ab nullo plurius aestimetur quam rerum ipsarum natura meretur. Qua quis non uidet quam longe infra ferrum sunt? Ut sine quo non hercle magis quam absque igni atque aqua uiuere mortales queant, quum a interim auro argentoque nullum usum, quo non facile careamus, natura tribuerit, nisi hominum stultitia precium raritati fecisset. Quin contra, uelut parens indulgentissima optima quaeque in propatulo posuerit, ut aerem, aquam ac tellurem ipsam; longissime uero uana ac nihil profutura semouerit. Ergo haec metalla si apud eos in turrim aliquam abstruderentur, princeps ac senatus in suspicacionem uenire posset (ut est uulgi stulta solertia) ne, deluso per technam populo, ipsi aliquo inde commodo fruerentur. Porro si phylas inde aliaque id genus.}\]

\[\text{Aurum ferro uiltius, quantum ad usum attinet.}\]

\[\text{a quum interim \ldots fecisset desunt in A.}\]

\[\text{1 Cicero has a similar thought, De Nat. Deorum, ii. c. 60: 'Nos e terrae cavernis ferrum elicimus, rem ad colendos agros necessariam; nos aeris, argenti, auri venas, penitus abditas, invenimur, et ad usum aptas et ad ornatum decoras.'}\]
of Utopia.

if they should make therof plat and such other finely and cunningly wrought stuffe; yf at anye tyme they shoulde haue occasyon to breake it, and melte it agayne, and therwyth to paye their souldiours wages; they see and perceiue very well that men wolde be lothe to parte from those thynges that they ons begonne to haue pleasure and delyte in.

To remedye all thys, they haue fownde out a meanes, which, as it is agreable to al their other lawes and customes, so it is from ours, where golde is so muche set by and so delygently kepte, very farre discrepant and repugnaunt; and therfore vncredible, but only to them that be wise. For where as they eate and drincke in earthen and glasse vesselles, which in dede be curiously and properlie made, and yet be of very small value; of gold and siluer they make commonlye chamber pottes, and other like vessels that serue for moste vile vses, not only in their common halles, but in every mans priuate house. Furthermore of

\[a\] and omitted. \[b\] like omitted.

opera fabre excusa conficerent, siquando incidisset occasio, ut conflanda sint rursus, atque in militum eroganda stipendium, uident

97 nimirum fore ut | aegre patiantur auelli quae semel in delitiis habere coepissent.

His rebus uti occurrant, excogitauere quandam rationem, ut reliquis ipsorum institutis consentaneam, ita ab nostris (apud quos aurum tanti fit, ac tani diligenter conditur) longissime abhorrentem, eoque nisi peritis non credibilem. Nam quum in fictilibus e terra uitroque, elegantissimis quidem illis sed uilibus tamen, edant bibantque, ex auro atque argento, non in communibus aulis modo, sed in priuatis etiam domibus, matellas passim ac sordidissima quaeque uasa conficiunt. Ad haec

1 That is, plate. Burnet has: 'if they should work it into Vessels, or any Sort of Plate.'
2 As was afterwards done by Charles 1, in 1642, when the two Universities sent their plate to Nottingham, to be converted into money for the king's use.
3 Rather, 'to those who know it by experience'—peritis.
the same mettalles they make greate cheynes with fetters and giues, wherin they tye their bondmen. Finally, who so euer for any offence be infamed, by their eares hange ringes of golde; vpon their fingers they were ringes of golde, and about their neckes cheynes of gold; and in conclusion their heades be tiedade about with golde. Thus, by all meanes that may be, they procure to haue gold and siluer emong them in reproche and infamy. And therfore thies metalles, which other nations do as gretously and sorroufully forgo, as in a maner from their owne liues: if they should all togethers at ones be taken from the vtopians, no man there wold thinke that he had lost the worth of one farthing.

They gather also peerles by the sea side, and Diamondes and Carbuncles vpon certein rockes; and yet they seke not for them; but by chaunce finding them they cutt and

* with omitted.  
\[with all means possible.\]  
\[therefore omitted.\]

catenas et crassas compedes, quibus cohercent seruos, iisdem ex metallis operantur. Postremo quoscunque aliquod crimem infames facit, ab horum auribus anuli dependent aurei, digitos aurum cingit, aurea torques ambit collum, et caput denique auro uincitur. Ita omnibus curant modis, ut apud se aurum argentumque in ignomina sint, atque hoc pacto fit ut haec metalla, quae caeterae gentes non minus fere dolenter ac uscera sua distrahi patiuntur, apud Vtopienses, si semel omnia res postularet efferri, nemo sibi iacturam unius fecisse assis uideretur.

Margaritas praetera legunt in litoribus; quin in rupibus quibusdam adamantes ac pyropus quoque: neque tamen quaerunt, sed

1 'It is amusing,' as Father Bridgett says in his Life (p. 184), 'that the writer of all this should have been made a knight, or, as he was then called, Eques auratus, "a gilded knight," because this dignity both entitled him and required of him to wear golden insignia, and to deck with gold the trappings of his horse; and that he should generally be represented as wearing round his neck one of those massive gold chains, which he made the badge of notorious malefactors among his Utopians.'

2 Robynson appears to have taken the Latin semel for simul.
polish them. And therewith they decke their yonge infants. Which, like as in the first yeares of their childhood they make much and be fond and proud of such ornaments, so when they be a little more grown in yeares and discretion, perceiuing that none but children do were such toies and trifeles, they lay them awaye euens of theyre owne shamefastenes, wythowte annye biddyng of there parentes: euens as oure chyldren, when they waxe bygge, doo caste awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. Therfore thyse lawes and customes, whych be so farre dyfferente from all othere natyons, howe dyuers fanseys and myndes they doo cause, dydde I neuer so playnlye perceuaue, as in the Ambassadoure of the Anemolians.

Thyes Ambassadoure came to Amaurote whyles I was there. And bycause they came to entreat of greate and weighty matters, those iii. citizeins a pece out of euery city were commen thether before them. But al the oblatos casu perpoliunt. His ornant infantulos, qui, ut primis pueritiae annis talibus ornamentis gloriantur ac superbiunt, sic, ubi plusculum accreuit acetatis, cum ieusmodi nugis non nisi pueros | uti, nullo parentum animaduertunt monitu sed suet imporsum pudore deponunt; non aliter ac nostri pueri, quum grandescunt, nuces, bullas et pupas abliuent. Itaque haec tam diuersa ab reliquis gentibus instituta quam diuersas itidem animorum affectiones pariant, numquam aeque mihi atque in Anemoliorum legatis inclaruit.

Venerunt hi Amaurotum (dum ego aderam) et, quoniam magnis de rebus tractatum ueniebant, aduentum corum terni illi ciues ex qualibet urbe praueuenter.

1 'Throwing away nuts;' for 'putting away childish things,' is rather a Latin proverb than an English one. The emperor Augustus, we are told, would play at nuts with little children (Sueton. in vita, c. 83). All three expressions may be illustrated from Persius:—

't... nucibus facimus quaeccunque relictis' (Sat. j. 10).  

2 Bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pependit' (ib. v. 31).

'Nempe hoc quod Veneri donatae a uirgine pupae' (ib. ii. 70).  

3 An appropriate name, from ãvreulos, 'the wind.' Compare Cicero's use of ventosus, where he calls Lepidus 'homo ventosissimus' (Epp. ad Fam. xi. 9).

See above, p. 119.
Ambassadors of the next contreis, which had bene there before, and knewe the fassions and maners of the Vtopians, amonge whome they perceaued no honoure geuen to sumptuous and costelye* apparrell, silkes to be contemned, golde also to be enfamed and reprochefull, were wont to come thether in very homely and simple apparrell\(^b\). But the Anemolianes, bicause they dwell farre thence, and had verye little acquaintance with them, hearinge that they were al appareled a like, and that verye rudelye and homelye, thynkynge them not to haue the thynges whyche they dydde not weare, beynge therefore more proud then wise, determined in the gorgiousnes of their apparel to represent very goddes, and wyth the bright shynynge and glisteringe of their gaye clothinge to dasell the eyes of the silie poore vtopains. So ther came in iii. Ambassadours with C. seruauntes all appareled in changeable colours; the moost of them in silkes; the Ambassadours themselfes (for at home in their owne countrie they were noble men) in cloth of gold, with great cheines of gold, with

\(^{a}\) and costelye ommitted. \(^{b}\) araie.

sed omnes finitimarum gentium legati, qui eo ante appulerant, quibus Vtopiensium perspecti mores erant, apud quos sumptuoso uestitui nihil honoris haberi intelligebant, sericum contemptui esse, aurum etiam infame sciebant, cultu quam poterant modestissimo uenire consueuerant. At Anemolii, quod longius aberant, ac minus cum illis commercii habuerant, quum accepissent eodem omnes eoque rudi corporis cultu esse, persua\(^1\) non habere eos quo non utebantur, ipsi etiam superbi magis quam sapientes decreuerunt apparatus elegantia deos quosdam repraesentare, et miserorum oculos Vtopiensium ornatus sui splendore praestringere. Itaque ingressi sunt legati tres, cum comitibus centum, omnes uestitu uersicolori, plerique serico, legati ipsi (nam domi nobiles erant) amictu aureo, magnis torquibus, et

\(^1\) This personal construction of *persuasus*, as if the verb governed an accusative in the active, is found in Ovid and Phaedrus. Valla, while discussing the nice distinctions of *suadere* and *persuadere*, seems to allow it: ‘Qui persuasus est, plane acquiescit.’ *Elegant.* (1529), leaf 149 vers.
gold hanging at their eares, with gold ringes vpon their fingers, with brouchess and aglettes of gold vpon their cappes, which glistered ful of peerles and pretious stones; to be short, trimmed and aduorned with al those thinges, which emong the vtopians were other the punishement of bondmen, or the reproche of inflamed persones, or elles trifels for yonge children to playe with all. Therfore it wolde haue done a man good at his harte to haue sene howe prouedlye they displayed their pecockes fethers; howe muche they made of their paynted sheathes; and howe loftely they sett forth and aduaunced them selfes, when they compared their gallaunte apparrell with the poore rayment of the vtopians. For al the people were swarmed furth into the stretes. And on the other side it was no lesse pleasure to consider howe muche they were deceaued, and how farre they missed of their purpose; being contrary wayes taken then they thought they shoulde haue bene. For to the iyes of all the vtopians, excepte very fewe, whiche had bene in other contreys for some resonalbe cause, al that gorgeousnes of apparrel semed shamefull and reprochefull; in so

Inauribus aureis, ad haece anulis aureis in manibus, monilibus insuper appennis in pileo, quae margaritis ac gemmis affulgebant: omniibus postremo rebus ornati, quae apud Vtopienses aut serorum supplicia, aut infamium dedecora, aut puerorum nugamenta fuere. Itaque operaee precium erat uidere quo pacto cristas erexerint, ubi suum ornatum cum Vtopiensium uestitu (nam in plateis sese populus effuderat) contulere. contraque non minus erat uoluptatis consyderare quam longe sua eos spes expectatioque sefellerat, quamque longe ab ea existimatione aberant, quam se consecuturos putauerant. Nempe Vtopiensium oculis omnium, exceptis perquam paucis, qui alias gentes aliqua idonea de causa inuiserant, totus ille splendor apparatus pudendus uidebatur, et infimum quenque pro dominis reuerenter

praeterquam, A.

\[1\] It will be noticed how Robynson has here amplified the single phrase 'quo pacto cristas erexerint.' in the Latin 'quo pacto cristas erexerint.'
much that they most reuerently saluted the vylest and most abiect of them for lordes; passing ouer the Ambassadors themselfes without any honour; judging them, be their wearing of golden cheynes, to be bonde
men. Yea, you shuld haue sene children also that had caste away their peerles and pretious stones, when they sawe the like sticking vpon the Ambassadors cappes, digge and pushe their mothers vnder the sides, sayinge thus to them: ‘Loke, mother, how great a lubbor doth yet were peerles and pretious stoones, as though he were a litel child still’. But the mother, yea, and that also in good earnest: ‘peace, sone,’ saith she; ‘I thynk he be some of the Ambassadors fooles.’ Some fownde fawte at theire golden cheynes, as to no vse nor purpose; beynge so small and weake, that a bonde
man myghte easelye breake them; and agayne so wyde and large, that, when it pleased him, he myght cast them of, and runne awaye at lybertye whether he wolde.

But when the Ambassadoures hadde bene there a daye or .ii., and sawe so greate abundance of gold so lyghtelye estymed, yea, in no lesse reproche then yt was wyth them salutantes, legatos ipsos, ex aurearum usu catenarum pro seruis habi
tos, sineullo prorsus honore praetermiserunt. Quin pueros quoque uidisses, qui gemmas ac margaritas abiecerant, ubi in legatorum pileis

\[\text{o } \tau \varepsilon \nu \iota \tau \nu, A. \quad \text{Idem quoque B., sed nulla accentus nota.}\]

1 The marginal annotator, whether deservedly called attention to the it be Erasmus or Peter Giles, has artistic effect of this touch.
in honour; and, besydes that, more golde in the cheynes and gyues of one fugytyue bondeman, then all the costelye ornamentes of them .iii. was worth; they beganne to abate theyre currage, and for verye shame layde awaye all that gorgyouse arraye wherof theye were so prowde; and specyallye when they hadde talkedede famlyyerlye wyth the Vtopyans, and hadde learnede all theyre fassyon and opynyons. For they marueyle that annye men be soo folyshe as to haue delyte and pleasure in the a gylsterynge of a lytyll tryfelynge stone, whyche maye beholde annye of the starres, or elles the soone yt ysle; or that annye man ys so madde as to counte him selfe the nobler for the smaller or fyner threde of wolle, whyche selfe same woll (be it nowe in neuere so fyne a sponne threde) dyde ones a shepe weare b; and yet was she all that time no other thing than a shepe 1.

They marueyle also that golde, whyche of the owne nature is a thynge so vnprofytable, is nowe emonge all

a the doubteful.  
b a shepe dyde ones.

quam apud se honore habitam uidissent; ad haec in unius fugitiui serui catenas compedesque plus auri atque argenti congestum quam totus ipsorum trium apparatus constiterat, subsidentibus pennis omnem illum cultum, quo sese tam arroganter extulerant, pudefacti seposuerunt: maxime uero postquam familiarius cum Vtopiensibus collocuti mores eorum atque opiniones didicere. Mirantur ille siquidem quenquam esse mortalium quem exiguae gemmulae aut lapilli dubius oblectet fulgor, cui quidem stellam aliquam atque ipsum denique solem liceat a intueri; aut quenquam tam insanum esse, ut nobilior ipse sibi ob tenuioris lanae filum uideatur; siquidem hanc ipsam (quantumuis tenui filo sit) ouis olim gestauit, nec aliud tamen interim quam ouis fuit.

Mirantur item aurum suapte natura tam inutile nunc ubique gen-

a om. A.

1 An anticipation of the familiar lines of Dr. Watts:

'When the poor sheep and silkworm wore
That very clothing long before.'
people in soo hyghe estymatyon, that man hym selfe, by whom, yea and for the vse of whome, yt ys so muche sett by, ys in muche lesse estymatyon then the golde yt selfe. In so muche that a lumpyshe blockehedded churle¹, and whyche hathe no more wytte then an asse, yea, and as full of noughtenes and folyshenes², shall haue neuertheles many wyse and good men in subiectyon and bondage, onlye for thys, bycause he hathe a greate heape of golde. Whyche yf yt should be taken from hyme by annye fortune, or by some subtyll wyle³ of the lawe, (which no lesse then fortune doth raise vp the lowe, and plucke downe the high) and be geuen to the most vile slaue and abiect dreuell of all his housholde, then shortly after he shall goo into the seruice of his seruaunt, as an augmentation or an⁴ ouerplus besyd his money. But they much more marueill at and detest the madenes of them, whyche to those riche men, in whose debte and daunger² they be not, do giue almoste diuine honowres,

¹ noughtenes as of follye.  
² wyle and cautele.  
³ nor.

tium aestimari tanti, ut homo ipse per quem atque adeo in cuius usum id precii obtinuit, minoris multo quam aurum ipsum aestime-
tur; usque adeo ut plumbeus quispiam, et cui non plus ingenii sit quam stipiti, nec minus etiam improbus quam stultus, multos tamen et sapientes et bonos uiros in seruitute habet, ob id duntaxat, quod ei magnus contigit aureo-
rum numismatum cumulus; quem si qua fortuna aut aliqua legum stropha (quae nihil minus ac fortuna ipsa summis ima permiscet) ab hero illo ad abiecissimum totius familiae suae nebulonem transtu-
lerit, fit nimirum paulo post ut in famuli sui famu|licium concedat, nor uelut appendix additamentumque numismatum. Caeterum multo magis eorum mirantur ac detestantur insaniam, qui diuitibus illis quib-
bus neque debent quicquam, neque sunt obnoxii, nullo alio respectu,

¹ Burnet, more literally, but not idiomatically, 'a Man of Lead.'  
² Compare the Merchant of Venice, iv.1, 'You stand within his danger, do you not?'  
³ 'or' may have been caused by joining the n of the pre-
ceeding word to 'or.'
for non other consideration, but bicause they be riche; and yet knowing them to be suche nigeshe penny fathers\(^1\), that they be sure, as long as they liue, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold shall come to them.

Thies and such like opinions haue they conceaued, partely by education, beinge brought vp in that common wealth, whose lawes and customes be farre different from thies kindes of folly, and partely by good litterature and learning. For though ther be not many in euery citye, whiche be exempte and discharged of all other laboures, and appointed only to learninge; that is to saye, suche in whome even from theire very childhode they haue perceaued a singuler 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 owte all theire hole lyffe, doo bestowe in learninge those spare howres, which we sayde they haue vacante from bodelye laboures\(^2\). They be taughte learninge in theire owne

quam quod diuites sunt, honores tantum non diuinos impendunt, idque cum eos tam sordidos atque auaros cognoscunt, ut habeant certo certius ex tanto nummorum cumulo, uiuentibus illis, ne unum quidem nummulum unquam ad se uenturum.

Has atque huiusmodi opiniones partim ex educatione conceperunt, in ea educti Republica, cuius instituta longissime ab his stultitiae generibus absunt; partim ex doctrina et literis. Nam et si haud multi cuiusque urbis sunt, qui caeteris exonerati laboribus soli disciplinae deputantur, hii uidelicet in quibus a pueritia egregiam indolem, eximium ingenium, atque animum ad bonas artes propensum, deprehendere, tamen omnes pueri literis imbuuntur; et populi bona pars, uiri faeminaeque, per totam uitam, horas illas quas ab operibus liberas diximus, in literis collocant. Disciplinas ipsorum lingua

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\(^1\) Niggardly misers. See the Glossary.
\(^2\) See above, p. 143. In this 'vacancy' idea of 'school.'
natyue tongue. For yt is bothe copious in woordes, and also pleasaunte to the eare, and for the vtteraunce of a mans minde verye perfecte and sure. The mooste parte of all that syde of the wordle vseth the same langage; sauinge that amonge the Vtopians yt is fyneste and puryste; and accordynge to the dyuersytye of the con- treys yt ys dyuerslye alterede.

Of all thyes Philosophers, whose names be here famous in thys parte of the wordle to vs knownen, before owjre cummynge thether, nott as muche as the fame of annye of them was comen amonge them; and yett in Musycke, Logycke, Arythmetyke, and Geometrye, they haue fownde owte in a manner all that oure auncyente Philosophers haue tawghte. But as they in all thynges be almoste equall to our olde auncyente clerkes, so our newe Logiciens

perdiscunt. est enim neque uerborum inops, nec insuauis auditu, nec ualla fidelior animi interpres est. eadem fere (nisi quod ubique corruption, alibi alter) magnam eius orbis plagam peruagatur.

Ex omnibus his philosophis, quorum nomina sunt in hoc noto nobis orbe celebria, ante nostrum aduentum ne nama quedem cuiusquam eo perueniret, et tamen in musica dialecticaque, ac numerandi et me|tiendi scientia eadem fere quae nostri illi ueteres inuenere. Caeterum ut antiquos omnibus prope rebus exaequant, ita nuperorum

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1 Was More thinking of the yet undeveloped capacity of his own mother tongue, when he wrote this? It should not, at any rate, be forgotten what great services he rendered to his native English speech. He was, as Sir James Mackintosh said, 'the first person in our history distinguished by the faculty of public speaking;' and he was also distinguished 'as our earliest prose writer, and as the first Englishman who wrote the history of his country in the present language.'—Life of More, 1831, p. 19. The English tongue in More's day, 'rough, confused, unmetrical, the tongue of business and the vulgar, was, in the lips of the educated, a condescension to vulgar ignorance and infirmity.'—See English Studies, by the late Professor Brewer, 1881, p. 226. More's friends, Colet and Lily, at the time when he wrote, were also 'teaching learning in their own native tongue.'

2 The same transposition of letters is left in the second edition.
in subyll inuentyons haue farre passed and gone beyonde them. For they haue not deuyseyd one of all those rules of restryctyons, amplyfycatyons, and supposytyons, very wittelye inuented in the small Logycalles, whych e heare oure chyldren in everye place do learne. Furthermore they were neuer yet able to fynde out the seconde inten-
yons; in so muche that none of them all could euer see

inuentis dialecticorum longe sunt impares. Nam ne ullam quidem regulam inuenerunt earum, quas de restrictionibus, amplificationibus, ac suppositionibus acutissime excogitatis in paruis logicalibus passim hic ediscunt pueri.

Porro secundas intentiones tam longe abest ut invesigare suffecerint,

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1 The marginal note gives a hint of the irony that is coming.
2 The name of 'Parva Logica' (so called, More says laughingly in his letter to Dorp, because they have little logic in them) was given to the last treatise in the Summulae of Petrus Hispanus (Spanheym), afterwards Pope John XXI. He died in 1277. According to Mansel, his Summulae Logicales may be regarded as 'the earliest scholastic treatise on Logic which professes to be anything more than an abridgement of, or commentary on, portions of the Organon.' The last treatise of the work, according to the same writer, 'contains sundry additions to the text of Aristotle, in the form of dissertations on suppositio, ampliation, restrictio, expoxible propositions, and other subtleties, more ingenious than useful, and belonging rather to Grammar than to Logic.' There are frequent allusions to the Parva Logica in the Epistolas Obscurorum Vivorum (ed. 1557, leaf A 9 of the Concil. Theolog., &c.), and the subject is not forgotten in the Encomium Moriae (ed. 1668, p. 182). It is amusing to find Listrius, who joined in the laugh with Erasmus at these 'plusquam scholasticas nugas,' pre-
paring an edition of the Summulae, which appeared in 1520. See Gesner's Bibliotheca, 1545, leaf 274 vers., and Mansel's Artis Logicae Rudimenta, 1852, p. xxxiii.

3 Of this really important conception in logic, which formed a chief subject of dispute between the Thomists and Scotists, Mr. Mullinger gives a clear account in his University of Cambridge, i. p. 181: 'The intellect, as it directs itself (intendens se) towards external objects, discerns, for example, Socrates in his pure individuality, and the impression thus received is to be distinguished as the intentio prima. But when the existence of Socrates has thus been apprehended, the reflective faculty comes into play; Socrates, by a secondary process, is recognized as a philosopher or as an animal; he is assigned to genus and species. The conception thus formed constitutes the intentio secunda. But the intentio secunda exists only in relation to the human intellect, and hence cannot be ranked among real existences; while the objects of the external world, and Universals which have their existence in the Divine mind, would exist even if man were not.'
man hymselfe in commen, as they call hym; though he be (as yow knowe) bygger then euer was annye gyantye, yea, and poyned to of vs euen wyth our fynger. But they be in the course of the starres, and the mouynges of the heauenlye spheres, verye expert and cunnynge. They haue also wyttelye excogytated and diuised instrumentes of diuers fassyons, wherin is exactly comprehended and conteyned the mouynges and sytyatyon of the sonne, the moone, and of all the other starres which appere in theyr horyzon. But as for the amityes and dissentyon of the planettes, and all that deaceyeful diuynatyon by the starres, they neuer asmuch as dreamed therof. Raynes, windes, and other courses of tempestes they knowe before

\[1\] That is, man in the abstract. For the subject of Universals, in dispute between the Realists and Nominalists, see Hampden's *Scholastic Philosophy*, 1833, p. 71, and the passages from Prantl, quoted by Mullinger, as above, pp. 182, 183.

\[2\] This was in accordance with More's own tastes. 'If an astronomer came in his way,' says Seebohm, quoting Stapleton, 'he would get him to stay awhile in his house, to teach them all about the stars and planets.' *Oxford Ref.*, 1869, p. 500.

\[3\] 'No class of men,' writes the author of *Philomorus*, 'came more frequently under the lash than the pretenders to astrology. Many years ago More had exposed their notorious failure in his elegy upon the death of Elizabeth of York, who died in the very year in which they had predicted for her all manner of prosperity:—

'Yet was I lately promised otherwise,
Now dost to welthe and delice.'

See the *Philomorus*, ed. 1878, pp. 233 sqq., where translations are given of some of More's epigrams *in astrologos*. 
by certein tokens, which they haue learned by long vse
and obseruation\(^1\). But of the causes of all thies thinges,
of the ebbinge, flowinge, and saltenes of the sea, and
fynallye of the orygynall begynnynge and nature of heauen
and of the wordle, they holde partelye the same opynyons
that our olde philosophers holde; and partelye, as our
philosophers varye emonge themselfes, so they also, whiles
they bringe new reasons of thynges, doo disagree from all
them, and yet emonge themselfes in all poyntes they doo
not accorde.

In that part of philosophie which intreateth of manners
and vertue\(^2\), theire reasons and opynyons agree wyth
ours. They dyspute of the good qualytyes of the sowle,
of the body, and of fortune; and whether the name of
goodnes\(^3\) maye be applied to all thies, or onlie to the
endowmentes and giftes of the sowle. They reason of
vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question
is in what thyngye, be yt one or moo, the felycytye of man
consisteth. But in thys poynte theye seme almooste to

quibusdam longo perspectis usu praesentiunt. Sed de causis earum
rerum omnium, et de fluxu maris eiusque salsitate, et
in summa de caeli mundique origine ac natura, partim
eadem que ueteres philosophi nostri disserunt, partim,
ut illi inter se dissident, ita hi quoque, dum nouas rerum rationes affe-
runt, ab omnibus illis dissentiunt, nec inter se tamen usque quaque
conueniunt.

In ea philosophiae parte qua de moribus agitur, eadem illis dispu-
\(^{103}\) tantur quae nobis. de bonis animi quaerunt et cor-
poris, et externis, tum utrum boni nomen omnibus his,
an solis animi dotibus conueniat. De uirtute disserunt
ac uoluptate; sed omnium prima est ac princeps con-
trouersia, qua nam in re, una pluribusue sitam hominis
felicitatem putent. At hac in re propensiores aequo

\(^1\) Compare what was said of the
City of the Sun, above, p. Ivii.
\(^2\) Ethics, or moral philosophy.
\(^3\) The marginal note 'Fines bono-
rum' points the reference to Cicero's
treatise. In what follows, frequent
references to the De Finibus will ap-
ppear.
muche geuen and enclyned to the opinion of them whiche defende pleasure; wherin they determine other all or the chiefyste parte of mans felcytye to reste. And (whyche is more to bee marueld at) the defence of thys soo deyntyte and delycate an opynyon they setche euen from theyre graue, sharpe, bytter, and rygorous relygyon. For they neuer dyspute of felcytye or blessednes, but they ioyne to the reasons of Philosophye certeyne pryncyples taken owte of relygyon; wythoute the whyche, to the inuestygatyon of trewe felicitie, theye thinke reason of yt selfe weak and vnperfecte. Thoose pryncyples be thyes and suche lyke: That the sowle ys immortall, and by the bountifull goodnes of God ordeyned to felicitie: That to our vertues and good deades rewardes be apoynted after this lyfe, and to our euell deades punyshementes. Though thies be

uoluptate
metiuntur.
Principia philo-
sophiae e
religione potenda.
Theologia
Vtopiensium.
Aninorum im-
mortalitatis, de
qua hodie non
pauci etiam
Christianorum
disputant.

This making the people of Utopia to be Epicureans in philosophy is in accordance with what Vesputius had written of some of his newly-discovered tribes:—· Quid ultra dicam? viuunt secundum naturam, et epycuri potius dici possunt quam stoici.—See the Mundus novus, before quoted, fol. 3 verso.

1 The insertion of this word spoils the sense. The religion of the Utopians was not ‘sharpe, bytter and rygorous.’ Burnet’s rendering is better: ‘and, what may seem more strange, they make use of arguments even from religion, notwithstanding its severity and roughness, for the support of that opinion, so indulgent to pleasure.’
perteynyng to religion, yet they thinke it mete that they shoulde be beleued and granted by profes of reason. But if thies principles were condemped and dysanulled, then without anye delaye they pronounce no man to be so folish, whiche woulde not do all hys diligence and endeoure to obteyne pleasure be ryght or wronge, onlye auoydynge this inconuenience, that the lesse pleasure should not be a let or hynderaunce to the bygger; or that he laboured not for that pleasure whiche would bryng after it displeasure, greefe, and sorrowe. For they iudge it extreame madnes to folowe sharpe and peinful vertue, and not onlye to bannyshe the pleasure of lyfe, but also wyllyngly to suffre grief without any hope of proffyt thereof. For what proffyt can there be, if a man, when he hath passed ouer all hys lyfe vnpleasauntly, that is to say, wretchedlye, shall haue no rewarde after hys death?

1 Epicurus himself taught the necessity of this temperance in the enjoyment of pleasure. It was a boast of his, Seneca tells us, that he could dine for less than an as, while it cost Metrodorus the whole of that sum (about three farthings) for his dinner. The peculiar pleasure of the feat lay in the consciousness of being able to dispense with what lower natures found necessary to enjoyment. 'Non enim iucunda res est aqua et polenta, aut frustum hordaei panis; sed summa uoluptas est, posse capere ex his uoluptatem, et ad id se reduxisse, quod eripere nulla fortunae iniquitas possit.' Seneca, Epist. xviii.

2 A post-classical word, found in Aulus Gellius.
But now, syr, they thynke not felicitie to reste in all pleasure, but onlye in that pleasure that is good and honest; and that hereto, as to perfet blessednes, our nature is allured and drawen euen of vertue; wherto only they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicitie. For they define vertue to be a life ordered according to nature; and that we be hereunto ordeined of god; and that he doth followe the course of nature, which in desiering and refusynge thynges is ruled by reason. Furthermore, that reason doth chiefelie and pryncipallye kendle in men the loue and veneration of the deuyne maistie; of whoes goodnes it is that we be, and that we be impossibilitie to attayne felicite. And that, secondarely, it moueth and pouloketh vs to leade our lyfe out of care in ioye and myrth, and to helpe all other, in respecte of the sosiete

\[b\] in possibilitie \((\text{printed as one word})\).
\[c\] \(\text{[and... other]}\) and also moueth us to helpe and further all other.

uero non in omni uoluptate felicitatem, sed in bona atque honesta sitam putant. ad eam enim, uelut ad summum bonum, naturam nostram ab ipsa uirtute pertrahi, cui sola aduersa factio felicitatem tribuit.

Hoc iuxta Stoicos.

1 This is the Stoical definition of virtue. 'Natura enim duce uiuendum est,' wrote Seneca; 'idem est ergo beate uiuere et secundum naturam' \((\text{De} \text{Vita} \text{beata}, \text{c.} \text{viii})\). Lipsius, in his \textit{Manuductio ad Stoicam Philosophiam} (ed. 1644), p. 177, quotes a number of passages to the same effect. Mr. J. A. St. John, who refers to this passage of Lipsius in his commentary on the \textit{Utopia}, adds: 'The only difficulty appears to be to determine what it is to live according to nature; for I imagine that every man will be sure to conceive that nature sanctions what he thinks right.'

2 Lat. \textit{quam... minime anxiam}, 'as little careful as may be,' in the old sense of careful \((\text{Phil. iv.} 6)\).
of nature, to obteyne\textsuperscript{a} the same. For there was never man so earnest and paynefull a follower of vertue, and hater of pleasure, that woulde so inioyne you laboure, watchinges, and fastinges\textsuperscript{1}, but he would also exhort you to ease and lighten to\textsuperscript{b} your powre the lacke and myserie of others; praysyng the same as a dede of humanitie and pitie. Then if it be\textsuperscript{2} a poynte of humanitie for man to bryng health and comforte to man, and speciallye (whiche is a vertue moste peculiarlye belongynge to man) to mitigate and assuage the grief of others, and by takyng from them the sorowe and heuynes of lyfe, to restore them to ioye, that is to saye to pleasure; whye maye it not then be sayd that nature doth prouoke euerye man to doo the same to hymselfe?

For a ioyfull lyfe, that is to saye, a pleaasaunt lyfe, is other euell; and if it be so, then thou shouldest not onlye helpe no man therto, but rather, as muche as in the lieth, helpe\textsuperscript{c} all men from it, as noysome and hurtefull; or els, if thou not onlye mayste, but also of dewtie art bounde to

\textsuperscript{a} obteyne and enjoye.  \textsuperscript{b} ease, lighten and relieue to.  \textsuperscript{c} withdrawe.

Neque enim quisquam unquam fuit tam tristis ac rigidus assecla uirtutis, et osor uoluptatis, qui ita labores, uigilias et squalores indicat tibi, ut non idem aliorum inopiam atque incommoda leuare te pro tua uirili iubeat, et id laudandum humanitatis nomine censeat, hominem homini saluti ac solatio esse, si humanum est maxime (qua uirtute nulla est homini magis propria) aliorum mitigare molestiam, et sublata tristitia uitae iucunditati, hoc est uoluptati reddere. Quid ni natura quenquam instiget et sibimet idem praestet?

\textsuperscript{1} There is an allusion in the English, but not in the Latin, to 2 Cor. vi. 5.  
\textsuperscript{2} It will be seen that Robynson, perhaps rightly, makes a different arrangement of the Latin sentences from that in the text. He places a full stop after censeat, and only a comma after reddere.
procure it to others, why not chiefly to thesself, to whome thou art bound to shewe as muche fauour as to other? For when natur biddeth the to be good and gentle to other, she commandeth the not to be cruell and vngentle to the selfe. Therfore euen very nature (saye they) prescribith to vs a ioyfull lyfe, that is to saye, pleasure, as the ende of all our operations. And they defyne vertue to be lyfe ordered accordyng to the prescrypt of nature. But in that that nature dothe allure and prouoke men one to healpe an other to lyue merilye (whiche suerlye she doth not without a good cause; for no man is so farre aboue the lot of mans state or condicion, that nature doth carke and care for hym only, whiche equallye faououreth all that be comprehended vnder the communion of one shape, forme, and passion), verely she commandeth the to vse diligent circumspection, that thou do not so seke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities.

* fauour and gentelnes.

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1 'Omne animal, simulatque natum sit, voluptatem appetere, eaque gaudere, ut summo bono; dolorem asperrnari, ut summum malum, et, quantum possit, a se repellere: idque facere nondum depravatum, ipsa natura incorrupte atque integre iudicante.' Cic. De Fin. I. ix 30.

2 See above, p. 190.

3 Join 'not without.'
Wherfore their opinion is, that not onlye couenauntes and bargaynes made amonge priuate men ought to be well and faythfullye fulylled, observerd, and kept, but also commen lawes; whiche other a good prince hath iustly publyshed, or els the people, nother oppressed with tyranny, nother deceaued by fraude and gyell, hath by their common consent constitute and ratified, concernyng the particion of the commodities of lyfe,—that is to say, the matter of pleasure. Thies lawes not offendid, it is wysdome that thou looke to thyne own wealthe. And to do the same for the common wealth is no lesse then thy duetie, if thou bearest any reuerent loue or any naturall zeale and affection to thy natie contrye. But to go about to let an other man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thyne owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyse, to withdrawe somethynge from they selfe to geue to other, that is a pointe of humanitie and gentynles; whiche neuer taketh a waye so muche commoditie, as it bryngeth agayne. For it is recompensed with the retourne of benefytes; and the conscience of the good dede, with the remembrance of the thankefull loue and beneuolence of them

Seruanda igitur censent non inita solum inter priuatos pacta, sed publicas etiam leges, quas aut bonus princeps juste promulgavit, aut populus, nec oppressus a tyrannide, nec dolo circumscriptus, de partiendis uitae commodis, hoc est materia uoluptatis, communi consensu sanxit. Hiis inoffensis legibus tuum curare commodum, prudentia b est; publicum praeterea, pieta-tis. Sed alienam uoluptatem praeruptum ire, dum consequare tuam, 106 ea uero inuria est. contra tibi aliquid ipsi | demere, quod addas aliis, id demum est humanitatis ac benignitatis officium, quod ipsum nunquam tantum auffert commodi quantum re-fert. Nam et beneficiorum uicissitudine pensatur, et ipsa benefacti conscientia, ac recordatio charitatis eorum et beneu- lentiae quibus benefeceris, plus uoluptatis auffert animo, quam fuisset

a om. A.  

b Legend. prudentiae.

1 That is, the material.
to whom thou hast done it, doth bryngge more pleasure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou hast withholden from thy selfe could haue brought to the a bodye. Finallye (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easie to be persuaded), God recompenseth the gifte of a short and small pleasure with great and euerlastinge ioye. Therfore, the matter diligentlie wayde and considered, thus they thinke: that all our actions, and in them the vertues themselfes, be referred at the last to pleasure, as theire ende and felicitie.

Pleasure they call every motion and state of the bodie or mynde, wherin man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they ioyne to nature\(^1\), and that not without a good cause. For like as not only the senses, but also right reason, coueteth whatsoeuer is naturally pleasantaunt; so that it\(^b\) may be gotten without wrong or iniurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleasur, nor causing painful labour; euen so those thinges that men by vaine ymagination, do

\[\text{illa corporis qua abstinuisti. Postremo (quod facile persuadet animo libenter assentienti religio) breuis et exiguae uoluptatis uicem ingenti ac nunquam interituro gaudio rependit deus. Itaque hoc pacto consent, et excussa sedulo et perpensa re, omnes actiones nostras, atque in his uirtutes etiam ipsas, uoluptatem tandem, uelut finem felicitatemque, respicere.}
\]

Voluptatem appellant omnem corporis animiue motum statumque, in quo uersari natura duce delectet. Appetitionem naturae non temere addunt. Nam ut quicquid natura iucundum est, ad quod neque per iniuriam tenditur, nec iucundius aliud amittitur, nec labor succedit, non sensus modo sed recta quoque ratio persequitur; ita quae praeter naturam dulcia sibi mor-

\(^1\) The sense of the original is here somewhat obscured. More had given the Utopian definition of pleasure as 'every motion or state of body or mind, in which Nature teaches us to find delight.' It is an essential part of this definition that Nature should be the guide. Hence 'they add, with good reason, the appetite (or inclination) of Nature,' without which many things might be taken for pleasures, which were not really so. If this view be right, naturae is genitive, not dative.
fayne against nature to be pleasantaunt (as though it lay in their powre to chaunge the thinges as they do the names of thinges), al suche pleasures they beleue to be of so small helpe and furtheraunce to felicitie, that they counte them great a let and hinderaunce; because that, in whom they haue 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 delectacions. For there be manye thynges, whiche of their owne nature conteyne no plesauntnes; yea the moste part of them muche grief and sorrow; and yet, through the peruerse and malicious flickering inticementes of lewde and vnhoneste desyres, be taken not only for speciall and souereigne pleasures, but also be counted amponge the chiefe causes of life.

In this counterfeit kinde of pleasure they put them that I speake of before; which, the better gowne they haue on, the better men they thynke them selves. In the whiche thynge they doo twyse erre. For they be no lesse deceaued in that they thynke their gowne the better, than they be in that they thinke themselfes the better. For if

a great.

tales uanissima conspiratione confingunt (tanquam in ipsis esset perinde res ac vocabula commutare) ea omnia statuunt adeo nihil ad felicitatem facere, ut plurimum efficiant etiam, uel eo quod quibis semel insederunt, ne ueris ac genuinis oblectamentis usquam uacet locus, totum prorsus animum falsa uluptatis opinione praecoccant. Sunt enim perquam multa, quae quum suapte natura nihil contingent suaeuictatis, imo bona pars amaritudinis etiam plurimum, peruersa tum a improbarum cupiditatum illecabra, non pro summis tantum uluptatibus habeantur, uerum etiam inter praccipuas uiiae causas numerentur.

In hoc adulterinae uluptatis genere eos collocant, quos ante memo-raui, qui quod meliorem togam habent, eo sibi meliores ipsi uidentur: qua una in re bis errant. Neque enim minus falsi sunt, quod meliorem putant togam suam, quam quod se. Cur enim si uestis usum spectes, tenuioris fili

a Fortasse legend. tamen.
yow consider the profitable vse of the garmente, whye shoulde wulle of a fyner sponde thredhe be thoughhe better, then the wul of a course sponde thredhe? Yet they, as though the one dyd passe the other by nature, and not by their mistakyng, auaunce themselfes and thinke the price of their owne persones therby greatly encreased. And therfore the honoure, whiche in a course gowne they durste not haue lokyd for, they require as it were of dewtie for their fyner gowes sake. And if they be passed by without reuerence, they take it angerlye and disdaynfully. 

And agayne is it not a lyke madnes to take a pride in vayne and vnprofitable honoures? For what naturall or trewe pleasure doest thou take of an other mans bare hede or bowed knees? Will thys ease the payne of thy knees, or remedye the phrensie of thy heade? In this ymage of counterfeyte pleasure, they be of a maruelous madnes, which for the opinion of nobilitie reioyse muche in their owne conceite, because it was their fortune to come of suche auncetours, whoes stocke of longe tyme

\footnote{So too in the 2nd ed. for thought.} 
\footnote{displeasauntly.} 
\footnote{a omitted.} 

lana praestet crassiori? at illi tamen, tanquam natura non errore praeceellerent, attollunt cristas, et sibimet quoque precii credunt inde non nihil accedere; coque honorem, quem ulla usetiti sperare non essent ausi, elegantiori togae uelut suo iure exigunt, et praetermissi neglectentius indignantur.

At hoc ipsum quoque, uanis et nihil profuturis honoribus affici, an non eiusdem inscitiae est? Nam quid naturalis et uerae uoluptatis affert nudatus alterius vertex, aut curuati poplites? hoccine tuorum popлитum dolori medebitur? aut tui capitis phrenesim leuabit? In hac fucatae uoluptatis imagine mirum quam suauiter insaniunt ii qui nobilitatis opinione sibi blandiuntur ac plaudunt, quod eiusmodi maioribus nasei contigerit, quorum longa

\footnote{imagine ... nobilitatis om. A.} 

\footnote{That is, in fancying themselves nobly born.}

\footnote{More has used the same comparison before, p. 181.}
hath bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothynge elles), specially ryche in landes. And though their auncetours left them not one fote of lande, or els they themselves haue pyssed it agaynste the walles, yet they thyinke themselves not the lesse noble therefore of one heare.

In thys numbre also they counte them that take pleasure and delyte (as I said) in gemmes and precious stones, and thyinne themselues almoste goddes, if they chaunce to gette an excellent one; speciallye of that kynde whyche in that tyme of their owne contreye men is had in hyghest estimation. For one kynde of stone kepeth not hys pryce styll in all contreis, and at all tymes. Nor they bye them not but taken out of the golde and bare; no, nor so nother, before they haue made the seller to sweare that he wyll warraunte and assure it to vntyll.

series diues (neque enim nunc aliud est nobilitas) habita sit, prae-sertim in praediis; nec pilo quidem minus sibi nobiles uidentur, etiam si maiores nihil inde reliquerint, aut Vana nobilitas.

His adnumerant eos qui gemmis ac lapillis (ut dixi) capiuntur, ac dii quodammodo sibi uidentur facti, si quando eximium aliquem consequantur, eius praeertasim generis quod sua tempestate maximo apud suos aestimetur. neque enim apud omnes, neque omni tempore eadem genera sunt in precio. Sed nec nisi exemptum auro ac nudum comparant. Imo ne sic quidem, nisi adiurato uenditore, et praestanti cautionem, ueram gemmam ac lapidem uerum esse; tarn solliciti sunt ne oculus eorum

1 The 'humiliation of the baronage by exhaustion, impoverishment, and reduction of numbers,' consequent on the Wars of the Roses, and the line of policy followed by Henry VII, tended to make such of the English nobility as were left in More's time follow their sovereign's example, and seek to repair their fortunes by developing their estates. Hence one cause of the inclosures so much complained of. See Bishop Stubbs: Medieval and Modern History, p. 390.
2 'Squandered it away.'—Burnet.
3 That is, not a whit the less noble.
4 See above, p. 181. It is recorded of Henry VII that 'much of the money he laid by he appears to have invested in the purchase of jewels.'—Gairdner, as before, p. 149.
be a trewe stone and no counterfeyt gene. suche care they take lest a counterfet stone shoulde deceaue their eyes in the α steade of a right stone. But whye shouldest thou not take euen as muche pleasure in beholdynge a counterfette stone, whiche thyne eye cannot discoerne from a ryght stone? They should both be of lyke value to the, euens as to a b blynde man. What shall I saye of them that kepe superfuous ryches, to take delectacion only in the beholdyng, and not in the vse or occupyenge therof? Do they take trewe pleasure, or els be they deceaued with false pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrary vice, hydynge the golde whiche they shall neuer occupie 1, nor peraduenture neuer see 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 grounde, takynge it bothe from their owne vse, and perchaunce from all other mens also? And yet thou, when thou haste hidde thye treasure, as one out of all care, hoppest for ioye 2. The whyche treasure if it

* the omitted.  
  b the.

ueri loco adulterinus imponat. At spectaturo tibi cur minus praebet oblectamenti factitius, quem tuus oculus non discernit a uero? Vterque ex aequo vaulere debet tibi non minus hercle quam caeco. Quid hii qui superflus opes adseruant, ut nullo acerui usu sed sola contemplatione delectentur; num ueram perci-piunt, an falsa potius uoluptate luduntur? aut hi qui diverso uitio auruim quo nunquam sint usuri, fortasse nec uisuri amplius, abscondunt, et solliciti ne perdant, perdunt. quid enim aliud est, usibus demptum tuus et omnium fortasse mortalium, telluri reddere? et tu tamen abstruso thesauro, uelut animi iam securus, laetitia gestis.  

1 See the note above, p. 173.  
2 Dr. Lumby, in the Glossary to his edition of the Utopia takes 'hoppest' here as = 'hopest.' But it is plainly what we express by 'jump for joy.' Compare 'leap for joy' in St. Luke vi. 23, and the use of 'hop' (though in a different sense) in the older version of the Psalms, lxviii. 16.
shoulde chaunce to bee stooled, and thou, ignoraunt of the thefte, shouldest dye tenne yeares after; all that tenne yeares space that thou lyuedest, after thy money was stolen, what matter was it to the whether it hadde bene taken a waye, or els sauffe as thou lefteste it? Truelye bothe wayes lyke provyft came to the.

To thyes so foolishyse pleasures they ioyne dycers, whoes madnes they knowe by heare say and not by vse; hunters also, and hawkers. For what pleasure is there (saye they) in castynge the dice vpon a table; which thu hast done so often, that if theire were anye pleasure in it, yet the ofte vse myghte make the werye therof? Or what delite can there be, and not rather dyspleasure, in hearynge the barkynge and howlynge of dogges?

\* thou. The word is printed \*n, i.e. thu.

Quem si quis furto abstulerit, cuius tu ignorantur furti decem post annis obieris, toto illo decennio, quo subtractae pecuniae superfuisti, quid tua retulit surreptum an saluum fuisset? utroque certe modo tantundem usus ad te peruenit.

Ad has tam ineptas laetitias aleatores (quorum insa-niam auditu non | usu cognouere), uenatores praeterea atque aucupes adiungunt. Nam quid habet, inquint, uoluptatis talos in alueum proicere, quod toties fecisti ut si quid uoluptatis inesset, oriri tamen potuisset ex frequenti usu satietas? aut quae suaitas esse potest, ac non fastidium potius, in audiendo latratu atque ululatu canum? aut qui maior uoluptatis sensus est, cum

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1 See above, p. 144, and compare the Colloquium Senile of Erasmus: 'EU. In quo mari occurrit iste scopulus? aut quod habet nomen? PA. Mare non possum dicere, sed scopulus, plurimorum infamis exitii, Latine dicatur Alea.' It is noticeable that in the Praise of Folly Erasmus places near together, as More does here, dice-players and hunters. The madness of the gambler, however, he assigns 'rather to the furies than to Folly.'—Kennet's tr., p. 66.

2 It may seem as if these were not always More's real sentiments. For in one of the 'pageauntes' which he devised in his youth come the lines:

'Manhod I am; therefore I me deelyght
To hunt and hawke, to nourishe
vp and fede
The grayhounde to the course, the
hawke to the flyght,
And to bestryde a good and lusty
sted:
These thynges become a very man
in dede.'

English Works, leaf . iij. But the cast
Or what greater pleasure is there to be felte, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge? for one thynge is done in both; that is to saye, runninge; if thou haste pleasure therein. But if the hope of slaughter, and the expectation of tearynge in pieces the beaste dothe please the, thou shouldest rather be moued with pitie to see a seely innocent hare murdered of a dogge; the weake of the stronger; the fearefull of the fearce; the innocente of the cruell and vnmercyfull. Therefore all thys exerceyse of huntynge, as a thynge vnworthye to be vsed of free men, the Vtopians haue reiected to their bochers; to the whiche crafte (as wee sayde before) they appointe their bondmen. For they counte huntyng the loweste, yleste, and moste abiecte parte of bocherye; and the other partes of it more

leporem canis insequitur, quam quum canis canem? nempe idem utrobiue agitur. accurritur enim, si te cursus oblectet. At si te caedis spes, laniatus expectatio sub oculis peragendi retinet, misericordiam potius mouere debet, spectare lepusculum a cane, imbecillum a ualidiore, fugacem ac timidum a feroce, innoxium denique a crudeli discerptum. Itaque Vtopienses totum hoc uenandi exercitium, ut rem liberis indignam in lanios (quam artem per seruos obire eos supra diximus) reicerunt, infimam enim eius partem esse uenationem statuunt,

\[\text{At haec hodie}
\text{ars est deorum}
\text{aulicorum.}\]

of More's mind was too serious, not to say austere, to suffer him long to take pleasure in sports, even of the manlier kind. 'God sent men hither to wake and work,' he wrote later on; 'and as for sleepe and gaming (if any gaming be good in this vale of miserye, in this time of teares), it must serue but for a refreshing of the wearey and forewatched body, to renewe it vnto watche and labour agayne' (\textit{Ib.} p. 1048). The characters seem reversed, when we compare with this the tracts on hunting and hawking written by a lady abbess, Dame Juliana Berners, and printed during More's childhood. Extracts from them are given in Warton's \textit{English Poetry}, sect. xxvii.

1 Robynson, after his manner, multiplies his author's epithets by three. Still, the expressions in the Latin are sufficiently strong to make us admire More's courage in thus assailing the favourite pastimes of his age and country. Erasmus, as usual, is at one with him. 'When they have run down their game,' he makes Folly say
of Utopia.

profitable and more honeste, as whiche do brynge\textsuperscript{a} muche more commoditie; and doo kyll\textsuperscript{b} beastes onlye for necessytie. Where as the hunter seketh nothyng but pleasure of the seely and wofull beastes\textsuperscript{1} slaughter and murder. The whiche pleasure in beholdyng death they thinke do the ryse in the very beastes, other of a cruell affection of mynde, or els to be chaunged in continuance of time into crueltie, by longe vse of so cruell a pleasure. Thies therfore and all suche lyke, which is innumerable, though the common sorte of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seyng there is no naturall pleasautnes in them, do playnelye determine them to haue no affinitie with trewe and right pleasure. Far as touchyng that they do commonly moue the sence with delectacion (whiche semeth to be a worke of pleasure) thys doth nothing as bryngynge.

reliquas eius partes et utiliores et honestiores, ut quae et multo magis conferant\textsuperscript{a}, et animalia necessitatis duntaxat gratia perimant, quum uenator ab miseri animalculi caede ac laniatu nihil nisi uoluptatem petat. quam spectandae necis libidinem in ipsis etiam bestiis aut ab animi crudelis affectu censent exoriri, aut in crudelitatem denique assiduo tam efferae uoluptatis usu defluere. Haec igitur, et quicquid est huiusmodi (sunt enim innumera) quanquam pro uoluptatibus mortalium uulgus habeat, illi tamen quum natura nihil insit suae, plane statuunt, cum | uera uoluptate nihil habere commerci. Nam quod uulgo sensum iucunditate perfundunt (quod uoluptatis opus

\textsuperscript{a} as bryngyng.

\textsuperscript{b} in that they kyll.

\textsuperscript{1} Burnet preserves the force of the diminutive animalculi, 'of so small and miserable an Animal.'
diminishe their opinion. For not the nature of the thynge, but there peruerse and lewde custome is the cause hereof; whiche causeth them to accepte bitter or sowre thinges for swete thinges; euen as women with childe, in their viciate and corrupt taste, thinke pitche and tallowe sweter then anye honney. Howbeit no mans iudgement, depraued and corrupte, other by sickenes or by custome, can chaunge the nature of pleasure, more then it can doo the natur of other thinges.

They make diuers kyndes of trew pleasures. For som they attribute to the soule, and som to the bodye. To the soule they gyue intellygence, and that delectation that cummeth of the contemplation of truthe. Here vnto is ioyned the pleaasunt remembraunce of the good lyfe past.

The pleasure of the bodye they deuide into ii. partes. The first is when delectation is sensibly felte and perceaued:

uidetur) nihil de sententia decedunt. non enim ipsius rei natura, sed ipsorum peruersa consuetudo in causa est: cuius uitio fit ut amara pro dulcisbus ampectantur, non aliter ac mulieres grauidae picem et seuum corrupto gustu melle mellitius arbi-
Citta in grauidis. trantur. Nec cuiusquam tamen aut morbo aut con-
suetudine deprauatum judicium mutare naturam, ut non aliarum rerum, ita nec voluptatis potest.

V voluptatum quas ueras fatentur species diuersas faciunt. Si-
Verae voluptatis quide.m alias animo, corpori alias tribuunt. Animo
dant intellectum,eamque dulcedinem quam ueri contemplatio pepererit. Adhaec suauis additur bene actae uitae
Voluptates memoria, et spes non dubia futuri boni. Corporis
corporis. uoluptatem in duas partiantur formas, quaram prima
sit ea quae sensum perspicua suauitate perfundit; quod alias earum

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1 As Dibdin points out, Robynson omits altogether the concluding words of the Latin, et spes non dubia futuri boni. Burnet correctly renders, 'and the assured Hopes of a future Happiness.'

2 Citta, in Greek κίττα or κίσσα, was a word used to denote a jay or magpie, and then, like Galen's κίττας, the false appetite or longing referred to in the text.—See Mayne's Expository Lexicon (1860), p. 962.
which many times chaunceth by the renewing and re-fresshyng of thoes partes which owre naturall heate drieth vp: thys cummeth by meate and drynke: and sumtymes whyles those thynges be\textsuperscript{a} voided, wherof is in the body ouer great abundaunce. This pleasure is felte when wee doo our naturall easemente, or when we be doynge the acte of generatyon, or when the ytchynge of annye parte is eased with rubbynge or stratchinge. Sum-times pleasure riseth, exhibitinge to any membre nothing that it desireth, nor taking from it any Payne that it feeleth; which for all that\textsuperscript{b} tikleth and moueth our senses with a certein secrete efficacy, but with a manifest motion, and\textsuperscript{e} turneth them to it; as is that which cummeth of musike.

The second part of bodely pleasure they say is that which consisteth and resteth in the quietly and vpright\textsuperscript{1} state of the body. And that truelye is euery mans owne

\textsuperscript{a} be expelled and. \textsuperscript{b} neuertheless. \textsuperscript{e} and omitted.

instauratione partium fit, quas insitus nobis calor exhauerit; nam hae cibo potuque redduntur; alias, dum egeruntur illa quorum copia corpus exuberat. Haec suggeritur, dum excrementis intestina pur-ganus, aut opera liberis datur, aut ullius prurigo partis frictu sculptuue lenitur. Interdum uero uoluptas oritur, nec redditura quicquam quod membra nostra desyderent, nec ademptura quo labo-rent; caeterum quae sensus nostros tamen in quadam occulta sed illstri motu titillet afficiatque, et in se convuertat; | qualis ex musica nascitur.

Alteram corporeae uoluptatis formam eam uolunt esse, quae in quietly atque aequabili corporis statu consistat; id est nimirum sua

\textsuperscript{1} This word appears sometimes to have been used as simply equivalent to 'right,' without any idea of erectness. So the Greek orthos. But the Latin rather means 'well balanced,' with all the humours, &c., in proper temperament. From this comes what Paley calls 'that harmonious con-

formation,' which he says 'gives to the mind its sense of complacency and satisfaction.' \textit{Moral Philosophy}, Bk I. ch. vi. Compare also Cic. \textit{De Off.} I. xi. 37, 'sed maximam illam voluptatem habemus, quae percipitur omni dolore detracto.'
propre health, entermyngled and disturbed wyth no grieffe. For thys, yt be not letted nor assaulted with no greiffe\(^1\), is delectable of yt selfe, thoughte yt be moued wyth no externall or outwarde pleasure. For though it be not so plain and manfyeste to the sense, as the gredye luste of eatynge and drynckynge, yet neuer-\(^{\text{thelesse}}\) manye take it for the chyefeste pleasure. All the Vtopians graunte yt to be a ryghte greate\(^a\) pleasure, and as yow wolde saye the foundatyon and grownde of all pleasures; as whyche euen alone ys able to make the state and condytyon of lyffe delectable and pleasaunte; and, yt beynge ones taken awaye, there ys no place lefte for annye pleasure. For to be wythowte greyffe, not hauinge health, that they call vnsensybylyte and not pleasure. The Vtopians haue longe agoo reiected and condempned the opynyon of them, whyche sayde that stedfaste and quyete healthe (for thys questyon also hath bene dylygentelye debated emonge them) owghte not therefore to be cownted a pleasure, bicause they saye yt can not be presentlye and sensybylye perceaued and felte

\(\text{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet}}\)

cuiusque nullo interpellata malo sanitas. Haec siquidem, si nihil eam doloris oppugnet, per se ipsa delectat, etiam si nulla extrinsecus adhibita uoluptate moueatur. Quanquam enim sese minus effert, minusque offert sensui, quam tumida illa edendi bibendique libido, nihiloto secius multi eam statuunt uoluptatum maximum. omnes fere Vtopienses magnam et uelut fundamentum omnium ac basim fatentur, ut quae uel sola placidam et optabilem uitate conditionem reddat, et qua sublata nullus usquam reliquis sit cuiquum uoluptati locus. Nam dolore prorsus uacare, nisi adsit sanitas, suporem certe non uoluptatem vocant. Iamdudum explosum est apud eos decretum illorum, qui stabilem et tranquillam sanitatem (nam haec quoque quaestio gnauiter apud eos agitata est) ideo non habendam pro uoluptate censebant, quod prae-

\(1\) We should now say ‘pain’ (\(\textit{dolor}\)). See the Glossary.

\(2\) Hor. \textit{Epist.} I. ii. 49.
of Utopia.

by some owtwarde motion. But, of the contrarye parte, nowe they agree almooste all in thys, that healthe ys a moste souereygne pleasure. For seinge that in syckenes (saye they) is grieffe, which is a mortal ennemie to pleasure, euen as sicknes is to health, why shuld not then pleasure be in the quietnes of health? For they say it maketh nothing to thys matter, whether yow saye that sickenes is a griefe, or that in sickenes is griefe; for all cummeth to one purpose. For whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fyre is of heate, truelye bothe wayes it foloweth, that they cannot be without pleasure that be in perfyt healthe. Furthermore, whyles we eate (saye they), then health, whiche began to be appayred, fyghteth by the helpe of foode against hunger. In the whych fighte whyles healthe by lytle and lytle getteth the vpper hande, that same procedyng, and (as ye would say) that onwardnes to the wonte strengthe

sentem non posse dicerent, nisi motu quopiam contrario, sentiri. Verum contra nunc in hoc prope uniuersi conspirant, sanitatem uel in primis uoluptati esse. Etenim quem in morbo, inquiunt, dolor sit, qui uoluptati implacabilis hostis est, non aliter ac sanitati morbus, quidni uicissim insit sanitatis tranquillitati uoluptas? nihil enim ad hanc rem referre putant, seu morbus dolor esse, seu morbo dolor inesse, dicatur. Tantundem enim utroque modo effici. Quippe si sanitas aut uoluptas ipsa sit, aut necessario uoluptatem pariat, uelut calor igni gignitur, nimirum utrobique effici tur ut, quibus immota sanitas adest, his uoluptas abesse non possit. Praeterea dum uescimur, inquiunt, quid aliud quam sanitas, quae labefactari coeperat, aduersus esurientem (cibo commilitone) depugnat? in qua dum paulatim inualescit, ille ipse profectus ad solitum uigorem suggerit illam, qua sic

1 Burnet paraphrases: 'Some have thought that there was no Pleasure, but what was excited by some sensible Motion in the Body.' Both translators neglect the proper meaning of contrario, and Robynson in addition ignores the presence of nisi. It is literally: 'saying that its presence could not be felt except by some opposite emotion.' More explains more fully afterwards what he means by this, when he speaks of the pleasure felt in eating, for example, as measured by the displacement of the opposite pain of hunger.

2 In the sense of 'progress' (profectus).
mynistreth that pleasure, wherby wee be so refresshed. Health therefore, whiche in the conffycte is ioyfull, shall it not bee merye when it hathe gotten the victory\(^1\)? But as sone as it hathe recovered thee pristynate strengthe, whyche thinge onelye in all the fyghte it coueted, shall it incontinent be astonied? Nor shall it not knowe nor imbrace the owne wealthe and goodnes? For that\(^a\) it is sayed healethe can not be felte, this, they thinke, is nothing trew. For what man wakynge, say they, feleth not hymselfe in health, but he that is not\(^b\)? Is there annye man so possessed wyth stonyshe insensibilitie, or with the sleping sicknes\(^b\), that he wyll not graunte health to be acceptable to hym and delectable? But what other thing is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleasure?

They imbrace chiefly\(^3\) the pleasures of the mind. For

\(^a\) where. \(^b\) the lethargie.

reficimur, uoluptatem. Sanitas ergo quae in conflictu lactatur, eadem non gaudebit adepta victoriam? sed pristinum robur, quod solum toto conflictu petuerat, tandem feliciter assecuta, protinus obstupescet, nec bona sua cognoscet atque amplexabitur? Nam quod non sentiri sanitas dicta est, id uero perquam procul a uero putant. Quis enim uigilans, inquint, sanum esse se non sentit, nisi qui non est? Quem ne tantus aut stupor aut lethargus adstringit, ut sanitatem non iucundam sibi fateatur ac delectabilem? at delectatio quid aliud quam alio nomine uoluptas est?

Amplectuntur ergo in primis animi uoluptates (eas enim primas

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1 Burnet renders: ‘And if the Conflict is Pleasure, the Victory must yet breed a greater Pleasure.’ But this, though neat, does not give the point of the antithesis, rightly observed by Robynson, between laetatur and gaudebit. There is in those words the same contrast as between ‘joy’ and ‘gladdness;’ the latter denoting what Robynson calls ‘being merry,’ the state of calm cheerfulness when victory is won. Tennyson showed his perception of the difference, when, in his translation of a passage from the Iliad (viii. 542–561), he altered ‘the hind rejoices at the heart’ to ‘the shepherd gladdens at his heart.’

2 Burnet, more clearly, ‘for what man is in health, that does not perceive it [is not conscious of it] when he is awake’?

3 The word ‘therefore’ (ergo) should have been introduced; this being a conclusion from what goes before.
them they cownte the chiefist and most principall of all. The cheyfe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exercise of vertue, and conscience of good lyffe. Of thies pleasures that the boddye ministreth they geue the pre-emynence to helth. For the delyte of eating and drinkinge, and whatsoever hath anny like pleasauntnes, they determiny to be pleasures muche to be desiered, but no other wayes than for healthes sake. For suche thynges of theyre owne propre nature be not a pleasaunte, but in that they resyste syckenes preuelye stealynge one. Therefore, lyke as yt ys a wyse mans parte rather to auoyde syckenes, then to wyshe for medycynes, and rather to dryue away and put to flyghte carefull greyffes, then to call for comforte; so yt ys much better not to neade thys kynde of pleasure, then in sealynge the contrarye greyffe to be eased of the same b. The whyche kynde of pleasure yf annye man take for hys felicytuye, that man muste nedes graunte, that then he shall be in

omnium principesque ducunt) quarum potissimum partem censent ab exercitio uirtutum bonaeque uitae conscientia proficisci. Earum uoluptatem quas corpus suggerit palmam sanitati deferunt. Nam edendi bibendique suavitatem, et quicquid eandem oblectamenti rationem habet, appetenda quidem, sed non nisi sanitatis gratia, statuunt. Neque enim per se iucunda esse talia, sed quatenus aadversae ualetudini clanculum | surrepenti resistunt: idoque sapi- enti, sicuti magis deprecandos morbos, quam optandam medicinam, et dolores proligandos potius quam adsciscenda solatia, ita hoc quoque uoluptatis genere non egere quam deliniri praestiterit: quo uoluptatis genere si quisquam se beatum putet, is necesse est fateatur se tum demum fore felicissimum, si ea uita contigerit, quae in per-

1 That is, stealing on.  
2 The phrase here used might recall one of the first precepts of the Schola Salernitana for obtaining health: Curas tolle graves.' But the Latin has simply dolores, 'pains.'  
3 Robynson's meaning is: 'than, by stopping the opposite pain (as of hunger, when we eat), to gain a sensation of pleasure.' This is an expansion of the single word deliniri (deleniri), 'to feel the gratification.'
mooste felycyte, yt he lyue that lyffe whyche ys ledde in contynuall honger, thurste, itchynge, eatynge, drynkynge, scratchynge, and rubbynge. The whyche lyffe howe not onlye foule yt is, but also myserie and wretched, who perceauethe not? Thyes dowteles be the baseste pleasures of all, as vnpure and vnperfecte. For they neuer cum but accompanied wyth their contrary greiffes. As with the pleasure of eatinge is ioyned hunger, and that after no very egal sort. For of thies ii. the gryeffe is bothe the more vehement, and also of longer continuance. For it rysethe before the pleasure, and endeth not vntyll the pleasure dye wyth it.

Wherfore such pleasures they think not greatly to be set by, but in that they be necessary. Howbeit they haue delite also in thies, and thankfully knowledge the tender loue of mother nature, which with most plesaunt delectation allureth her children to that, which of necessitye they be driuen often vse. For how wretched and miserable...
should our liffe be, if thies daily greiffes of hunger and thrust coulde not be dreuen away, but with bitter potions, and sower medicines; as the other deseases be, where with we be seldom er trowbled? But bewtye, strength, nemblenes, thies, as peculiare and pleasaunte giftes of nature, they make muche of. But those pleasures which be receaued by the eares, the iyes, and the nose; which nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man\(^1\) (for no other kind of liu ing beasts\(^a\) doth behold the fayrenes and the bewtie of the worlde, or is moued with any respect of sauours, but only for the diuersity of meates, nother perceaueth the concordaunt and discordante distaunces of soundes and tunes) thies pleasures (I say) they accept and allowe, as certein plea saunt reioysinges\(^2\) of liffe. But in all thinges thys cautell they vse, that a lesse pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasur be no cause of dyspleasur; whych they thinke to followe of necessytye, if the pleasure be vnhoneste. But yet to dyspyse the comlynes of bewtye, to waste the bodylye

\(^{a}\) no other liu ing creature.

caeterae aegritudines quae nos infestant rarius, ita hii quoque cotidiani famis ac sitis morbi uenenis ac pharmacis amaris essent abigendi? At formam, uires, agilitatem, haec ut propria iucundaque naturae dona libenter fouent. Quin eas quoque uoluptates, quae per aures, oculos, ac nares admittuntur, quas natura proprias ac peculiares esse homini uoluit (neque enim alii animantium genus aut mundi formam pulchritudinemque suspicit, aut odorum, nisi ad cibi discrimen, ulla commouetur gratia, neque consonas inter se discordesque sonorum distantias internoscit) et has, inquam, ut iucunda quaedam uitae condimenta persequuntur. In omnibus autem hunc habent modum, ne maiorem minor impediat, neu dolorem aliquando uoluptas pariat; quod necessario sequi censent, si inhonesta sit. At certe formae decus contemnere, uires deterere, agilitatem in pigritiam

\(^1\) Cicero developes this argument in *De Nat. Deor.* ii. § 56. Compare also the familiar lines of Ovid, *Met.* i. 85-6.

\(^2\) Burnet's rendering gives the force of *condimenta* better: 'as the pleasant Relishes and Seasonings of Life.'
strength, to tourne nymblenes into sloughishnes, to consume and make feble the boddye wyth fastynges, to doo injury to health, and to reiect the other\(^a\) pleaasaunte motyons of nature (onles a man neglecte thies hys\(^b\) commodityes, whyles he doth wyth a feruent zeale procure the wealth of others, or the commen proffyte, for the whyche pleasure forborne he is in hope of a greater pleasure of God\(^c\)): els for a vayne shaddowe of vertue, for the wealthe and profytte of no man, to punyshe hymselfe, or to the intente he maye be able courragiouslye to suffre aduersitye, whyche perchaunce shall neuer come to hym: thys to doo they thynke it a poynyte of extreame madnes, and a token of a man cruelly minded towards hymselfe, and vnkynd towarde nature, as one so dysdaynyng to be in her daunger\(^2\), that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefytes.

Thys is theire sentence and opinion of vertue and

\(^a\) other omitted. \(^b\) hys omitted. \(^c\) at goddes hand.

uertere, corpus exhaurire ieiuniis, sanitati inuiriam facere, et caetera naturae blandimenta respuere, nisi quis haec sua commoda negligat, dum aliorum publicamue\(^a\) ardentius procurat, cuius laboris uice maiorem a deo uoluptatem expectat; alioquin ob inanem uirtutis umbram nullius bono semet affligere, uel quo aduersa ferre minus moleste possit, nunquam fortasse uentura: hoc uero putant esse dementissimum, animique et in se crudelis, et erga naturam ingratissimi, cui tanquam debere quicquam dedignetur, omnibus eius beneficiis renunciat.

Haec est eorum de uirtute ac uoluptate sententia; qua nisi sanctius

\(^a\) Leg. publicumue, se. commodum.

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1 More doubly guards himself against any unfair use being made of his words, (r) by the proviso that such bodily mortifications are not undergone for the public good or the welfare of others; and (a) by the addition, later on, of a disclaimer of any approval of customs and opinions which he is simply relating. But when everyallow-

ance is rightly made, the reader will judge whether there is not here a condemnation of the ascetic spirit, as a thing meritorious in itself. The marginal annotator of the Latin, a little further on, calls attention to the point as one deserving careful consideration.

2 See note above, p. 182.
pleasure. And they beleue that by mans reason none
can be fownde trewer then this, onles annye godlyer be
inspyred into man from heauen. Wherin whether they
belyue well or no, nother the tyme dothe suffer us to
discusse, nother it ys nowe necessarye. For we haue
taken vpon vs to shewe and declare theyr lores and orde-
naunces, and not to defende them.  

But thys thynge I beleue verely: howe soeuer thies
decrees be, that their is in no place of the wordle nother
a more excellent people, nother a more flouryshyngge
commen wealth. They be lyghte and quycke of boddy,
full of actiuity and nymblenes, and of more strengthe then
a man wold iudge them by theyre stature, whyche for
all that ys not to lowe. And thoughe theyre soyle be
not verye frutefull, nor theyre ayer verye holsome, yet
agaynste the ayer they soo defende them wyth temperate
dyete, and soo order and husbande theyr grounde wyth
dylygente trauayle, that in no contreye ys greater increas,
and plente of corne and cattell, nor mens bodies
of longer liffe, and subiect or apte to fewer deseases.

aliquid inspiret homini caelitus immissa religio, nullam investigari
credunt humana ratione ueriorem. qua in rectene an secus sen-
tiant, excutere nos neque tempus patitur, neque necessae est; quippe
115 qui narranda eorum instituta, | non etiam tuenda, suscepimus.
Caeterum hoc mihi certe persuadeo, ut ut sese habeant haec
decreta, nusquam neque praestantiorem populum
neque feliciorem esse rempublicam. Corpore sunt
agili vegetoque, uirium amplius quam statura pro-
mittat. nec ea tamen improcera. et quum neque solo
sint usquequaque fertili, nec admodum salubri caelo,
aduersus aeream ita sese temperantia uictus munient, terrae sic
medentur industria, ut nusquam gentium sit frugis pecorisque pro-
uentus uberior, aut hominum uiuacia corpora, pauciorybusque

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1 This deserves notice, as indicating
the author's own view of his freedom
from responsibility, as a narrator only,
and not an advocate.
2 "A 'genitivus qualitatis sine epi-
theto.'
There, therefore, a man may see well and diligently exploited and furnished, not only those things whiche husbandmen doo commonly in other countreys; as by craft and cunning to remedy the barrennes of the grounde; but also a hole wood by the handes of the people plucked vp by the rotes in one place and sett agayne in an other place. Wherin was hadde regard and consideration not of plenty but of commodious carriage; that wood and tymber might be nigher to the sea, or the riuers, or the cities. For it is lesse laboure and busines to carrye grayne farre by lande then wood. The people be gentle, merye, quycke, and fyne wytted, delytynge in quyetnes, and, when nede requyreth, able to abyde and suffre muche bodelye laboure. Elles they be not greatelye desyerous and fonde of yt; but in the exerçye and studdye of the mynde they be neuer werye.

When they had harde me speake of the Greke lytter-morbis obnoxia. Itaque non ea modo quae uulgo faciunt agricolae diligenter ibi administrata conspicias, ut terram natura maligniorem arte atque opera iuuent; sed populi manibus alibi radicitus euulsam syluam, alibi consitam uideas: qua in re habita est non ubertatis sed uecturae ratio; ut essent ligna aut mari, aut fluuiis, aut urbibus ipsis uiciniora: minore enim cum labore terrestri itineræ fruges quam ligna longius afferuntur. Gens facilis ac faceta, sollers, ocio gaudens, corporis laborum (quum est usus) satis patiens, caeterum alias haud-quaquam sane appetens; animi studiis infatigata.

Qui quum a nobis accepissent de literis et disciplina Graecorum

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1 The reader will be reminded of Milton's description:—
'They pluck’d the seated hills with all their load,' &c., and what critics call the 'magnifica imago' of Claudian: Gigantomachia, 66 sqq.

2 More’s fondness for the Greek language, and his proficiency in it, have been spoken of in the Introduction. In this respect the friends of enlightenment could claim him as one of themselves. Nothing can show better the wide difference between his standpoint and that of a defender of things as they were, like Alberto Pio, Count of Carpi, than the way in which they respectively treat the claims of Greek to recognition. More, arguing against Dorp, insists that it contains the most precious treasures of all. 'Quis nesciat,' he asks, 'Graecam esse
arature* or learnynge (for in Latyne theyre was nothynge that I thoughte they wolde greatelye allowe, besydes hystoryens and Poetes), they made wonderfull earneste and importunate sute vnto me, that I wolde teache and instructe them in that tonge and learnynge. I beganne therefore to reade¹ vnto them; at the fyrste, truelye, more bycause I wolde not seme to refuse the laboure, then that I hooped that they wolde annye thyng proffytte therin. But when I had gone forwarde a lytle, and perceaued incontynente by theyr dylygence that my labour should not be bestowed in vayne; for they beganne so easelye to fassyon theyre letters, so plainly to pronounce the wordes, so quyckely to learne by harte, and so suerly

* sic.  

(nam in latinis praeter historias ac poetas nihil erat quoduidebantur magnopere probaturi) mirum quanto studio contenderunt, ut eas liceret ipsis nostra interpretatione perdiscere. Coepimus ergo legere, magis adeo primum, ne recusare laborem uideremur, quam quod | fructum eius aliquem speraremus. At ubi paulum processimus, ipsorum diligentia fecit ut nostram baud frustra impendendam animo statim praeciperemus. Si quidem literarum formas tam facile imitari, uterba tam expedite pronunciare, tam celeriter mandare memoriae, et tanta cum fide reddere² coeperunt, ut

Addit B. mira.

¹ Utullitas linguae graecae.  
² Docilitas Vtopiensium.*

eam quae summopere sit cum ab uniuersis mortalibus, tum uero seorsum a Christianis amplectenda, utpote a qua et omnes disciplinae reliquae, et Nouum Testamentum feretotum nobis feticissime successit.' He urges Dorp, even though late in the day, to learn it. Lucubrationes, p. 415. Alberto Pio, on the other hand, rebutting the attacks of Erasmus, the champion of bonae literae, wishes devoutly that those bonae literae had never found their way across the Alps. 'Quanto salubrius,' he exclaims, 'ut illas nunquam didicissent [theologi], quam ut earum occasione tam vastum incendium excitassent, quo fere uniuersa Germania conflagravit? Quanto commodius Germaniae, vt hae bonae literae alpes nunquam transcendissent, vt et Germani contenti materna lingua, vel vtunque latina, tam atrocia dissidia non concitatissent? Tres et uiginti libri in . . . Erasmi, &c., 1531, leaf to verso.  

¹ Lat. legere, the technical term for oral instruction.  
² This was the regular term for the
to rehearse the same, that I marueled at it; sauyng that the most parte of them were fyne and chosen wittes, and of rype age, pyked oute of the companye of the learned men, whyche not onlye of theyr owne faee* and voluntarye wyll, but also by the commaundemente of the cowncell, vndertooke to learne thys langage. Therfore in lesse than iii. yeres space their was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lackede. They were able to reade good authors wythout anny staye, if the booke were not false

Thys kynde of learnynge, as I suppose, they toke so muche the souner, bycause it is sumwhat allyaunte to them. For I thynke that thys nation tooke their beginninge of the Grekes, bycause their speche, which in all other poyntes is not muche vnlyke the persian tonge, kepeth dyuers signes and tookens of the greke langage in the names of their cityes and of theire magystrates. They haue of me (for, when I was determyned to entre into my

*nobis miraculi esset loco, nisi quod pleraque pars eorum, qui non sua solum sponte accensi, uerum senatus quoque decreto iussi, ista sibi discenda sumpserunt, e numero scholasticorum selectissimis ingeniiis et matura etate fuerunt. Itaque minus quam triennio nihil erat in lingua quod requirent; bonos autores, nisi obstet libri menda, inoffense perlegerent.

Eas literas, ut equidem coniicio, ob id quoque facilius arripuerunt, quod nonnihil illis essent cognatae. Suspicor enim cam gentem a graecis originem duxisse, propterea quod sermo illorum, caetera fere Persicus, non nulla graeci sermonis vestigia seruet in urbiun ac magistratuum uocabulis. Habent ex me (nam librorum sarcinam

scholar's repetition of what he had learnt by heart. So in Lily's Carmen de moribus:—

"Incumbens studio, submissa uoce loqueres;
Nobis dum reddis, uoce canorus eris.

Et quaecumque mihi reddis, dis-
cantur ad unguem,
Singula et abiecto uerbula rede
libro."

1 That is, unless the text were
defective. Burnet avoids the clause.

2 See note above, p. 135.
of Utopia.

iii. voyage, I caste into the shippe in the steade of mar-
chandyse a pretye fardell of bookes, bycause I intended to
come agayne rather neuer than shortelye) the mooste
parte of Platoes woorkes; more of Aristotles; also Theo-
phrastus of Plantes, but in diuers places (which I am
sorye for) vnperfecte. For whyles wee were saylynge,
a mormosett chaunched vpon the booke, as yt was negly-
gentlye layde by; whyche, wantonlye playinge therewyth,
plucked owte certeyne leave, and toore them in pieces. Of
them that haue wrytten the gramer, they haue onelye
Lascariss. For Theodorus I caried not wyth me; nor

mediocrem loco mercium quarto nauigaturus in nauem conieci, quod
mecun plane decreueram nunquam potius redire quam cito) Platonis
opera pleraque, Aristotelis plura; Theophrastum item de plantis, sed
pluribus, quod doleo, in locis mutilum. In librum enim, dum naviga-
bamus negligentius habitum, cercopithecus inciderat; qui lascuient
ac ludibundus paginas aliquot hinc atque hinc euulsas lacerauit. Ex

1 See the Introduction, p. xxxvii.
2 The works of Theophrastus had been published at Venice, in 1497. Why More should give so prominent a place to this treatise, as to mention it next after Plato and Aristotle, is uncertain. It may have been a favourite of his own, or one which seemed a natural companion for a traveller in foreign lands. Theophrastus was often included in the same edition with Aristotle, as in the great Venice edition of 1493-8.
3 Besides the Rabelaisian vraisem-
blance which this little touch gives to the description, there is no doubt that More is calling up some actual remi-
niscence of the tricks of his own pet monkey. This animal, more famous than the one which is said to have carried the infant Cromwell up in its

paws to the roof of the house, is immortalized in Erasmus's Colloquy
Amicitia and has its place in Holbein's picture of the household of Sir Thomas
More.
4 The first edition of the Grammatica
Graeca of Constantine Lascaris ap-
peared at Milan in 1476, after which editions appeared frequently. The-
dore Gaza's Introductiuae Grammatices
Libri iv., mentioned just afterwards, first appeared from the press of Aldus in 1495. Gaza's work was recognized by competent judges 'as superior to all other manuals of the kind.' Budaeus 'praised it as a masterpiece of the grammarian's art.' Erasmus translated it to his class at Cambridge, and Richard Croke to his class at Leipsic.
—See Mullinger's University of Cam-
bridge, i. p. 430.
neuer a dyctyonarye, but Hesichius and Dioscorides. They sett greate stoores by Plutarches bookes. And they be delyted wyth Lucianes merye conceytes and iestes. Of the Poettes they haue Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus small prynte. Of the Historyans they haue Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus, caried with him phisick bokes, certein smal workes of Hippocrates, and Galenes

rum enim non aduexi mecum, nec dictionarium aliquem praeter Hesychium ac Dioscoridem. Plutarchi libellos habent charissimos, et Luciani quoque faceitiis ac lepore capiuntur. Ex poetis habent Aristophanem, Homerum atque Euripidem, tum Sophoclem minusculis Aldi formulis; ex historicis Thucydidem atque Herodotum, necnon Herodianum. Quin in re medica quoque sodalis meus Tricetus Apinatus aduexerat secum parua quaedam Hippocratis opuscula, ac

1 The Glossarium Graecum of Hesychius had only recently been issued from the press when More wrote; the first edition being that brought out under the care of Musurus at Venice, in 1514. Pedanius Dioscorides, of Anazarbus near Tarsus, was a medical writer in the time of Nero. Vives, in his De tradendis disciplinis (ed. 1636, p. 553), mentions his De Herbis as a treatise to be studied, along with Theophrastus's De stirpibus, named by More just above. The works of Dioscorides had been printed at Venice in 1499.

No special notice is needed of the common authors that are next mentioned in the text, who, as it will be observed, are all Greek. It may be remarked, however, that Herodian was a very favourite author after the revival of letters. He and Sallust are among those most frequently prescribed in the statutes of early grammar schools in this country. Vives (ubi sup. p. 530) says that the student 'ad historiam praeleget Herodianum, ut cum versione conferat Angeli Politiani, Est author ille candidus ex se ac facilis; sed ea gratia Politianus transtulit, ut non ab homine Graeco videatur genus sed a Latino.'

2 This is a name evidently formed from the 'apinae tricaeque' of Martial, xiv. 1. 7:

'Sunt apinae tricaeque et si quid vilius istis.'

So also in I. exiv. 1, 2:

'Quaecumque lusi juvenis et puer quondam, Apinasque nostras;'

lines which More may often have had in his mind, as reflecting youthful occupations of his own. Perotti in his Cormucopiae, 1513, col. 466, gives the explanation of the phrase. Apina and Trica, he says, were two small towns in Apulia, captured (according to Pliny) by Diomed; the names of which passed into a proverb for anything trivial—mere bagatelles. Much to the same effect Erasmus in his Adagia, 1629, p. 134.

3 A late Latin word for glossarium, though that is not much better.
Microtechne: the whyche boke they haue in greate estymatyon. For thoughte there be almost no nation vnder heauen that hath lesse nede of Phisick then they, yet, this notwithstanding, Phisicke is no where in greater honour; bycause they count the knowledge of yt emonge the goodlieste, and mooste profytable partes of Philosophie. For whyles they by the helpe of thys Philosophie searche owte the secrete mysteryes of nature, they thynke that they not onyle receaue therby wonderfull greate pleasur, but also obteyn great thankes and suauour of the auctoure and maker therof. Whome they thynke, accordyng to the

* [that... therby] themselfes to receaue therby not onyle.

*b also to.

Microtechnen Galeni, quos libros magno in precio habent. Siquidem et si omnium fere gentium re medica minime egent, nusquam tamen in maiore honore est, uel eo ipso quod eius cognitionem numerant inter pulcherrimas atque utilissimas partes philosophiae; cuius ope philosophiae dum naturae secreta scrutantur, uidentur sibi non solum admirabilem inde ulomaptatem percipere, sed apud autorem quoque eius atque opificem summam inire gratiam; quae a caeterorum more

* Sic etiam A.; B. recte quem.

1 No collected edition of Galen's works in Greek had appeared at the time when More wrote; the earliest being that of Aldus at Venice, in 1525. But separate treatises had been already published, as the *Therapeuticorum Libri xiv*, in 1500. The *Microtechne*, 'Little art,' was a name given to Galen's *Τέχνη λατρεία*, which, as Donaldson says, 'was the text-book and chief subject of examination for medical students in the middle ages, when it was known in barbarous Latin as the Tegnum or *Microtegnum* (Microtechnum) of Galen'—*Literature of Ancient Greece* (1858), ii. p. 274. This was in contradistinction to the *Megalotegnum, or Θεραπευτικής μεθόδου βιβλία iv*.

2 By 'Phisicke' here is meant medicine, not physical science, as seen by the Latin. But in what follows More is plainly thinking of physical, or natural, science in general. As a contrast to the picture he draws, may be compared the description of Erasmus, in which the medical practitioner alone thrives, while the professors of other sciences starve:—'Esuriunt theologi, frigent physici, ridentur astrologi, negliguntur dialectici; solus ἰατρὸς ἀθηναῖος πολλῶν διάκειται ἄλλων.' *Encomium Moriae*, ed. 1668, p. 82.
fassyon of other artyfycers, to haue sette furthe the mar-velous and gorgious frame of the worlde for man to* beholde; whome onelye he hathe made of wytte andcapacyte to consyldre and vnderstand the excellencye of so greate a woorke. And therefore, saye they, dothe he beare b more good wyll and loue to the cyrrous anddiligent beholder and vewere of his woorke, and mar-uelour at the same, then he doth to him, whyche lyke a very beaste c wythowte wytte and reason, or as onewythowte sense or mouynge, hath no regarde to soo greate and soo wonderfull a spectacle 1.

The wyttes therefore of the Vtopians, inurede and exer-cysed in learnynge, be maruelous quycke in the inuentyon of feates, helpynge annye thynge to the aduantage andwealthe of lyfife. Howebeyt, ii. feates theye maye thanke vs for; that is, the scyence of imprintyng, and the crafte of makynge paper: and yet not onelye vs but chyefelye and pryncypallye themselfes. For when wee shewede to them Aldus 2 hys prynte in bookes of paper, and told them

a with great afeccion intienuely to.

b [saye ... beare] he beareth (say they).

c brute beast.

artificicum arbitrantur mundi huius uisendam machinam homini (quem solum tantae rei capacem fecit) exposuisse spectandum, eoque chariorem habere curiosum ac sollicitum inspectorem, operisque sui admiratorem, quam eum qui, uelut animal, expers mentis, tantum ac tam mirabile spectaculum stupidus immotusque neglexerit.

Vtopiensium itaque literis ingenia mire ualent ad inuentiones artium, quae faciant aliquid | ad commodae uitae compendia. Sed 118 duas tamen debent nobis, Chalcographorum et faciendae chartae; nec solis tamen nobis sed sibi quoque bonam eius partem. Nam quum ostenderemus eis libris chartaceis impressas ab Aldo literas, et de

1 Mr. St. John aptly compares with this the fine passage in Cicero, De Nat. Deor. ii. §§ 37, 38, in which, after translating from AristotLe, he continues, in a similar strain to More: *Licet enim ... oculis quodammodo contemplari pulchritudinem earum rerum, quas divina providentia dicimus constitutas.*

2 The recent death of Aldus Manutius the elder, in April 1515, was probably fresh in More's recollection
of the stuffe wher of paper is made, and of the feat of grauynge letters, speakynge sumwhat more\(^1\) then wee colde playnlye declare (for there was none of vs that knewe perfectlye other the one or the other), they furth-wyth verye wyttelye coniecured the thynge. And where as before they wrote onelye in skynnes, in barkes of tryes, and in rides\(^2\), now they haue attempted to make paper and to imprint letters. And though at the fyrste yt proued not all of the beste, yet by often assayinge the same they shortlye gott the feate of bothe; and haue so broughte the matter abowte, that yf they had copyes of Greeke authores, they coulde lacke no bookes. But nowe they haue no moore then I rehearsed before; sauynge that by pryntynge of bookes they haue multy-plied and increased the same into manye thowsande of copyes.

Who soeuer cummeth thether to see the lande, beynge excellente in annye gyfte of wytte, or throughe muche and longe iournyenenge well experiensed and sene in the know-

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\(^1\) If this were the meaning, it would be a genuine touch of human nature—ignorance seeking to veil itself under a cloud of words. But the Latin simply means ‘talking something about it, rather than explaining.’

\(^2\) That is, reeds, such as the papyrus.
ledge of manye countreys (for the whyche cause wee were verye welcome to them), hym they receyue and interteyne wonders gentyllye and louynglye; for they haue delyte to heare what ys done in euerye lande. Howebyt, verye few marchaunte men come thythere. For what shoulde they brynge thither? onles yt were Iron, or els golde and syluer; whiche they hadde rathere carrye home agayne. Also suche thynges as arre to be caryed owte of their lande, they thynke yt more wysedome to carrye that geer furthe themselfes, then that othere shoulde come thether to fetche yt\(^1\); to thentente they maye the better knowe the owte landes of euerye syde\(^a\) them, and kepe in vre\(^2\) the feat and knouledge of saylinge.

\(^{a}\) syde of.

commendet (quo nomine gratus fuit noster appulsus) pronis animis excipitur. Quippe libenter audiant quid ubique terrarum geratur. Caeterum mercandi gratia non admodum frequenter appellitur. Quid enim ferrent, nisi aut ferrum, aut, quod quisque referre mallet, aurum argentumue? Tum quae ex ipsis exportanda sint, ea consultius putant ab se efferri quam ab aliis illinc peti; quo et caeteras undique gentes | exploratiores habeant, neque maritimarum rerum usum ac 119 peritiam oblitum eant.

\(^1\) That is, the Utopians prefer to ship their exports in their own bottoms, rather than wait for foreigners to come and take them.

\(^2\) Use. See the Glossary.
Of Bonded

men, sicke persons, wedlocke, and dyuers other matters.

They nother make bondemen of prysoners taken in battayll, oneles yt be in battaylle that the fowghte themselfses, nor a bondemens chyldren, nor, to be shorte b, annye man whome c they canne gette owte of an othere countreye d, though he were theyre a bondeman; but other suche as amonge themselfses for heynous offences be punnyshed wyth bondage, or elles suche as in the Cytyes of other landes for greate trespasses be condempned to deathe 1. And of thys sorte of bondemen they haue mooste stroore. For manye of them they brynge home, sumtymes payinge very lytle for them; yea, mooste comonlye gettynge them for gramerce 2. Thyse sortes of bondemen they kepe not onelye in contynuall woorke

DE SERVIS.

Po seruis neque bello captos habent, nisi ab ipsis gesto, neque seruorum filios, neque denique quenquam quem apud alias gentes seruientem possent comparare, sed aut si cuius apud se flagitium in seruitium uertitur, aut quos apud exteras urbes (quod genus multo frequentius est) admissum facinus destinavit supplicio. Eorum enim multos, interdum aestimatos uili, saepius etiam gratis impe-tratos auerunt. Haec seruorum genera non in opere solum perpetuo,

1 See the Introduction, p. li.
2 That is, gratuitously. See the Glossary.
and laboure, but alsoo in bandes. But theyre owne men
they handle hardeste, whome they judge more desperate,
and to haue deserued greater punnysshemente; bycause
they, beynge so godlye broughte vp to vertue, in soo
excellente a common wealth, cowlde not for all that
be refreynd from mysdoynge.

An other kynde of bondemen they haue, when a vyle
drudge, beynge a poore laborer in an other cowntreye,
dothe chewse of hys owne free wyll to be a bondeman
amonge them. Thyes they handle and order honestelye,
and enterteyne almooste as gentyllye, as theyre owne free
cytyzeyns; sauynge that they put them to a lylte more
laboure, as thereto accustomede. Yf annye suche be dys-
posed to departe thens (whyche seldom ys seen) they
nother holde hym agaynste hys wyll, nother sende hym
awaye wyth emptye handes.

The sycke (as I sayde) they see to wyth greate affec-
tyon, and lette nothynge at all passe, concernynge other
Physycke or good dyete, wherby they may be restored
agayne to theyre healthe. Them that be sycke of in-
curable dyseases they conforte wyth syttynge by them,

uerum etiam in uinclis habent; sed suos durius: quos eo deplora-
tiores, ac deteriora meritos exempla censent, quod tam praecelara
educacione ad uirtutem egregie instructi contineri tamen ab scelere
non potuerint.

Aliud seruorum genus est, quum alterius populi mediastinus quis-
piam laboriosus ac pauper elegerit apud eos sua sponte seruire. Hos
honeste tractant, ac nisi quod laboris, ut pote consuetis, imponitur
plusculum, non multo minus clementer ac ciues habent. volentem
discedere (quod non saepe fit) neque retinent inuitum neque inanem
dimittunt.

Egrotantes, ut dixi, magno cum affectu curant, nihilque prorsus
omittunt, quo sanitati eos, uel medicinae uel uictus
observatione, restituant. Quin insanabili mor|bo labo-
rantes assidendo, colloquendo, adhibendo demum quae

De aegrotis. 120

1 See above, p. 159.
wyth talkynge wyth them, and, to be shorte, wyth all maner of helpes that maye be. But yf the dysease be not onelye vncurable, but also full of contynuall payne and anguyshe, then the priestes and the magistrates exhort the man, seynge he ys not able to doo annye dewyte of lyffe, and by ouerlyuing hys owne deathe is noysome and yrkesome to other, and greuous to hymself; that he wyll determyne with hymselfe no longer to cheryshe that pestilent and paynefull dysease: and, seynge hys lyfe ys to hym but a tourmente, that he wyll nott bee vnwylynge too dye, but rather take a good hope to hym, and other dyspatche hymselfe owte of that paynfull lyffe, as owte of a pryson or a racke of tormente, or elles suffer hym selfe wyllynglye to be ryyde owte of yt by other. And in so doynge they tell hym he shal doe wyselye, seynge by hys deathe he shall lyse no commodytys, but ende hys payne.

possunt leuamenta, solantur. Cacterum si non immedicabilis modo morbus sit, uerumetiam perpetuo uexet atque discruciuet, tum saecrodotes ac magistratus hortantur hominem, quandoquidem omnibus uitae muniis impar, alii molestus ac sibi grauis, morti iam suae superuiuat, ne secum statuat pestem diutius ac lucem alere, neque, quem tormentum ei uita sit, mori dubitet; quin bona spe fretus acerba illa uita uelut carcere atque aculeo uel ipse semet eximiat, uel ab aliis eripi. se sua unoluntate patiatur. hoc illum, quem non commoda sed supplicium abrupturus

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1 The words of More to his daughter Margaret, when in the Tower: ‘I believe, Meg, that they that have put me here ween that they have done me a high displeasure: but I assure thee on my faith, mine own good daughter, if it had not been for my wife and ye that be my children, I would not have failed long ere this to have closed myself in as strait a room, and straiter too,’ were taken by Warner to imply that he would have been prepared, under certain circumstances, to carry out the recommendation in the text. The true reference, however, can only be, as Father Bridgett points out (Life, pp. 25, 367) to the cell of a Carthusian monastery. A similar misinterpretation of the ‘lowly bed’ of Gray’s Elegy is sometimes met with. It must be admitted, in Warner’s defence, that the stoical doctrine of suicide, under certain limitations, is here presented in as attractive a form as it well could be. For the Christian view of the subject, see the authorities collected by Bishop Wordsworth in his note on Acts xvi. 27.
And bycause in that acte he shall followe the counsell of the pryestes, that is to saye of the interpreters of goddes wyll and pleasure, they shewe hym that he shall do lyke a godly and a vertuouse man. They that be thus persuaded fynyshe theyre lyues wyllinglye, othere wyth hunger, or elles dye in theyre sleape\(^1\) wythowte annye fealnige of deathe. But they cause none suche to dye agaynste hys wyll; nor they vse no lesse dilygence and attendaunce about hym; beleuynge\(^2\) thys to be an honorable deathe. Elles he that kylleth hym selfe before that the pryestes and the counsell haue allowed the cause of hys deathe, hym, as vnworthy both of the earth and of fyer\(^a\), they cast vnburyed into some stinkyng marrish.

The woman is not maried before she be xviii. yeres olde. The man is\(^b\) iii. yeres elder before he mary\(^3\). If other the man or the woman be proued to haue bodely\(^c\) offended, before their marriage, with an other\(^4\), he or she

\(^a\) [both \ldots fyer] either to be buryed, or with fier to be consumed.
\(^b\) is omitted.
\(^c\) actually.

morte sit, prudenter facturum; quoniam uero sacerdotum in ea re consiliiis, id est, interpretum dei, sit obsecuturus, etiam pie sancteque facturum. Haec quibus persuaserint, aut inedia sponte uitam finiunt, aut sopiti sine mortis sensu soluuntur. Inuitum uero neminem tollunt, nec officii erga eum quicquam imminuunt. persuasos hoc pacto defungi honorificum. Alioqui qui mortem sibi conscierit causa non probata sacerdotibus et senatui, hunc neque terra neque igne dignantur; sed in paludem aliquam turpiter insepultus abiicitur.

Foemina non ante annum duodeuicesimum nubit. Mas non nisi expletis quatuor etiam amplius. Ante coniugium mas aut foemina si conuincatur furtuæ libidinis, grauiiter

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\(^1\) This would rather suggest a natural death. But the Latin, sopiti, implies that they would be sent to sleep, or, as Burnet plainly words it, 'take Opium.'

\(^2\) Robynson apparently took persuasos as if persuasi, and connected it with the preceding clause. It is literally: 'for men to die in this way upon persuasion (that is, convinced by proper authority) is honourable.'

\(^3\) Compare the remarks on premature marriages in the Introduction, p. xxxiii.

\(^4\) This is an uncalled for addition by the translator.
whether it be a is sharply punyshed; and both the offenders be forbydden euer after in all their lyfe to marrye, oneles the faulte be forgeuen by the princes pardone. But bothe the good man and the good wyfe of the house where that offence was done, as beyng slacke and negligent in lokyng to there chardege, be in daunger of great reproche and infamy. That offence is so sharplye punyshed, bicause they perceaue, that onles they be diligentlye kept from the lybertie of this vice, fewe wyll ioyne together in the loue of marriage; wherin all the lyfe must be led with one, and also all the griefes and displeasures that come therewith must paciently be taken and borne.

Furthermore, in cheusyng wyfes and husbandes they obserue earnestly and straytelye a custome whiche semed to vs very fonde and folysh. For a sad and an honest matrone sheweth the woman, be she maide or widdowe, naked to the wower. And lykewyse a sage and discrete man exhibyteth the woweres naked to the woman. At

\[ \text{[he or ... be] the partye that so hathe trespassed.} \]
\[ \text{committed.} \]
\[ \text{comming.} \]

in eum eamue animaduertitur, coniugioque illis in totum inter-

dicitur, nisi uenia principis noxam remiserit. sed et pater et ma-
terque familias cuius in domo admissum flagitium est, tanquam suas partes parum diligenter tutati, magnae obiacent infamiae. id facinus ideo tam seure uindicant, quod futurum prospiciunt, ut rari in coniugalem amorem coalescerent, in quo aetatem omnem cum uno uideant exigendam, et perferendas insuper quas ea res affert molestias, nisi a uago concubitu diligenter arceantur.

Porro in deligendis coniugibus ineptissimum ritum (uti nobis uisum est) adprimeque ridiculum, illi serio ac seure obseruant. Mulierem enim, seu uiro seu uiduala sit, grauis et honesta matrona proco nudam exhibet; ac probus aliquis uir uiuissim nudum puellae procum sistit. Hunc

\[ \text{Sic etiam A.; B. omitit que.} \]

\[ \text{1 This argument is enforced by Plato's, did not extend to community of wives.} \]
\[ \text{Plato's, did not extend to community of wives.} \]

\[ \text{The Utopian communum, unlike} \]
\[ \text{Should be coalescant.} \]
this custome we laughed and disallowed it as foolyshe. But they on the other part doo greatlye wonder at the follye of all other nations, whyche in byinge a colte, where as a lytle money is in hassarde, be so charye and circumspecte, that though he be almoste all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, oneles the saddel and all the harneys be taken of, leaste vnder those couerynges be hydde som galle or soore; and yet in chewsynge a wyfe, whyche shalbe other pleasure or dyspleasure to them all theire lyfe after, they be so recheles, that, all the resydewe of the wooman's bodye beinge couered wyth cloothes, they esteme here scaselye be one handebredeth (for they can se no more but her face); and so do a ioyne her to them not without great ieoperdie of euell agreing together, if any thynge in her body afterwarde do offende b and myslyke them. For all men be not so wyse as to haue respecte to the vertuous condicions of the partie; and the endow-mentes of the bodye cause the vertues of the mynde more

morem quem velut ineut ineptum ridentes improbaremus, illi contra caeterarum omnium gentium insignem demirari stultitiam, qui quum in equuleo comparando, ubi de paucis agitur nummis, tam cauti sint, ut, quamuis fere nudum, nisi detracta sella tamen omnibus-que reuulsis ephippiis, recusent emere, ne sub illis operculis hulus aliquod delitesceret; indeligenda coniuge, qua ex re aut uoluptas aut nausea sit totam per uitam comitatura, tam negligenter agant, ut, reliquo corpore uestibus obuluto, totam mulierem uix ab unius palmae spatio (nihil enim praeter uultum uisitur) aestiment, adiungantque sibi non absque magno (si quid offendat postea) male cohaerendi periculo. Nam neque omnes tam sapientes sunt ut solos mores respiciant, et in ipsorum quoque sapientium coniugiis ad 122

a to. b should chaunce to offende.

1 Burton, in his Anatomy of Melancholy (Part III, sec. 3, mem. 4, subs. 2), quotes this fancy of More's, and compares it with one of the institutions of Lycurgus (Plutarch's Lives, tr. by the Langhorners, 1805, i. p. 139). Bacon, in his New Atlantis (ed. by St. John, p. 248), also refers to it, and devises what he thinks a better expedient.
to be esteemed and regarded, yea, even in the mariages of wyse men. Verely so fowle deformitie may be hydde vnder thees coueringes, that it maye quite alienate and take awaye the mans mynde from his wyfe, when it shal not be lawfull for their bodies to be seporate agayne. If suche deformitie happen by any chaunce after the mariage is consumate and finyshed; well, there is no remedie but patience. Every man must take his fortune, well a worthie. But it were well done that a lawe were made, whereby all suche deceytes myghte be eschewed and aduoyded before hand. And thys were they constreyned more earnestlye to looke vpon, because they onelye of the nations in that parte of the worlde bee contente euyere man wyth one wyfe a piece; and matrymoney is there neuer broken, but by death; excepte adulterye breake the bonde, or els the intollerable waiward maners of eyther partie. For if either of them fynde themselfe for any suche cause greued; they maye by the licence of the councell chaunge and take an other. But the other partie lyueth euer after in infamy and out of wedlocke. But

animi uirtutes non nihil additamenti corporis etiam dotes adiciunt. certe tam foeda deformitas latere sub illis potest inuolucris, ut alienare prorsus animum ab uxor e queat, quem corpse iam seiuungi non liceat. Qualis deformitas si quo casu contingat post contractas nuptias, suam quisque sortem necesse a ferat: ante uero ne quis capiatur insidiis legibus caueri debet; idque tanto majo re studio fuit curandum b, quod et soli illarum orbis plagarum singulis sunt contenti coniugibus, et matrimonium ibi haud saepe alter quam morte soluitur, nisi adulterium in causa fuerit, aut morum non Diaortium. Nempe alterutri sic offenso facta ab senatu coniugis mutandi uenia: alter infamem simul ac caelibem perpetuo uitam ducit. Alloquin inuitam coniugem, cuius nulla sit

*a necesse est, A.  
b om. A.*

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1 There is nothing in the Latin to show in what sense this exclamation was meant to be used. On the analogy of 'wellaway,' and 'woe worth,' it will be an exclamation of sorrow: ' alas! that it should be so.'
for the a husbande to put away his wyfe for no b faulthe, but for that some myshappe is fallen to her bodye, thys by no meanes they wyll suffre. For they iudge it a greate poynte of crueltie that any body in their moste nede of helpe and comforte, shoulde be cast of and forsaken; and that olde age, whych both bryngeth sycknes with it, and is a sycknes it selfe1, should vnkyndlye and vnfaythfullye be delte withall. But nowe and then it chaunseth, wheré as the man and the woman cannot well agree betwene themselfes, bothe of them fyndynge other with whome they hope to lyue more quyetlye and meryly, that they by the full consent of them both be diuorsed a sonder and newe married to other2; but that not without the autho-
ritie of the councell; which agreeth to no dyuorses, before they and their wyfes haue diligently tried and examyned the matter. Yea and then also they be loth to consent to

a Howbeit the.  b no other.

noxa, repudiare, quod corporis obtigerit calamitas, id uero nullo pacto ferunt. nam et crudele iudicant tum quenquam deseri, cum maxime eget solatio, et senectuti, quum et morbos afferat et morbus ipsa sit, incertam atque infirmam fidem fore. Caeterum accidit interdum ut quum non satis inter se coniugum conueniant mores, repertis utrique aliis quibus cum speten se suasius esse uicturos, amborum sponte separati noua matrimonia contrahant, haud absque senatus auctoritate tamen, qui nisi causa per se atque uxorss suas diligenter cognita diuortia non admittit. Imo ne sic quidem facile, quod rem minime

1 The thought is from Terence, Phormio, iv. 1:
2 Ch. Pol me detinuit morbus. De.
3 Unde? aut qui? Ch. Rogas?
Senectus ipsa est morbus.
4 Milton contended in earnest for whst* More here makes the Utopians allow, protesting vehemently against the law which continued to bind together a married couple, although through their different tempers, thoughts, and constitutions, they can neither be to one another a remedy against loneliness, nor live in any union or contentment all their days.' He is careful to guard against its being thought 'that licence, and levity, and unconscionable and tender pity might be had of those who have unwarily, in a thing they never practised before, made themselves the bondmen of a luckless and helpless matrimony.' See the Preface to The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.
it, because they knowe thys to be the nexte waye to breke loue betwene man and wyfe, to be in easye hope of a newe mariage.

Breakers of wedlocke be punyshed with moste greuous bondage. And if both the offenders were maried, then the partyes whiche in that behalfe haue suffered wronge be diuorsed from the auoutrers if they wyll, and be maried together, or els to whom they luste. But if eyther of them both do styll contynewe in loue towarde so vnkynde a bedfellowe, the vse of wedlocke is not to them forbydden, if the partie be disposed to followe in toylinge and drudgerye the person, which for that offence is condempned to bondage. And very ofte it chaunceth that the repentaunce of the one, and the earnest diligence of the other, dothe so moue the prince with pytie and compassion, that he restoreth the bonde persone from seruitude to libertie and fredom again. But if the same partie be taken eftsones in that faulte, there is no other way but death.

To other trespasses there is no prescript punyshment appoynted by anye lawe. But accordinge to the heyst-

\[ \text{a} \] [be diuorsed ... together] beinge diuorsed from the auoutrers, be maried together, if they will.
\[ \text{b} \] partie faulteles.
\[ \text{c} \] [there is no] no ... is.

123 utilem sciunt firmandae | coniugum charitati, facilem nouarum nuptiarum spem esse propositam.

Temeratores coniugii grauissimae seruitute plectuntur; et, si neuter erat caelebs, inuriarum passi (uelint modo) repudiatis adulteris coniugio inter se ipsi iunguntur; aliquin quibus uidebitur. At si laesorum alterutrer erga tam male merentem coniugem in amore persistat, tamen uti coniugii lege non prohibetur, si uelit in opera damnatum sequi: acciditque interdum ut alterius poenitentia, alterius officiosa sedulitas, miserationem commouens principi, libertatem rursus impetret. Caeterum ad scelus iam relapso nex infligatur.

Caeteris facinoribus nullam certam poenam lex nulla praestituit,

\[ ^1 \text{Lat. interdum, not so much as 'very ofte;' but rather, 'now and then.'} \]
nousenes of the offence, or contrarye, so the punyshemente is moderated by the discretion of the councell. The husbandes chastice theire wyfes; and the parentes theire chyldren; oneles they haue done anye so horryble an offence, that the open punyshemente thereof maketh muche for the aduauncemente of honeste maners. But moste commonlye the moste heynous faultes be punyshed with the incommoditie of bondage. For that they suppose to be to the offenders no lesse griefe, and to the common wealth more profitable, then if they should hastily put them to death, and make them out of the waye. For there cummeth more profite of their laboure, then of their deathe; and by their example they feare other the lenger from lyke offences. But if they, beinge thus vsed, doo rebell and kicke agayn, then forsothe they be slayne as desperace and wilde beastes, whom nother pryson nor chayne could restraine and kepe vnder. But they whiche take their bondage patientleye be not left all hopeles. For after they haue bene broken and tamed with longe

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Aestimatio
supplicii penes
magistratum.

sed ut quodque atrox aut contra uisum est, ita supplicium senatus decernit. Vxores mariti castigant, et parentes liberos; nisi quid tam ingens admirerint, ut id publice puniri morum intersit. sed fere grauissima quaeque scelera seruitutis incommodo puniuntur; id siquidem et sceleratis non minus triste et reipublicae magis commodum arbitrantur, quam si mactare noxios et protenus amoliri festinent. Nam et labore quam nece magis prosunt, et exemplo diutius alios ab simili flagitio deterrent. quod si sic habiti rebellent atque recalcitrent, tum demum uelut indomitaes beluae, quos cohercere carcer et catena non hostet, trucidantur. At patientibus non adimitur omnis omnino spes. quippe longis domiti | malis si eam poenitentiam prae se ferant, quae 124

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1 In England it was long supposed to be the law that a man might chastise his wife, so it be in moderation, and with a stick no thicker than his thumb. See Dalton: *The Countrey Justice*, ed. 1705, p. 284. But modern law recognizes no such right, and a husband is not justified in beating his wife, even though she be drunk or insolent. See *The American and English Ency- clopedia of Law*, vol. ix. (1889), p. 815, and the authorities there quoted.
of Utopia.

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of Utopia.

myseries, yf then they shewe suche repentaunce, where-
bye it maye be perceaued that they be soryer for theire
offence then for theire punyshemente, sumtymes by the
Prynces prerogatyue, and sumtymes by the voyce and
consent of the people, theire bondage other is mitigated, or
els cleane remytted and forgeuen. He that moueth to aduoutrye
is in no lesse daunger and ieoperdie, then yf he
hadde committed aduoutrye in dede. For in all offences
they counte the intente and pretensed purpose as euell
as the acte or dede it selfe. For they thinke that no lette
owghte to excuse hym, that dyd hys beste too haue no lette.

They sette greate store by fooles. And as it is
greate reproche to do to annye of them hurte or injury,
so they prohibite not to take pleasure of foolyshnes. For
that, they thinke, doth muche good to the fooles. And
if any man be so sadde and sterne, that he cannot laughe
nother at their wordes nor at their dedes, none of them

a as thereby.
b Thinking.
c [sette . . by] haue singular delite and pleasure in.
d is a.
e to omitted.

peccatum testetur magis eis displicere quam poenam, principis inter-
dum praerogatiau, interdum suffragiis populi, aut mitigatur seruitus
aut remittitur. Sollicitasse ad stuprum nihil minus
quam suprasse periciuli est. In omni siquidem flagitio
certum destinatumque conatum aequant facto. neque
enim id quod defuit ei putant prodesse debere, per quem non stetit
quominus nihil defuerit.

Moriones in delitiis habentur, quos ut affecisse contumeliis magno
in probro est, ita ulumptatem ab stultitia capere non
uetant. Siquidem id morionibus ipsis maximo esse
bono censent, cuius qui tam seuerus ac tristis est ut nullum

1 See the note above, p. 71.
2 Not in the sense of inciting others
to, but of attempting.
3 St. Matt. v. 28.
4 The reader will at once recall
More's own fancy for a morio, in the
person of Henry Pattinson, who is
introduced into Holbein's sketch of
the family of Sir Thomas More. See
Jortin's Erasmus, i. p. 175, and
Bridgett's Life, p. 126.
5 Cuius appears to refer, by a
rather harsh change of number, to
morionis, supplied from the preceding
morionibus.
be commytted to his tuition; for feare lest he would not ordre a them gentilly and fauorably enough, to whom they should brynge no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none); muche lesse any proffyt shoulde they yelde hym.

To mocke a man for hys deformitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or lymme of hys bodye, is counted greate dishonestie and reproche, not to hym that is mocked, but to hym that mocketh; which vnwysely doth imbrayde any man of that as a vice, whiche was not in his powre to eschewe. Also as they counte and reken very lyttell wytte to be in hym that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comlines, so to helpe the same with payntinges is taken for a vayne and a wanton pryde, not without great infamye. For they knowe euen by verye experience, that no comelines of bewtie doth so hyghly commende and auauence the wyues in the conceyte of there husbandes, as honest conditions and lowlines. For as loue is oftentimes wonne with bewtie, so it is not kept, preserued, and continued, but by vertue and obedience.

1 Such a one as Persius describes: *fucis frustra utentem,* ending 'numquam Hecuben haec facient Helenen.'
2 Upbraid. See the Glossary.
3 More has an epigram 'In anum fucis frustra utentem,' ending 'numquam Hecuben haec facient Helenen.'
4 All this is for *retinetur.* For the sentiment, compare More's charming lines
They do not only feare theire people from doinge euell by punyshmentes, but also allure them to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therfore they set vp in the market place the ymages of notable men\(^1\), and of such as haue bene great and bounteful benefactors to the common wealth, for the perpetuall memorie of their good actes; and also that the glory and renowne of the auncetors may sturre and prouoke theire posteritie to vertue. He that inordinatlie and ambitiously desireth promotions, is lefte all hopeles for euer atteynyng any promotion as longe as he liueth. They lyue together louingly. For no magistrate is other hawkte or ferefull. Fathers they be called, and lyke fathers they vse themselfes. The citezens (as it is their dewtie) do\(^a\) willingly exhibite vnto them dewe honoure, without any compulsion. Nor the prince hymselfe is not known from the other by his apparel, nor by a crown or diademe\(^b\) or cappe of main-

\(\text{\textit{Ad Candidum: qualis uxor deligenda.}}\)

\(\text{\textit{That is true love,}}\) he says, \(\text{\textit{which Virtutis inclytae}}\)

\(\text{\textit{(Quae certa permanens Non febre decidit, Annisue deperit)}}\)

\(\text{\textit{Respectus efficit.'}}\)

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\(\text{\textit{Et praemis inuitandi clues ad officium.}}\)

\(\text{\textit{Damnatus ambitus. Honor magistratuum. Dignitas principis.}}\)

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\(\text{\textit{1 The 'image' of More himself has of late years been so set up in his native city, though not yet in a manner worthy of him. See the Introduction, p. xviii. n.}}\)

\(\text{\textit{2 An ellipse of se.}}\)
tenaunce\textsuperscript{1}, but by a littell sheffe of corne caried before hym. And so a taper of wax is borne befor the byshop\textsuperscript{2}, whereby onely he is known.

Thei haue but few lawes. For to people so instructe and institute very fewe do suffice. Yea this thynge they chieflye reprove amonge other nations, that innumerable bokes of lawes and expositions vpon the same be not sufficient\textsuperscript{3}. But they thinke it against al right and justice, that men shuld be bound to thoese lawes, whiche other be in nembre mo then be able to be readde, or els blinder and darker, then that any man can well vnderstande them. Furthermore they vtterly exclude and bannyshe all\textsuperscript{a} procurtors and sergeauntes at the lawe\textsuperscript{4}, which craffely handell matters, and subtelly dispute of the lawes. For they

\textsuperscript{a} all attorneis.

gestatus frumenti manipulus discernit, ut pontificis insigne est praelatus cereus.

\textit{Leges} habent perquam paucas, sufficiunt enim sic institutis paucissimae. Quin hoc in primis apud alios improbant populos, quod legum interpretumque uolumina non infinita sufficient. Ipsi uero censent iniquissimum, ullos homines his obligari legibus, quae aut numerosiores sint quam ut perlegi quaeant, aut obscurores quam ut a quouis possint intel ligi. porro causidicos, qui causas tractent callide ac leges uafre

\textsuperscript{1} The ‘cap of maintenance,’ or ‘cap of dignity,’ was a cap of crimson velvet, lined with ermine, originally assigned only to dukes. The name is said to be derived from its having been ‘borne in the hand’ by a distinguished captive, in the train of the victorious general who owned it. See the Dictionaries. In the Latin text however, there is nothing but \textit{diademata} to answer to Robynson’s triplet.

\textsuperscript{2} See below, p. 294.

\textsuperscript{3} This is a stock complaint. The jurisconsults have their share in the \textit{Praise of Folly}, as those who ‘sexcentas leges codem spiritu contexunt, nihil refert quam ad rem pertinentes;’ and who ‘glossematis glossemata, opiniones opinionibus cumulantes, efficient ut studium illud omnium difficilium esse videatur.’– \textit{Moriae Encom.}, ed. 1668, p. 144.

\textsuperscript{4} This is Robynson’s expansion of the single term \textit{causidicos}. ‘Proctor’ is Chaucer’s ‘procurateur;’–

‘May I not axe a libel, sire sompnour,
And answer there by my procurator?’
of Utopia.

thinke it most mete, that every man shuld pleade his owne matter, and tell the same tale before the judge, that he would tel to his man of lawe. So shall there be lesse circumstaunce of wordes, and the trewth shal soner cum to light; whiles the iudge with a discrete judgement doth waye the wordes of hym whom no lawier hath in-struct with deceit; and whiles he helpeith and beareth out simple wittes agaynst the false and malicious circum-uertions of craftie chyldren. This is harde to be ob-serued in other countreis, in so infinitie a numbere of blynd and intricate lawes. But in Vtopia every man is a cunnyng lawier. For, as I sayde, they haue verye fewe lawes; and the playnner and grosser that anye interpre-tation is, that they alowe as most iuste. For all lawes (saye they) bee made and publysshed onelye to thenthente, that by them euerye man shoulde be put in remembrance of hys dewtys. But the craftye and subtyll interpretation

disputent, prorsus omnes excludunt. censent enim ex usu esse ut suam quisque causam agat, eademque referat iudici quae narraturus patrono fuerat. Sic et minus am-bagum fore et facilius elici urchatem, dum, eo dicente quem nullus patronus fucum docuit, iudex solerter expendit singula, et contra uersorium calumnias simplicioribus ingenii osipulatur. 126 haec apud | alias gentes in tanto perplexissimarum aceruo legum difficile est obseruari. Caeterum apud eos unusquisque est legis peritus. Nam et sunt (ut dixi) paucissimae; et interpretationum praeterea ut quaeque est maxime crassa, ita maxime aequum censent. Nempe quum omnes leges (inquiuint) ea tantum causa promulgentur, ut ab hiis quisque sui commonesiat officii, subtilior interpretatio pau-

1 That is, 'people,' as constantly in the Bible. Comp. 'obedient children' (1 Pet. i. 14), &c. More elsewhere recommends trusting to the summary jurisdiction of a judge. 'Though maister More saye, that he neuer saw the day yet, but that he durst as well trust the truth of one iudge as of two iuries,' is a statement in The Debellacion of Salem and Byzance. See also Father Bridgett's note in Wisdom and Wit, p. 179; and for one cause of the corruption of juryes, see the Discourse of the Common Weal, before quoted, Appendix to Introduction, p. lix: 'Somme founde the meanes to haue ther servantes sworn in the Juryes, to thyent to haue them hasarde ther soules to saue ther gredynes.'
of them can ∗ put verye fewe in that remembrance (for they be but fewe that do perceauce them); where as the simple, the plaine, and grosse meaning of the lawes is open to euerye man. Els as touchynge the vulgare sorte of the people, whiche be bothe moste in numbre, and haue moste neade to knowe theire dewties, were it not as good for them that no lawe were made at all, as, when it is made, to brynge so blynde an interpretacion vpon it, that without greate witte and longe arguynge no man can discusse it? to the findinge out whereof nother the grosse judgemenet of the people can attayne, nother the hole lyfe of them that be occupied in woorkynge for theire lyuynges can suffye therto 1.

Thies vertues of the Vtopians haue caused theire nexte neyghbours and borderers, whiche lyue fre and vnder no subiection (for the Vtopians longe agoo haue delyuered manye of them from tyrannye), to take magistrates of them, some for a yeare, and some for fyue yeares space. Whiche, when the tyme of theire office is expired, they brynge home agayn with honoure and prayse; and take newe ons ∗ agayne wyth them into theire countrey. Thies

∗ [them can] them (for as muche as few can atteyne therto) canne.

∗ ons omitted.

cissimos admonet (pauci enim sunt qui assequantur), quum interim simplicior ac magis obuius legum sensus omnibus in aperto sit. alioquin, quod ad uulgus attinet, cuius et maximus est numerus et maxime eget admonitu, quid referat utrum legem omnino non condas, an conditam in talem interpreteris sententiam, quam nisi magno ingenio et longa disputatone nemo possit eruere, ad quam investigandum neque crassum uulgi iudicium queat attingere, neque uita in comparando uictu occupata sufficere.

Hiis eorum uirtutibus incitati finitimi, qui quidem liberi sunt et suae spontis (multos enim ipsi iam olim tyrannide liberauerunt) magistratus sibi ab illis, alii quotannis, alii in lustrum impetrant; quos defunctos imperio cum honore ac laude reducunt, nouosque secum rursus in patriam reechunt. Atque hi quidem populi optime prefecto

1 See Budé's letter, above, pp. lxxx—xcii.
nations haue vnдовtedlye verye well and holsomlye pro-
uyded for theire common wealthes. For seynge that
bothe the makyng and the marrynge of the weale pub-
lique doth depende and hange of* the maners of the
rulers and magistrates, what officers coulde they more
wyselye haue chosen, then theyes whiche cannot be ledde
from honestye by brybes 1 (for to them that shortlye
after shall departe theyns into theyres owne countreye
money shoulde be vnprofytable); nor yet be moued other
with fauour or malyce towardes annye man, as beynge
straungers and vnaquainted with the people? The which
twoo vices of affection 2 and auryce where they take place
in iudgementes, incontynente they breake iustice, the
strongeste and suereste bonde of a common wealthe 3.
Thies peoples, whiche fetche theire officers and rulers
from them, the Vtopians cal theire fellowes; and other,
to whome they haue bene beneficicall, they call theire
frendes.

1 For More's own practice in this
respect see the anecdotes in Roper's
Life (ed. 1822, pp. 61, 62).
2 'Affection' here denotes the 'being
moved with favour or malice' towards
anyone, just described; in other words,
partiality or bias. The Latin affectus
sometimes has the same sense, as in
Quintil. vi. 2, 'inducere iudicem in
affectus.' Shakspere uses the word
similarly in Merchant of Venice, iv. 1:—

For affection,
Master of passion, sways it to the
mood
Of what it likes or loathes.'
3 The second title of Plato's Republic,
it will be remembered, is Concerning
Justice.
4 For eligere. See note above,
p III.
5 Should rather have been the nomi-
native, in apposition to mala.
As towchynge leages, which in other places betwene countriey and countriey be so ofte concluded, broken, and made agayne a, they never make none with anye nacion 1. For to what purpose serue leages? saye they; as though nature had not set sufficient loue betwene man and man. And who so regardeth not nature, thynke yowe that he wyll passe for wordes? They be brought into thys opinion chieflye bicause that in those parties of the wordle leages betwene princes be wont to be kept and obserued very slenderly. For here in Europa, and espe-
ciallye in thies partes, where the faythe and religion of
Christe reygneth, the maiestie of leages is euerye where
estemed holly and inuiolable; partelye through the iustice
and goodnes of princes, and partelye through the reue-
rence of great byshoppes b 2. Whyche, lyke as they make

a renewed. b [through ... byshoppes] at the reuerence and motion of
the head byshoppes.

Foedera, quae reliquae inter se gentes toties inuent, frangunt ac
renouant, ipsi nulla cum gente feriunt. Quorsum enim
De foederibus. foedus, inquiant, quasi non hominem homini satis
natura conciliet; quam qui contemserit, hunc uerba
scilicet putes curaturum? In hanc sententiam eo uel maxime tra-
huntur, quod in illis terrarum plagis foedera pactaque principum
solent parum bona fide seruari. Etenim in Europa, idque his potissi-
mum partibus quas Christi fides et religio possidet, sancta est et
inuiolabilis ubique maiestas foederum, partim ipsa iustitia et bonitate
principum, partim summorum reuerentia metuque pontificum, qui ut

1 On this subject, see the Introduc-
tion, p. xxxii.
2 Robynson seems to have stuck at
the words 'metuque pontificum,' as will
be seen from the reading of his second
edition, where he evidently took metu
for motte. In a former passage (sup.
p. 8) he appears in like manner to
have hesitated about rendering ponti-
fices by Popes, which is a common
use of the word in More. So Burnet:
'Which is partly owing to the Justice
and Goodness of the Princes them-
selves, and partly to the Reverence
they pay to the Popes: Who, as they
are most religious Observers of their
own Promises, so they exhort all other
Princes to perform theirs.' On the
part taken by Pope Julius II in the
League of Cambray and afterwards,
which is probably what More had
most in view, see Tytler: History of
Scotland, 1864, ii. p. 281, and Brewer:
Reign of Henry VIII, i. p. 12.
no promysse themselvses, but they doo verye religiouslye perfourme the same, so they exhorte all prynces in any wyse to abyde by theyre promisses; and them that refuse or denye so to do, by theire pontificall powre and authorytie they compell therto\(^1\). And surely they thynke well that it myght seme a verye reprochefull thynge, yf in the leagues of them, whyche by a peculiare name be called faythfull, fay the shoulde haue no place.

But in that newefonnde parte of the worlde, whiche is scaselye so farre from vs beyonde the lyne equinoctiall, as owre lyfe and manners be dissidente from theirs, no truste nor confydence is in leagues. But\(^2\) the mo and holyer cerymonies the league is knytte vp with, the soner it is broken, by some cauillation founde in the woordes; whyche manye tymes of purpose be so craftelye put in and placed, that the bandes can neuer be so sure nor so stronge, but they wyll fynde some hole open to crepe

nihil in se recipiunt ipsi, quod non religiosissime praestant, ita caeteros omnes principes iubent ut pollicitis omnibus modis immoventur, tergiuersantes uero pastorali censura et seueritate compellunt. Merito sane censent turpissimam rem uideri si illorum foederibus absit fides qui peculiari nomine fideles appellantur.

At in illo nouo orbe terrarum, quem circulus aequator uix tam \(^{128}\) longe \textit{ab hoc nostro orbe semouet, quam uita moresque dissident, foederum nulla fiducia est; quorum ut quoque\(^a\) plurimus ac sanctissimis ceremoniis innodatum fuerit, ita citissime solutur, inuenta facile in uerbis calumnia, quae sic interim de industria dictant callide, ut nunquam tam firmis adstringi uinculis queant, quin elabantur aliqua, quodque, A. \textit{recte}.}

\(^1\) With this sarcastic contrast of the ideal with the real, compare the strictures of Erasmus, in a similar strain, on the conduct of Christian Kings and Popes, in his \textit{Adagia}, under the headings \textit{Imperitia} and \textit{Simulatio et Dissimulatio} (ed. 1629, pp. 301, 655).\(^2\) This way of beginning a fresh sentence dislocates the meaning, by appearing to make the conduct here described to be the practice of the Utopians; as if they broke treaties the more quickly, the more solemnly they were concluded. Burnet's rendering gives what I take to be the same wrong impression. The Latin simply means: \textit{‘there is no confidence in treaties; which are speedily broken,’}—that is, which in the old world are so broken.
owte at ¹, and to breake bothe league and trewthe. The whiche crafty dealynge, yea, the whiche fraude and deceye, ye they should knowe it to bee practysed amonge pryuate men in theire bargaynes and contractes, they woulde incontinent crye owte at it with a ⁴ sower countenaunce, as an offence most detestable, and worthie to be punnyshed with a shamefull death; yea, euen verye they ² that auance themselfes authours of like councel geuen to princes. Wherfore it maye well be thought other that all iustice is but a basse and a lowe vertue, and whiche aualeth it self ³ farre vnder the hyghe dignitie of kynges; or, at the least wyse, that there be two iustices; the one mete for the inferioure sorte of the people, goinge a fote and crepynge by lowe on the ⁰ grounde, and bounde downe on euyry side with many bandes, because it shall not run at rouers: the other a pryncely vertue, whiche lyke as it is of muche hygher maiestie then the other poore iustice, so also it is of muche more lybertie, as to the whiche nothinge is vnlawful that it lusteth after.

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foedusque et fidem pariter eludant. Quam uafriciem, imo quam fraudem dolumque, si priuatorum deprehenderent interuenisse contractui, magno supercilio rem sacrilegam et furca dignam clamitarent hi nimirum ipsi, qui eius consilii principibus dati semet gloriantur autores. Quo fit ut iustitia totauideatur aut non nisi plebea virtus et humilis, quaeque longo interuallo subsidat infra regale fastigium, aut uti saltem duae sint, quarum altera uulgus deceat, pedestris et humirepa, neue usquam septa transilire queat, multis undique restricta uinculis; altera principum uirtus, quae sicuti sit quam illa popularis augstior, sic est etiam longo interuallo liberior, ut cui nihil ⁵ non liceat nisi quod non libeat.

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¹ Here again, Robynson and Burnet ('but they will find some Loophole,' &c.) convey the impression that this is what the Utopians do. The metaphor in the Latin is taken from tying up a parcel, which in such hands can never be so securely fastened, 'but that some things slip out, and baffle alike treaty and trust.'

² Latin, hi ipsi. Compare the French même eux.

³ That is, sinks. See the Glossary.
Thies maners of princes (as I sayde) whiche be there\(^1\) so euyll kepers of leagues cause the Vtopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at all: whiche perchaunce woulde chaunge theire mynde if they lyued here. Howebeit they thynke that thoughhe leagues be neuer so saythfully observered and kept, yet the custome of makinge leagues was verye euel begonne. For this causeth men (as though nations which be separate a sondre by the space of a lytle hyl or a ryuer, were coupled together by no societe or bonde of nature), to thynke them selfes borne aduersaryes and enemies one to an other; and that it is\(^2\) 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, fryndes hyppe dothe not growe and increasse; but the lycence of robbynge and stealynge doth stylly remayne, as far furthe as, for lacke of forsight and aduisement in writinge the woordes of the league, anny sentence or clause to the contrary is not therin suffycyentlye comprehended. But they be of a contrary opinion: that is, that no man ought to be counted an

\[\text{a were.}\]

Hos mores, ut dixi, principum illic foedera tam male seruantium puto in causa esse neulla feriant Vtopienses, mutaturi fortasse sententiam si hic uiuerent. Quanquam illis uidetur, ut optime seruentur, male tamen inoleuisse foederis omnino sanciendi consuetudinem; qua fit ut (perinde ac si populum populo, quos exiguo spacio collis tantum aut riuus discriminat, nulla naturae societas copularet) hostes atque inimicos inuicem sese natos putent, meritoque in mutuam grassari perniciem, nisi foedera prohibeant: quin his ipsis quoque initis non amicitiam coalescere sed manere praedandi licentiam, quatenus per imprudentiam dictandi foederis nihil quod prohibeat satis caute comprehensum in pactis est. At illi contra censent, neminem pro inimico habendum, a quo nihil injuriae profectum est; naturae consortium

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\(^1\) Namely, in the old world. The use of *illic* and *hic* in the same sentence of the Latin, both denoting Europe from different points of view, is a little confusing.
enemy, whyche hath done no injury; and that the fellow-shyppe of nature is a stronge league; and that men be better and more surely knitte together by loue and beneuolence, then by couenauntes of leagues; by hartie affection of minde, then by woordes.

foederis uice esse; et satius ualentiusque homines inuicem beneuo-lentia quam pactis, animo quam uerbis, connecti.
Of warfare,

Warre or battel as a thinge very beastelye, and yet to no kynde of beastes in so muche use as it is to man, they do detest and abhorre; and, contrarye to the custome almost of all other natyons, they cownte nothinge so much against glorie, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore, though they do daily practise and exercise themselfes in the discipline of warre, and that not only the men, but also the women, vpon certeyne appoynted dayes, leste they shoulde be to seke in the feat of armes yf nead should reuyre; yet they neuer to goo to battayle, but other in the defence of their owne cowntreye, or to dryue owte of theyr frendes lande the enemyes that be comen in, or by their powre to deliuer from the

DE RE MILITARI.

Ellum utpote rem plane beluinam—nec ulli tamen beluarum formae in tam assiduo, atque homini, est usu—summopere abominantur, contraque morem gentium ferme omnium nihil aeque ducent inglorium atque petitam e bello gloriam. eoque, licet assidue militari sese disciplina exerccant, neque id uiri modo, sed foeminae quoque statis diebus, ne-ad bellum sint, quum exigat usus, inhabiles, non temere capessunt tamen, nisi quo aut suos fines tueantur, aut amicorum terris infusos hostes propulsent, aut populum

1 Lat. plane beluinam. This derivation is given in the Cornucopiae: 'Bellua, immanis fera, quasi bellum gerens, a quo bellus inus adiectivum,' &c. Pace, in his De Fructu (p. 32), plays similarly, though not with the same etymology in view, on the word bellum: 'Cae-terum, ut verum dicam, bellis invita intersum, ideo quod minime bella sunt' (Musica loq.).
yocke and bondage of tyrannye some people that be oppressed wyth tyranny\(^a\). Whyche thynge they doo of meere pytye and compassion. Howebeit they sende healpe to theyre fryndes; not euer\(^1\) in their defence, but sumtimes also to requyte and reuenge injuries before to them done. But thys they do not, onles their counsell and aduise in the matter be asked, whyles yt ys yet newe and freshe. For yf they fynde the cause probable, and yf the contrarye parte wyll not restore agayne suche thynges as be of them iustelye demaunded, then they be the chyeffe auctores and makers of the warre. Whyche they do not onlye as ofte as by inrodes and inuasions of sol-diours prayes and booties be dreuen away, but then also much more mortally, when their frindes marchauntes in any land, other vnder the pretence of vniust lawes, or els by the wresting and wronge understanding of good lawes, do sustaine an vniust accusation vnder the colour of iustice. Nother the battel which the vtopians fowghte for the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitanes\(^2\), a lytle before oure time, was made for annye other cause, but that the

\(^{a}\) [that be ... tyrannye] that be therewith oppressed.

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\(^1\) That is, not always.

\(^2\) The names here devised, \textit{\textit{Nepfelogetes}}, \textit{\textit{Cloudlanders}}, and \textit{\textit{Alaopolita}}, are suggestive of the \textit{\textit{Verax Historia}} of Lucian.
Nephelogete marchaunte men, as the vtopians thought, suffred wrong of the Alaopolitanes, vnder the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wrong, it was with so cruell and mortal warre reuenged, the countreis round about ioyning their healpe and powre to the puisaunce and malice of bothe parties, that most florishing and wealthie peoples beyng some of them shrewedely shaken, and some of them sharply beaten, the mischeues were not finished nor ended, untill the Alaopolitanes at the last were yelded vp as bondmen into the iurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the vtopians foughte not this warre for themselfes. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, were nothyng to be compared with them.

So egerly the Vtopians prosequute the injuries done to ther frindes, yea, in money matters; and not their owne likewise. For if they by coueyne or gyle be wiped beside their gooddes ¹, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreake their anger by absteining from occupieng with that nation, untill they haue made satisfaction. Not

Alaopolitas Nephelogetarum mercatoribus illata praetextu iuris (ut uisum est ipsis) iniuria. certe, siue illud ius, siue ea iniuria fuit, bello tan atroci est uindicata, quam ad proprias utriusque partis uires odiaque circumiectarum etiam gentium studia atque opes adiungerentur, ut florentissimis populorum aliis concussis, aliis uehementer afflictis, orientia ex malis mala Alaopolitarum seruitus demum ac deditio finierit, qua in Nephelogetarum (neque enim sibi certabant Vtopienses) potestatem concessere; gentis, florentibus Alaopolitarum rebus, haud quaquam cum illis conferendae.

Tam acriter Vtopienses amicorum, etiam in pecuniis, iniuriam persequentur, suas ipsorum non item; qui scibi circunscripti bonis excidant, modo corporibus absit uis, hactenus irascuntur uti, quoad

¹ That is, cheated out of their goods. In Cooper’s Thesaurus, ed. 1584, the sentence from Terence (Phorm. iv. 4. 1) ‘emunxi argento senes’ is rendered ‘I have wipte the old fooles from al their money.’ The use of ‘beside’ for ‘out of’ may be illustrated from a passage in Foxe: Acts and Mon. ii. 384 (quoted in the New English Dictionary)—‘He put the new Pope Alexander beside the cushion, and was made pope himself.’
for bicause they set lesse stoore by their owne cytyzeyns, then by theire frindes; but that they take the losse of their fryndes money more heuely then the losse of theyr owne: bicause that their frindes marchaunte men, forasmuche as that they leise is their owne priuate gooddes, susteyne great damage by the losse; but their owne citizenys leise nothing but of the common gooddes, and of that which was at home plentifull and almost superfluous, elles hadde it not bene sent furth. Therfore no man feeleth the losse. And for this cause they thynke it to cruell an acte to reuenge that losse wyth the death of many; the incommoditie of the whiche losse no man feeleth nother in his liffe, nother* in his liuinge. But if it chaunce that any of their men in any other countreye be maymed or kylled, whether it be done by a commen or a priuate councell; knowing and trying out the treuth of the matter by their ambassadours, onles the offenders be rendered vnto them in recompence of the injury, they will not be appeased; but incontinent they proclayme warre against them. The offenders yelded they punnishe other with death or with bondage.

nor yet.

satisfactio fiat, eius commercio gentis absti neant. Non quod minoris 131 sibi curae ciues quam socii sint, sed horum tamen pecuniam interci pi aegrius quam suam ferunt; propertea quod amicorum negotiatores, quoniam de suo perdunt priuato, graue uulnus ex iactura sentiunt; at ipsorum ciuibus nihil nisi de republica perit, propertea quod abunda-bat domi, ac ueluti supererat, alioqui non emittendum foras. Quo fit ut intertrimentum 1 citra cuiusquam sensum accidat. Quo circa nimis crudele censent id damnum multorum ulcisci mortibus, cuius damni incommodum nemo ipsorum aut uita aut uictu persentiscat. Caeterum si quis suorum usquam per inuirium debilitetur, aut occidat*, siue id publico factum consilio siue priuato sit, per legatos re comperta, nisi deditis noxiis placari non possunt quin ilico bellum denuncient. Noxae deditos aut morte aut seruitio puniunt.

* Sic quoque A. Legend. occidatur.

1 A rarer word than detrimentum, but used once by Cicero.
They be not only sorye, but also ashamed to atchieue the victory with much bloodshed; cowntinge it greate follye to bye pretyous wares to dere. They rejoyse and auaunte themselves, yf they vaynquyshe and oppresse theire enemyes by crafte and deceyt. And for that act they make a generall tryumphe; and as yf the matter were manfullye handeled, they sett vp a pyller of stone in the place where they so vanquysshed theyre enemyes, in token of the victory. For then they glorye, then they booste and cracke that they haue plaied the men in dede, when they haue so ouercommen, as no other lyuynge creature but onely man coulde; that ys to saye, by the myghte and pusyaunce of wytte. For wyth boddelye strengthe (saye they) beares, lyons, boores, wulffes, dogges, and other wylde beastes doo fyghte. And as the mooste

a much omitted.

b puisance.

Cruentae uictoriae non piget modo eos, sed pudet quoque, reputantes inscitiam esse, quamlibet preciosas merces impendio gloriantur, triumphumque ob eam rem publice agunt, et uelut re strennue gesta tropheum erigunt. tunc enim demum uiriliter sese iactant et cum uirtute gessisse, quoties ita uicerint, quomodo nullum animal praeter hominem potuit, id est, ingenii uiribus. Nam corporis a inquitant, ursi, leones, apri, lupi,

a Sic quoque A. Legend. corporibus.

1 See the Introduction, p. xlvii; and compare the remarks of Erasmus on the proverb ‘incruentum statuit trophaeum’ (Adagia, ed. 1629, p. 481 b). A saying of Pittacus is quoted, ‘opor-tere victorias citra sanguinem fieri.’

2 Lat. tropheum, a trophy.

3 With this compare what Erasmus wrote to the Abbot of St. Bertin, in a letter dated London, March 14, 1513-14: ‘We are worse than the dumb animals, for among them it is only the wild beasts that wage war, and even they do not fight among themselves, but with beasts of a different species, and that with the weapons with which nature has furnished them.’ Drummond’s Life of Erasmus, i. p. 236. In a similar strain, but in language blending argument and satire together with a power seldom met with, the ‘timid’ Erasmus attacks the bellicose potentates of his day, in his Adagia. See the long disquisition headed Imperitia. (Adag. ed. 1629, pp. 295-298).
parte of them doo passe vs in strengthe and fyerce
courage, so in wytte and reason wee be muche stronger
than they all.

Theyre chyefe and princypall purpose in warre ys to
obteyne that thynge, whyche yf they had before obteyned,
they wolde not haue moued battayle. But if that be not
possible, they take so cruell vengeaunce of them whych
be in the fault, that euer after they be aferde to doo the
lyke. Thys ys theyre cheyffe and pryncypall intente,
whyche they immedyatelye and fyrste of all prosequute
and sette foreward; but yet so, that they be more cyr-
cumspecte in auoydynge and eschewyng jeopardyes,
then they be desyerous of prayse and renowne. Therfore
immediatly after that warre is ones solemnly denounced,
they procure manye proclamations, signed with their
ownte commen seale, to be sette up preuilie at one time in
their ennemyes lande, in places mooste frequented. In
thyes proclamatyons they promysse greate rewardes to
hym that will kyll their enemies prince; and sumwhat
lesse gyftes, but them verye greate also, for euerye heade
of them, whose names be in the sayde proclamacions
conteined. They be those whome they count their chieffe
aduersaries, next vtnto the prince. What soeuer is pre-
canes, caeteraeque beluae dimicant; quarum ut pleraeque nos
robose ac ferocia uincunt, ita cunctae ingenio et ratione superantur.

Hoc unum illi in bello spectant, uti id obtineant, quod si fuissent 132
ante consecuti, bellum non fuerant illaturi; aut, si id res utet, tam
seueram ab his uindicatam expetunt, ut idem ausuros in posterum
terror absterreat. Hos propositi sui scopos destinant, quos nature
petunt; at ita tamen uti prior uitandi pericula cura quam laudis aut
famae consequendae sit. Itaque protinus indicto bello schedulas
ipsorum publico signo roboratas locis maxime conspicuis hosticae
terra clam uno tempore multas appendi procurant, quibus ingentia
pollicentur praemia, si quis principem aduersarium sustulerit; deinde
minora, quanquam illa quoque egregia, decernunt, pro singulis eorum
capitibus, quorum nomina in iisdem literis proscriptunt. hii sunt quos
secundum principem ipsum autores initi aduersus se consilii ducunt.
scribed vnto him that killeth any of the proclaimed persons, that is dobled to him that bringeth any of the same to them alie: yea, and to the proclaimed persones them selves, if they wil chaunge their mindes and come into them, takinge their partes, they profer the same greate rewardes with pardon, and suerty of their lieues.

Therfore it quickly cummeth to passe that they haue al other men in suspicion, and be vnfaithfull and mistrusting emong themselves one to another; liuing in great feare and in no lese ieopardye. For it is well knownen that dyuers times the most part of them, and specially the prince him selfe, hath bene betraied of them whome they put their most hoope and trust. So that there is no maner of acte nor dede, that giftes and rewardes do not enforce men vnto. And in rewardes they kepe no measure; but, remembring and considering into howe great hasard and ieopardie they call them, endeouore themselves to recom pense the greatenes of the daunger a their enemies.

Quicquid percussori praefiniunt, hoc geminant ei qui uiuum e proscriptis aliquem ad se perduxerint, quem ipsos quoque proscriptos praemis ipsidem, addita etiam impunitate, contra socios inuitant.

Itaque fit celeriter ut et caeteros mortales suspectos habeant, et sibi inuicem ipsi neque fidentes satis neque fidi sint, maximoque in metu et non minore periculo uersentur. Nam saepenumero constat euenisse uti bona pars eorum et princeps in primis ipse ab his proderentur, in quibus maximam spem reposuerunt. Tam facile quoduis in facinus impellunt munera. quibus illi nullum exhibent modum: sed memores in quantum discrimen hortantur, operam dant uti periculi magnitudo beneficiorum mole compensetur; eoque

1 This should not be so worded as to express a consequence. The Latin is Tam facile, &c., 'so easily are men incited by gifts to any deed whatever.' In the edition of 1624 'that' is omitted. Burnet connects the sentence with what follows: 'For the Rewards that the Utopians offer are so unmeasurably great, that there is no Sort of Crime to which Men cannot be drawn by them.'

2 This is the reflexive use of the verb, as it occurs in the Collect for the Second Sunday after Easter. So in Twelfth Night, iv. 2, 'Malvolio . . . endeavour thyself to sleep.' A large
with lyke great benefites. And therfore they promisse
not only wonderfull greate abundaunce of golde, but also
landes of greate reuennes, lyenge in moost sauffe places
emonge theire fryndes. And theyre promysses they per-
fourme faithfully, wythowte annye fraude or couyne.

Thys custome of byinge and sellynge aduersaryes
amonge other people ys dysallowed, as a cruell acte of
a basse and a cowardyshe mynde. But they in thys
behalfe thynke themselfes muche prayse woorthye, as
who lyke wyse men by thys meanes dyspatche greate
warres wyth owte annye battell or skyrnyshe. Yea, they
cownte yt also a dede of pytye and mercye, bycause that
by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyues of a greate
numbre of ynnocentes, as well of their own men as also
of their enemies, be raunsomed and saued, which in
fighting shoulde haue bene bene sleane. For they doo no
lesse pytye the basse and commen sorte of theyr
enemyes people, then they doo theyre owne; knowynge that they
be dryuen to* warre agaynste theyre wylles by the
furyous madnes of theyre prynces and heades.

Yf by none of thies meanes the matter go forwarde as

* and enforced to.

non immensam modo auri uim, sed praedia quoque magni reditus in
locis apud amicos tutissimis propria ac perpetua pollicitantur, et
summa cum fide praestant.

Hunc licitandi mercandique hostis morem, apud alios improbatum,
uelut animi degeneris crudele facinus, illi magnae sibi laudi ducent,
tanquam prudentes, qui maximis hoc pacto bellis sine ullo prorsus
praelio defungantur; humanique ac misericordes etiam, qui paucorum
nece noxiorum numerosas innocentium uitas redimant, qui pugnando
fuerint occubituri, partim e suis, partim ex hostibus; quorum turbam
uulgusque non minus ferme quam suos miserantur, gnari non sua
sponte eos bellum capessere, sed principum ad id furiis agi.

Si res hoc pacto non procedat, dissidiorum semina iaiciunt alunteq;

collection of examples will be found in the New English Dictionary, and in the Clerical Journal, May 15, 1862, and May 14, 1864.
they wolde haue yt, then they procure occasyons of debate and dyssentyon to be spredde emonge theyre enemyes; as by bryngynge the prynces brother, or some of the noble men, in hoope to obtayne the kyngedome. Yf thys way preuayle not, then they reyse vp the people that be nexte neygheboures and borderers to theyr enemyes, and them they sette in theyr neckes under the colour of some olde tytle of ryghte, suche as kynges doo neuer lacke. To them they promyss theire helpe and ayde in theyr warre. And as for moneye they gyue them abundance; but of theyr owne cytyzeyns they sende to them fewe or none. Whome they make so much of, and loue so intyerlye, that they wolde not be willing to chaung anye of them for their aduersaries prince. But their gold and siluer, bycause they kepe yt all for thys fratre principis aut aliquo e nobilibus in spem potiundi regni perducto. Si factiones internae languerint, finitimas hostibus gentes excitant committuntque, eruto uetusto quopiam titulo, quales nunquam regibus desunt. Suas ad bellum opes polliciti pecuniam afluentuer suggerunt, ciues parcissime; quos tam unice habent charos, tantique sese mutuo faciunt, ut neminem sint e suis cum aduerso principe libenter commutaturi. At aurum argentumque, quoniam unum hunc in usum

1 More may have been thinking of the intrigues carried on by his own sovereign in Scotland in the very year (1515) in which this was written. Since the battle of Flodden, in 1513, which left a mere child inheritor of the throne, Henry had been trying by every crooked means to get the boy and his mother (Henry's own sister, Margaret) into his power. The comments of the Scotch historian on his conduct will illustrate what is said in the text: 'By means of his indefatigable agent, Lord Dacre, he had not only corrupted some of its leading nobility, but so successfully fomented disensions amongst them, that every effort of the regent to re-establish the control of the laws was rendered abortive by the prevalence of private war.'—Tytler, as before, ii. p. 305. 'He must be dull indeed,' writes Professor Brewer, 'who does not perceive that Utopia, when following out these principles, is removed but a few miles from the English Channel; and that a practice, which seems the more odious in these upright and wise Utopians, was tenfold more unjustifiable in those who, professing the doctrines of Christ, never scrupled to employ the same means against their own enemies.'—Reign of Henry VIII, i. p. 289. The wonder is that More, even under cover of a learned language, should have had the boldness to expose these proceedings so unmistakeably.

2 See note above, p. 103.
only purpose, they laye it owte frankly and frely; as who shoulde lyue even as wealtihely, if they hadde bestowed it euerye penny. Yea, and besydes theyre ryches, whyche they kepe at home, they haue also an infynyte treasure abrode, by reason that (as I sayde before) manye natyons be in their debte. Therefore they hyere soldyours oute of all countreys, and sende them to battayle; but cheiflye of the Zapoletes. Thys people is 500. myles from Vtopia eastewarde. They be hydeous, sauage, and fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes and high mountaines, where they were bredde and brought vp. They be of an harde nature, able to abide and susteine heate, cold, and labour; abhorrynge from all delycate deyntyes, occupyenge no husbandry nor tyllage of the ground, homelye and rude; both in the buildinge of their houses and in their apparrrell; geuen vnto no goodnes, but onelye to the breede

a the omitted.

b breedinge.

omne servant, haud grauatim erogant, utpote non minus commode uicturi, etiam si uniuserus impenderent. Quin praeter domesticas diuities est illis foris quoque infinitus thesaurus, quo plurimae gentes, uti ante dixi, in ipsorum aere sunt. ita milites undique conductos ad bellum mittunt, praesertim ex Zapoletis. Hie populus quingentis passuum millibus ab Vtopia distat, orientem solem versus, horridus, agrestis, ferox; sylvas montesque aspersos, quibus sunt innutriti, praeferunt. Dura gens, aestus frigoris et laboris patiens, delitiarum exprers omnium, neque agriculturae studens, et cum aedificiorum tum

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1 The edition of 1517 has a marginal note at this point: 'Gens haud ita dissimilis eluetiis.' But even without this the allusion to the Swiss would be obvious. They were the great mercenaries of the period. —See Oman's Art of War in the Middle Ages, 1885, pp. 62-95. Their tactics resembled those of the Macedonian phalanx.

It is strange that the derivation of 'Zapoletes' should have perplexed commentators. We cannot be sure whether More meant the nominative to represent Ζαπολήται or Ζαπολητοί; but in either case, whether as 'ready sellers' (of themselves), or 'readily sold,' the word would naturally express mercenaries.

2 The Latin horridus was probably used by More to express only 'rough.' Robynson seems to have taken it in the sense (a legitimate one) of 'dreadful,' which 'hideous' in his time would still express. See the Glossary.
and bringynge vp of cattell. The mooste parte of theire lyuynge is by huntynge and stealynge. They be borne onelye to warre, whyche they dylygentlye and earnestlye seke for. And when they haue gotten yt, they be wonders gladde therof. They goo furthe of theyre countreye in greate companyes together. and who soeuer lacketh soul-
dyours, there they proffer theyre seruyce for small wages. Thys ys onely the crafte that they haue to gette theyre lyuynge by. They maynteyne theyr lyfe by sekynge theyre deathe. For them, whomewyth they be in wayges, they fyghte hardelye, fyerslye, and faythefulllye. But they bynde themselfes for no certeyne tyme. But vpon thys condyton they entre into bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take parte wyth the other syde for greater wayges; and the nexte daye after that they wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a lytle more moneye. There be fewe warres there awaye, wherin is not a greate

uestitus indiligens, pecorum duntaxat curam habent. Magna ex parte uenatu et raptu uiuunt, ad solum bellum nati, cuius gerendi facultatem studiose quaerunt, repertam cupide ampectuntur, et magno numero egressi cuiuis requirenti milites uili semet offerunt. Hanc unam uitae artem nouerunt, qua mors quaeritur. Sub quibus merent, acriter pro iiis et incorrupta fide dimicant. Verum in nullum certum diem sese obstringunt, sed ea lege in partes ueniunt, ut posteriore die uel ab hostibus oblato maiore stipendio sint statuiri; iidem perendie rursus inuitati plusculo remigrant. Rarum oritur bellum, in quo non bona

\footnote{1 It will be noticed how much space More devotes to the ways and doings of this people. This may have been due to the prominent part played by the Swiss in European affairs about the time he wrote. At the great battle of Marignano, in October, 1515, they fought on the side of Ferdinand and the Pope against the King of France, and were defeated. In that same year More's friend Richard Pace, was sent to Zürich, to negotiate for their help. His letter to Wolsey is dated at the end of November, 1515, and gives a striking picture of the state of the country, and the exorbitant demands of the Swiss mercenaries. The letter is preserved in Cotton MSS. Vitell. B. xviii. p. 222, from which it was printed in Planta's History of the Helvetic Confederacy, 1807, ii. pp. 424-434. See also Brewer: Letters and Papers, vol. ii. pt. i., p. liii, and no. 553.}
numbre of them in bothe partyes. Therefore yt daylye chauncethe that nye kynsefolke, whyche were hiered together on one parte, and there verye fryndelye and famylyerly vsed themselves one wyth an other, shortly after, beynge separate into a contrarye partes, runne one agaynste an other enuyouslye and fyercelye; and forgettynge bothe kyndred and frenadeshyp, thruste theyre swordes one in another: and that for none other cause, but that they be hyered of contrarye prynces for a lytle moneye. Whych ye doo so hyghelye regarde and esteame, that they will easelye be prouoked to chaunge partes for a halfpenye more wayges by the daye. So quyckelye ye haue taken a smacke in couetesenes; whyche for all that ys to them no proffyte. For, that they gette by fyghtynge, ymmedyatelye they spende vnthryftelye and wretchedlye in ryott.

Thys people fyghte for the Vtopyans agaynste all natyons, bycause they giue them greater wayges, then annye other natyon wyll. For the Vtopians, lyke as they seke good men to vse wel, so they seke thyes euell and vycyous men to abuse. Whome, when neade requyreth,

* in.

pars illorum in utroque sint exercitu. itaque accidit quotidie ut sanguinis necessitudine coniuncti, qui et iisdem in partibus conducti familiarissime semet inuicem utebantur, paulo post in contrariis a distracti copias, hostiliter concurrant, et infestis animis, obliti generis, immemores amicitiae, mutuo sese confodiant, nulla alia causa in mutuam incitati perniciem, quam quod a diuersis principibus exigua pecuniola conducti; cuius tam exactam habent rationem, ut ad diurnum stipendium unius accessione assis facile ad commutandas partes impellantur. Ita celeriter imbibere auaritiam, quae tamen nulli est eis usui. Nam quae sanguine quauerunt, protinus per luxum, et eum tamen miserum, consumunt.

Hic populus Vtopiensibus aduersus quosuis mortales militat, quod tanti ab hiis eorum conducatur opera quanti nusquam alibi. Vtopienses si quidem ut bonos quauerunt quibus utantur, ita hos quoque homines pessimos quibus abutantur. quos quem usus postulat, magnis im-

* contrarias, A. recte.
wyth promisses of greate rewardes they putt furthe into greate ieopardyes; from whens the mooste part of them neuer cummeth againe to aske their rewardes. But to them that remain on liue they paye that which they promissed faithfully, that they may be the more willinge to put themselfes in like daungers another time. Nor the Vtopians passe not how many of them they bring to distraction. For they beleue that they should doo a very good deade for all mankind, if they could ridde out of the wordle all that fowle, stinkinge denne of that most wicked and cursed people¹.

Next vnto thies they vse the soldiours of them whom they fight for b. And then the help of their other frinides. And last of al they ioyne to ² their owne citizeins. Emong whome they gyue to one of tried vertue and proves the rewle, goouernaunce, and conductyon of the hole armye. Vnder hym they appoynte ii. other, whyche whyles he ys sauffe be bothe pryuate and owte of offye ; but yf he be

¹ aliue. ² for whom they fight.

pulsos pollicitationibus maximis obiiciunt periculis, unde plerunque magna pars nunquam ad exigenda promissa reuertitur. superstitibus, quae sunt polliciti, bona fide persoluunt, quo ad similis ausus incendantur. Neque enim pensi quicquam habent quam multos ex eis perdant, rati de genere humano maximum merituros gratiam se, si tota illa colluuie populi tam tetri ac nepharii orbem terrarum purgare possent.

Secundum hos eorum copiis utuntur, pro quibus arma capiunt; deinde auxiliaribus caeterorum amicorum turmis. Postremo suos ciues adiungunt, e quibus aliquem uirtutis probatae uirorum totius exercitus summae praeficiunt. Huic duos ita substituunt, uti eo 136 incolumi | ambo priuati sint ; capto aut interempto, alter e duobus

¹ Robynson's epithets are vigorous, but in this case hardly surpass Morc's own. I do not know whether Erasmus is referring to the same people, when he writes: 'Quin est apud Germanos populus, cuius haec praecipua gloria, quam plurimos mortales ferro truci-

dasse: quod cum per se immane est, tum hoc etiam foedius, quod hoc faciunt mercede conducti; veluti carnifex quispiam ad lanienam precio emptus.' Adagia, as before p. 482 a.

² 'Join to;' that is, add or asso-
ciate.
taken or slayne, the one of the other .ii. succeedeth hym, as yt were by inherytance 1. And if the second miscarry, then the third taketh hys rowme; leaste that (as the chaunc of battell ys vncerteyne and dowteful), the yeopardye or deathe of the capytayne shoulde brynge the hole armye in hasarde. They chuse soldyers owte of euerye cytye those whyche putt furthe themselfes wylllynglye. For they thruste no man furthe into warre agaynste hys wyll; bycause they beleue, yt were by inherytaunce. And if the second miscarry, then the third taketh hys rowme; leaste that (as the chaunc of battell ys vncerteyne and dowtfull), the yeopardye or deathe of the capytayne shoulde brynge the hole armye in hasarde. They chuse soldyers owte of euerye cytye those whyche putt furthe themselfes wylllynglye. For they thruste no man furthe into warre agaynste hys wyll; bycause they beleue, yt were by inherytaunce.

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But as none of them ys thrust forthe of his countrey

uelut haereditate succedat; eique ex euentu tertius, ne (ut sunt bellorum sortes uariae) periclitante duce totus perturbetur exercitus. E quaque ciuitate delectus exercetur ex his qui sponte nomen profi-
tentur. neque enim inuitus quisquam foras in militiam truditur; quod persusasum habeant, si quis sit natura timidior, non ipsum modo nihil facturum strennue, sed metum etiam comitibus incussurum. Caeterum si quod bellum ingruat in patriam, ignauos huiusmodi, modo ualeant corpore, in naues mixtos melioribus collocant, aut in moenibus sparsim disponunt, unde non sit refugiendi locus. ita suorum pudor, hostis in manibus, atque adempta fugae spes, timorem obruunt, et saepe extrema necessitas in uirtutem urtitur.

At sicuti ad externum bellum ex ipsis nemo protrahitur nolens, ita

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1 This was the Lacedaemonian custom. Thucyd. iv. 38.
into warre agaynste hys wyll, so women that be wylynyge
to accompanye their husbandes in times of warre be not
prohybyted or stopped*. Yea, they prouoke and exhorte
them to yt wyth prayses. And in sett fylde the wyues doo
stande euerye one by here owne husbandes syde. Also
every man is compassed neste abowte wyth hys owne
children, kins folkes, and alliaunce; that they, whom
nature chieffelye moueth to mutuall succoure, thus stond-
ynge together, maye helpe one an other. It is a
great reproche and dishonestie for the husbande to come home
wythowte hys wiffe, or the wiffe withoute her husband, 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 and bloodshed,
euen to the vtter destruction of both partes. For as they
make all the meanes and shyftes that maye be, to kepe
themselves from the necessitye of fyghtynge, so that they
may dispatche the battell by their hiered soldyours, so,
when there is no remedy but that they muste neades
fyghte themselves, then they do as corragiouslye fall to

foeminas volentes in militiam comitari maritos adeo non prohibent, ut
exhortentur etiam et laudibus incitent. prefectas cum suo quamque
uiro pariter in acie constituunt. tam sui quemque liberi, affines, cog-
nati circumsistunt, ut hi de proximo sint mutuo sibi subsidio, quos
maxime ad ferendas inuicem suppetias natura stimulat. In maximo
probro est coniux absque coniuge redux, aut amisso parente reuersus
filius. quo fit uti si ad ipsorum manus uentum sit, modo perstent
hostes, longo et lugubri praelio ad internitionem usque decernatur.
Nempe, ut omnibus currant modis ne ipsis dimicare necesse sit, modo
bello possint uicaria conductitiorum manu defungi; ita, quem uitari
non potest quin ipsi ineanct pugnam, tam intrepide capessunt quam

* letted.

1 Such was the custom of the Ger-
mans in ancient times: 'Memoriae
proditur quasdam acies inclinatas iam
et labantes a feminis restitutas con-
stantia precum et obiectu pectorum et
monstrata comminus captivitate,' &c.
Tac., Germ. c. viii. Compare also
Caesar, Bell. Gall. vii. 51. It was
the same, to a great degree, with the
ancient Gauls and Britons.
it, as before, whyles they myght, they dyd wyselye auoyde it. Nor they be not moste fierce at the fyrst bronte. But in continuance by litle and lytle theire fierce corrage encreaseth, with so stubborne and obstynate myndes, that they wyll rather die then gyue backe an ynche. For that suertye of lyuynge, whiche euery man hath at home, beynge ioyned with noo carefull anxietye or remembraunce how theire posteritie shall lyue after them (for this pensifenes oftentymes breaketh and abateth courageous stomakes) maketh them stowte and hardy, and dysdaynful to be conquered. Moreouer, theire knowledge in cheualrye and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope. Finally, the holsome and vertuous opinions, wherin they were brought vp euenu from theire childhode, partely through learnyng, and partelye throughge the good ordenaunces and lawes of theire weale publique, augmente and encrease theire manfull currage. By reason whereof they nother set so litle store by theire Hues, that they will rasshely and vnaduisedlye cast them away; nor they be not so farre in lewde and fond loue therewith, that they will shamefully couete to kepe them, when honestie biddeth leaue them.

When the battel is hottest and in al places most fierce

* and refuse it.}

*a* quoad licuit prudenter detrectabant: nec tam primo ferociunt impetu, quam mora sensim et duratione inualescunt, tam offirmatis animis ut interimi citius quam auerti queant. Quippe uictus illa securitas, quae cuique domi est, ademptaque de posteris anxia cogitandi cura (nam haec solitudo *b* generosos ubique spiritus frangit) sublimem et uinci dedignantem facit. Ad haec militaris disciplinae peritia fiduciam praebet. postremo rectae opiniones (quibus et doctrina et bonis reipublicae institutis imbuti a pueris sunt) uirtutem addunt; qua neque tam uilem habent uitam ut temere prodigant, neque tam improbe charam ut, quum honestas ponendam suadeat, auare turpitque retineant.

*Dum ubique pugna maxima feruet, lectissimi iuuenes coniurati

* Sic et B. Solicitudo, recte, ed. 1563.*
and feruent, a bende of chosen and picked yong men, whiche be sworne to liue and dye togethers, take vpon them to destroye theire aduersaries capitaine\(^1\). Hym\(^a\) they inuade, now with preuy wyeles, now by open strength. At hym they strike both nere and farre of. He is assayled with a long and a continewal assault\(^2\); freshe men styll commyng in the weried mens places. And seldome it chaunceth (onles he saue hymselfe by flying) that he is not other slayne, or els taken prysoner, and yelded to his enemies alyue. If they wynne the fylde, they persecute not theire enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them aliue then kyll them. Nother they do so followe the chase and pursute of theire enemies, but they leaue behynde them one parte of theire hoste in battayl arraye vnder theire standardys. In so muche that, if all theire hole armie be discumfetyd and ouercum, sauing the rerewarde, and that they therewith achieue the victory, then they had rather lette all theire enemies scape, then to followe them owt of array. For they remembre it hath chaunced vnto them-

\(^{a}\) whome.

devotique ducem sibi deposcunt aduersum. hunc aperte inuadunt, hunc ex insidiis adoriantur. idem eminus idem co-

\[\text{Dux potissimum impetendus, quo citius finiatur bellum.}\]

minus petitur, longoque ac perpetuo cuneo, summissis assidue in fatigatorum locum recentibus, oppugnatur; raroque accidit (ni sibi fuga prospiciat) ut non inter eat, aut uiuus in hostium potestatem ueniat. Si ab ipsis victoria sit, haud quaquam caede grassantur; fugatos enim comprehendunt quam occidunt libentius; neque un-

\[\text{Si ab ipsis victoria sit, haud quaquam caede grassantur; fugatos enim comprehendunt quam occidunt libentius; neque un-}\]

\[\text{quam ita persequuntur fugientes, ut non unam | interim sub signis instructam aciem retinant: adeo uisi a caeteris superati partibus, postrema acie sua victori-}\]

\[\text{sunt}|\text{si recte B.}\]

\[\text{1 Tactic not unheard of in modern football matches.}\]

\[\text{2 In the Latin, cuneo; a wedge-shaped, or compact, body of assailants.}\]
selves more than ones: the hole powre and strength of theyre hoste being vanquished and put to flight, whiles theire enemies, reioysing in the victory, haue persecuted them flying, some one way and some an other; fewe of theire men lying in an ambusshe, there reddy at all occasions, haue sodaynly rysen vpon them thus dispersed and scattered owt of array, and through presumption of safetye vnaduisedly pursuynge the chase, and haue incontinent changed the fortune of the hole battayll; and spyte of there tethes wrestynge owt of theire handes the sure and vndowted victorie, being a litle before conquered, haue for theire parte conquered the conquerers.

It is hard to say whether they be craftier in laynge an ambusshe, or wittier in auoydynge the same. Yowe woulde thynke they intende to flye, when they meane nothing lesse. And contrary wise, when they go about that purpose, yow wold beleue it were the least part of their thoughte. For if they perceae themselves other ouermatched in n umbre, or closed in to narrowe a place,

exercitus uicta profligataque, quum hostes victoria gestientes hac atque illac abeuntes persequerentur, pauci ipsorum in subsidiiis collo-cati, ad occasiones intenti, dispersos ac palantes illos et praesumpta securitate negligentes derepente adorti totius euentum praelii muta-uernunt, extortaque e manibus tam certa et indubitata victoria uicti uictores inuicem uicerunt.

Haud facile dictu est, astutiores instruendis insidiis an cautiores ad uitandas sient fugam parare credas, quum nihil minus in animo habent: contra, quum id consilii capiunt, nihil minus cogitare putes. Nam si nimium sese sentiunt aut numero aut loco premi, tunc aut

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1 That is, watching their opportunity. For the subject of laying ambuscades, see Polyaenus, *Stratag. I. xi. 2; II. xii.*

2 As *usu veneisse ut* precedes, this should have been *mutauerunt*, and *uicerint* just after. The error, due to the length of the sentence, is left uncorrected in later editions.

3 This should probably be two words, *in struendis.*

4 A form common in Plautus and Terence, whence probably More took it.
then they remoue their campe other in the nyght season with silence, or by some pollicie they deceaue theire ene-
 mies; or in the daye time they retiere backe so softly \(^1\), that it is no lesse ieopardie to medle with them when they gyue backe then when they preese on. They fence and fortifie theire campe sewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche. The earth therof is cast inward \(^2\). Nor they do not set drudgeis and slaues a worke about it. It is doone by the handes of the souldiours them selfes. All the hole armye worketh vpon it, except them that watche\(^a\) in harnes before the trenche for sodeyne auentures. Therefore, by the labour of so manye, a large trenche closinge in a great compasse of grounde is made in lesse tyme then any man wold beleue.

Theire armoure or harnes whiche they weare is sure and stronge to receaue strokes, and handsome for all mouinges and gestures of the bodye; in so muche that it is not vnweldy to swymme in. For in the discipline

\(^a\) kepe watche and warde.

noctu agmine silente castra mouent, aut aliquo stratagemate eludunt, aut interdiu ita sensim sese referunt, tali seruato ordine, ut non minus periculi sit cedentes quam instantes adoriri. Castra diligentissime communiunt fossa prealta lataque, terra quae egeritur introrsum reiecta; nec in eam rem opera mediastinorum utuntur. ipsorum manibus militum res agitur, totusque exercitus in opere est, exceptis qui pro uallo in armis ad subitos casus excubant. Itaque tam multis adnitentibus, magna \(\_\_\)_ multumque amplexa loci munimenta omni fide citius perficiunt.

Armis utuntur ad excipiendos ictus firmis, nec ad motum gestumue quemlibet ineptis, adeo ut ne natando quidem moleta sentiant. Nam armati natare inter militaris disciplinae

\(^1\) For this use of the word 'softly,' Lat. *sensim*, see the Glossary. Robynson leaves out the clause, *tali seruato ordine*, 'keeping such good order,' and so makes it difficult to see the reason for what is stated.

\(^2\) This was the regular custom. See the article *Castra* in Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*. It was a necessary proceeding, in order that the *agger*, formed by the earth thrown out, might be itself protected by the trench, and more completely under the control of the defenders.
of thir warefare, amonge other feates thei lerne to swimme in harneis\(^1\). Their weapons be arrowes afarre of\(^a\), which they shote both strongly and suerly\(^2\); not onelye fotemen but also horsemen. At hande strokes they vse not swordes but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, aswel in sharpenes as in weyghte, bothe for foynes and downe strokes. Engines for warre they deuyse and in-uyente wonders wittely. Whiche, when they be made, they kepe very secret; leaste if they should be knowne before neade requyre, they should be but laughed at, and serue to no purpose. But in makyng them, hereunto they haue chiefe respecte; that they be both easy to be caried, and handsome to be moued and turned about.

\(^a\) aloufe.
	rudimenta consuescunt. tela sunt eminus sagittae, quas acerrime simul et certissime iaculantur, non pedites modo sed ex equis etiam; cominus uero non gladii, sed secures uel acie letales uel pondere, seu caesim seu punctim feriant. Machinas excogitant solertissime, factas accuratissime caelant, ne ante prodictae quam res postulet ludibrio magis quam usui sint. in quibus fabricandis hoc in primis respiciunt, uti uectu faciles et habiles circumactu sint.

\(^1\) In this suggestion, as in many others, More was in advance of his own age, or even of ours. The soldiers of Charles XII of Sweden were trained to cross rivers by swimming. The subject may have been freshly brought to the minds of English people, a short time before More wrote, by the conflict between the English and French fleets off Brest, Aug. 10, 1512, in which the two flagships grappled together and both took fire, when 'the captain of the English ship (being the Regent), and of the French (call'd the Cordeliere), together with the soldiers in them, perished all, save only a few French, who saved themselves with swimming.' See Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Hist. of England under Henry VIII, ed. 1683, p. 25.

\(^2\) In this description, and in that of the bills or poleaxes just after, we easily see a reminiscence of the English archers and infantry. 'In times past,' writes Harrison, in a well-known passage, 'the cheefe force of England consisted in their long bowes. But now we haue in maner generallic giuen over that kind of artillerie, and for long bowes in deed doo practise to shoot compasse for our pastime.'—Description of England, ed. 1877, p. 279. (For shooting 'compasse,' that is, at an angle or elevation, see the examples given in the New English Dict.) Compare also the extracts from Sir John Smythe's Discourses on the forms and effects of divers sorts of Weapons, quoted in Letters of eminent Literary Men (Camden Society), 1843, pp. 54, 55.
Truce taken with theire enemies for a shorte time they do so fermylye and faythfully keape, that they wyll not breake it; no not though they be theire vnsto brooked. They do not waste nor destroy there enemies lande with forraginges, nor they burne not vp theire corne. Yea, they saue it as muche as maye be from beinge ouerrune and troden downe, other with men or horses; thynkynge that it groweth for theire owne vse and profytt. They hurt no man that is vnarmed, onles he be an espiall. All cities that be yyled vnsto them, they defende. And suche as they wynne by force of assaute they nothir dispoyle nor sacke; but them that withstode and dyswaded the yeldynge vp of the same they put to death; the other souldiours they punnyshe with bondage. All the weake multitude they leauie vnntouched. If they knowe that anye cytezeins counselled to yelde and rendre vp the citie, to them they gyue parte of the condempned mens goodes. The resydewe they distribute and gyue frely amonge them, whose helpe they had in the same warre. For none of them selfes taketh anye portion of the praye.

But when the battayll is fynyshed and ended, they put

Initas cum hostibus inducias tam sancte obseruant, ut ne laccisiti quidem violent. Hostilem terram non depopulantur, neque segetes exurunt; imo ne hominum equorumue pedibus conterantur, quantum fieri potest, prudent, rati in ipsorum usus crescere. Inermem neminem laedunt, nisi idem speculator sit. Deditas urbes tuentur, at nec expugnatas diripiunt, sed per quos deditio est impēdita eos ecant, caeteris defensoribus in seruitutem addictis. Imbellem turbam omnem relinquuant intactam. Si quos deditionem suasisse compererint, his e damnatorum bonis aliquam partem impartiunt; reliqua sectione auxiliares donant. Nam ipsorum nemo quicquam de praeda capit.

140 Caeterum confecto bello non amicis impensas in quos insumpsere,

1 Compare the Introduction, p. xxxii.
2 Burnet, more correctly, 'When a War is ended.'
3 Sectio is the regular term for distribution of booty by auction, and the like. See Cic. De Invent, i. 45.
theire frendes to neuer a penny coste of al the chardges that they were at, but laye it vpon theire neckes that be conquered. Them they burdeyne with the hole chardge of theire expenceis; which they demaunde of them partelye in money, to be kept for lyke vse of battayll, and partelye in landes of greate reuennes, to be payde vnto them yearlye for euer. Suche reuennes they haue nowe in manye countreis; whiche by litle and litle rysyng, of dyuers and sondry causes, be encreased aboue vii. hundreth thousand ducates by the yere. Thither they sende furth some of their citezeins as Lieuetenauntes, as to lyue theire sumptuously lyke men of honoure and renoun. And yet, this notwithstanding, muche money is saued, which commeth to the commen treasary; onles it so chaunce, that thei had rather truste the countrey with the money. Which many times thei do so long vntil they haue neade to occupie it. And it seldome happeneth, that thei demaund al. Of thies landes thei assigne part vnto them, which at their request and exhortacion put

1 Taking the gold ducat, which is the one usually meant, at gs. 4d., this would be about £327,000.

2 The English by itself might seem to suggest such an instance as that of William, Lord Mountjoy, Erasmus's friend and pupil, who was appointed governor of Hammes Castle in Picardy, near the frontiers of Calais. But the Latin, quaestorum nomine, points rather to officials sent out, as Burnet words it, 'to receive these Revenues.'

3 Tantisper followed by quoad is a post-classical construction.
themselfes in such ieoperdies as I spake of before. If anye prynce stirre vp warre agaynst them, intendyng to inuade theire lande, they mete hym incontinent owt of theire owne borders with great powre and strengthe. For they neuer lyghtly make warre in their owne countrei. Nor

they be neuer brought into so ex-
treme necessitie, as to take
helpe out of forreyne
landes into thire
owne Ilande.

hortatu tale discrimen adeunt, quale ante monstrai. Si quis prin-
ceps, armis aduersus eos sumptis, eorum ditionem paret inuadere, magnis illico uiribus extra suos fines occurrunt. nam neque temere in suis terris bellum gerunt, neque ualla necessitas tanta est, ut eos cogat aliena auxilia in insulam suam admittere.
Of the religion

There be dyuers kyndes of religion, not only in sondry partes of the Ilande, but also in dyuers places of euerye citie. Some worship for God the sunne; some the mone; some some other of the planetes. There be that gyue worship to a man that was ones of excellente vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefest and hyghest God. But the moste and the wysest parte (reiectynge all thies) beleue that there is a certayne Godlie powre unknouen, euerlastyng,

DE RELIGIONIBVS

VTOPIENSIVM.

RELIGIONES sunt non per insulam modo uerum singulas etiam urbes uarias, aliis Solem, Lunam aliis, aliis aliud errantium syderum dei uice uenerantibus. sunt quibus homo quispiam, cuius olim aut uirtus aut gloria enuituit, non pro deo tantum, sed pro summo etiam deo suspiciatur. At multo maxima pars, cademque longe prudentior, nihil horum, sed unum quoddam numen putant,

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1 These various opinions are discussed by Lactantius, Op. ed. 1660, pp. 162 sqq. "Non est aerorum motus voluntarius, sed necessarius; quia praestitutis legibus officiisque deser vietum.' They therefore cannot be gods. The opinion that the Deity was 'numen quoddam, per mundum diffusum' (referred to just afterwards) was akin to that of Pythagoras: 'Pythagoras ita definivit quid esset Deus; Animus, qui per universas mundi partes omnenque naturam commeans atque diffusus' (Ib. p. 24). Comp. also Cicero, De Nat. Deor. i. § 11.

2 As Gaudama the Buddha, Confucius, or Zoroaster. But the expressions which follow would be too strong to apply to these.
incomprehensible, inexplicable, farre aboue the capacitie and retche of mans witte, dispersed through out all the worlde, not in bygnes, but in vertue and powre. Hym they call the father of all. To hym allone they attrybute the begynnynges, the encreasynges, the procedynges, the chaunges, and the endes of all thynges. Nother they gyue deuine honours to any other then to him.

Yea, all the other also, though they be in diuers opinions, yet in this pointe they agree all togethers with the wisest sort, in beleuynge that there is one chiefe and pryncipall God, the maker and ruler of the hole worlde; whome they all commonly in theire countrey language call Mythra. But in this they disagre, that amonge some he is counted one, and amonge some an other. For euery one of them, whatsoeuer that is whiche he taketh for the chiefe God, thynketh it to be the very same nature, to whose onlye deuyne myght and maiestie the som and soueraintie of al thinges, by the consent of all people, is any deuine.

incognitum, aeternum, immensum, inexplicabile, quod supra mentis humanae captum sit, per mundum hunc uniuersum uirtute non mole diffusum: hunc parentem uocant. Origines, auctus, progressus, uices, finesque rerum omnium, huic acceptos uni referunt; nec diuinos honores alii praeterea ulli applicant.

Quin caeteris quoque omnibus, quamquam diversa credentibus, hoc tamen cum istis conuenit, quod esse quidem unum sensent summum, cui et uniuersitas opificium et prouidentia debatur; eumque communiter omnes patria lingua Mythram appellant, sed eo dissentiunt, quod idem alius apud alios habetur; autumante quoque, quicquid id sit quod ipse summum ducit, eandem illam prorsus esse naturam, cuius unius numini ac maiestati rerum omnium summa omnium

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1 This seems a reminiscence of Virgil's 'totamque infusa per artus | mens agitat molem;' though the use of the word uirtute, in the Latin, may rather point to the imitation of that passage by Statius, Theb. i. 416.

2 More had before remarked, that the old language of the Utopians was 'not unlike the Persian tongue.' Hence the name of the Persian Sun-god is appropriately used here. See the note above, p. 148.
attributed and geuen. Howe be it, they al begynne by litle and litle to forsake and fall from thys varietie of superstitions, and to agree togethers in that religion whiche semethe by reason to passe and excell the resy-dewe. And it is not to be dowted but all the other would longe agoo haue bene abolyshed; but that, whatsoeuer vnprosperous thynge happened to any of them as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulnes of people dyd take it not as a thynge cummynge by chaunce, but as sente frome God owt of heauen; as thoughe the God, whose honoure he was forsakynge, woulde reuenge that wicked purpose against him.

But after they harde vs speake of the name of Christe, of his doctryne, lawes, myracles, and of the no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose bloude wylynglye shedde brought a great numbre of nations throughe out all partes of the worlde into theire secte; yowe wyll not beleue with howe gladde myndes they agreed vnto the same; whether it were by the secrete

consensu gentium tribuitur. Caeterum paulatim omnes ab ea superstitionum uarietate desciscunt, atque in unam illam coalescunt religionem, quae reliquas ratione uidetur antecellere. Neque dubium est quin caeterae iam pridem euaniuissent, nisi quicquid improsperum a cuiquam inter mutandae religionis consilia fors obiecisset, non id accidisse casu, sed caelitus immissum interpretaretur timor; tan-quam numine, cuius relinquebatur cultus, impium contra se propositorum uindicante.

At posteáquam acceperunt a nobis CHRISTI nomen, doctrinam, mores, miracula, nec minus mirandam tot martyrum constantiam, quorum sponte fusus sanguis tam numerosas gentes in suam sectam longe lateque traduxit, non credas quam pronis in eam affectibus

a in posterum, A.

1 Compare what was said in the Introduction, p. xlix, about the origin of the De Civitate Dei, and St. Augustine's own statement in the first chapter of his great work: 'Sic evaserunt multi, qui nunc Christianis temporibus detræ-hunt, et mala quae illa civitas pertulit Christo imputant.'
inspiration of God, or els for that they thought it next unto that opinion which amonge them is counted the chiepest. Howe be it, I thynke this was no smal healpe and furtheraunce in the matter, that they harde vs saye that Christ instytuted amonge hys all thynges commen; and that the same communitie dothe yet remayne amongst the rightest Christian companies. Verely, howe soeuer it came to passe, manye of them consented togethers in oure religion, and were wasshed in the hollye water of baptisme.

But because amonge vs foure (for no moo of vs was left alyue; two of oure companye beynge deade) there was no prieste, whiche I am ryghte sorye for, they, beinge entered and instructed in all other poyntes of oure religion, lacke onelye those sacramentes, whyche here none but priestes do minister. Howe be it, they vnderstande and percyue them, and be verye desierous of the same. Yea, they reason and dispute the matter earnestly amonge niesghest.

etiam ipsi concesserint, siue hoc secretius inspirante deo, siue quod eadem ei uisa est haeresi proxima, quae est apud ipsos potissima: quanquam hoc quoque fuisse non paulum momenti crediderim, quod CHRISTO communem suorum uictum audierant placuisse, et apud germanissimos Christianorum conuentus adhuc in usu esse. Certe, quoquo id momento accidit, haud pauci nostram in religionem coierunt, Lymphaque sacra sunt abluti.

Verum quoniam in nobis quatuor (totidem enim duntaxat supereramus, nam duo fatis concesserant) nemo, id quod doleo, sacerdos erat, caeteris initiati, ea tamen adhuc sacramenta desyderant, quae apud nos non nisi sacerdotes conferunt. intelligunt tamen, optantque ita ut nihil uehementius. quin hoc quoque sedulo iam inter se disputant, an

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1 This is too strong a rendering of *Christo placuisse*: 'that Christ approved of a community of living among his followers.'

2 The marginal note in the Latin points the allusion to monasteries.

3 As to the lawfulness of lay baptism in exceptional cases, which must be understood here, see Bingham, *Antiquities*, Bk. II. ch. xx. § 9.

4 The party had originally consisted of Hythloday and five companions. See above, p. 29.
themselves, whether, without the sendyng of a christian bysshopp, one chosen out of their owne people may receaue the ordre of priesthode. And truly they were mynded to chuse one: but at my departure from them they hadde chosen none. They also, whiche do not agree to Christes religion, feare no man frome it, nor speake agaynst anye man that hath receyued it. Sauing that one of oure companye in my presence was sharply punyshed. He, as sone as he was baptised, began against our willes, with more earnest affection then wisdome, to reason of Christes religion; and began to waxe so hotte in his matter, that he dyd not only preferre oure reliygon before all other, but also dyd vtterlye despise an condempne al other, callynge them prophane, and the followers of them wicked and deuellishe, and the children of euerlasting dampnation. When he had thus longe reasoned the matter, they layde holde on hym, accused hym, and condempned hym into exyle; not as a despyser of religion, but as a sedicious persone, and a rayser vp of dissention amonge the people. For this is one of the

sine Christiani pontificis missu quisquam e suo numero delectus sacerdotii consequatur characterem. Et electuri saneuidebantur; uerum quum ego discederem nondum elegerant. Quin hi quoque, religio|ni 143 Christianae qui non assentiunt, neminem tamen absterrent, nullum oppugnant imbutum; nisi quod unus e nostro coetu me prae sente cohercitus est. Is quum recens ablutus, nobis contra suadentibus, de christi cultu publice maiore studio quam prudentia dissereret, usque adeo coepit incalescere, ut iam nostra modo caeteris anteferret, sed reliqua protenus uniuersa damnaret; prophana ipsa, cultores impios ac sacrilegos aeterno plectendos igni vociferaretur. Talia diu concionantem comprehendunt, ac reum non spretae religionis, sed excitati in populo tumultus agunt peraguntque; damnatum exilio multcant: siquidem hoc * non nostra, A, recte.

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1 That is, deter.
2 The Latin is not quite so strong, being literally, as Burnet renders it, ‘impious and sacrilegious Persons.’
3 Peragere, as a law term, meant ‘to prosecute to conviction.’
auncientest lawes amonge them: that no man shalbe blamed for reasonyng in the mayntenaunce of his owne religion ¹.

For kyng Vtopus, euen at the first begynning, hearing that the inhabitauntes of the lande were before his com-
myng thether at contynuall dissention and stryfe among
themselves for their religions; perceyuing also that this
common dissention, whyles euerye seuerall secte tooke
seuerall partes in fyghting for theire countrey, was the
only occasion of hys conquest ouer them all; assone as
he had gotten the victory, first of all he made a decrie,
that it shoulde be lawfull for euerie man to fauoure and
followe what religion he would, and that he myght do the
beste he cold to bryng other to his opinion; so that he
dyd it peaceably, gentelye, quyetly, and soberlye, without
hastye and contentious rebuking and inuehyng against

interim a antiquissima instituta numerant, ne sua cuiquam religio
fraudi sit.

Vtopus enim iam inde ab initio, quum acceperisset incolas ante suum
aduentum de religionibus inter se assidue dimicasse, atque animad-
uertisset eam rem, quod in commune dissidentes singulae pro patria
sectae pugnabant, occasionem praestitisse sibi uncendorum omnium,
adeptus uictoriam in primis b sanxit uti quam cuique religionem libeat
sequi, liceat; ut uero alios quoque in suam traducat, hactenus niti
possit, uti placide ac moderate suam rationibus astruat; non ut acerbe

a inter, A. recte. b A. om. in primis.

¹ As the sentence is an important one, it should be more exactly ren-
dered. It is literally: 'For they reckon this among their most ancient
(or, most important) institutions, that no one's religion should be an injury
to him;' that is, that no one should be worse off for it. *Antiquissima*, which
Burnet also renders 'most ancient,' may mean 'of most importance;' and
I should have thought that was the sense here, but for the mention of
Utopus's enactment *inde ab initio*, which follows. The passage is one
to be noted, not only as bearing on More's own views of religious tolera-
tion, but as laying down a distinction, significant as coming from him, be-
tween punishing an act as an offence against religion, and as an offence
against the public peace of the realm. See the next note.
other. If he coulde not by fayre and gentle speche induce them vnto his opinion, yet he should vsue no kinde of violence, and refrayne from displeasaunt and seditious woordes. To him that would vehemently and fermenetly in this cause striue and contend, was decreid bannishment or bondage.

This lawe did kynge Vtopus make, not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he sawe through continuaull contention and mortal hatred vtterly extinguished, but also because he thought this decrye shuld make for the furtheraunce of religion. Wherof he durst define and determine nothing vnaduisedly; as dowting whether god, desierying manifolde and diuers sortes of honoure, would inspire sondrie men with sondrie kyndes of religion. And this suerly he thought a very vnmete and folishe thing, and a pointe of arrogant presumption, to compell all other by violence and threatenynge to agre to the same that thou beleuest to bee trewe. Furthermore though there

ceteras destruat, si suadendo non persuadeat; neque uim ullam adhibeat, et conuiciis temperet. pejuluiantis hac de re contendentem exilio aut seruitude multant.

Haec Vtopus instituit, non respectu pacis modo, quam assiduo certamine atque inexpiabili odio funditus uidit euerti, sed quod arbritatus est, uti sic decerneretur, ipsius etiam religionis interesse: de qua nihil est ausus tenere definire; uelut incertum habens, an uarium ac multiplicem expetens cultum deus aliud inspieret alii. certe ui ac minis exigere et quod tu uerum credis idem omnibus uideatur, hoc uero et insolens et inceptum censuit. tum si maxime una uera sit,

Roper's Life (ed. 1822, p. 34), which
be one religion which alone is trewe, and all other wayne
and superstitious, yet did he well forsee (so that the matter
were handeled with reason and sober modestie), that the
caeterae omnes uanae, facile tamen praedidit (modo cum ratione ac
modestia res agatur) futurum denique ut ipsa per se ueri uis emergat
shows that, with the spread of 'heretical' opinions fully before his eyes,
he at least doubted the wisdom of suppression of them by force. 'Troth
it is indeed, son Roper,' said More (referring to the outward security of
the Church in England at the time); 'and yet, son Roper, I pray God, said
he, that some of us, as high as we seem to sit upon the mountains tread-
ing heretics under our feet like ants, live not the day that we gladly would
wish to be at league and composition with them, to let them have their
churches quietly to themselves, so that they would be contented to let
us have ours quietly to ourselves.' And on these tolerant principles More
himself, in the day of his power—if we accept his own statement—would
seem to have acted. 'Dyers of them,' he says in one place, refer-
ing to Protestants, 'haue saide that of suche as were in my house, while I
was chancellour, I used to examine theym with tormentes, causinge theym
to bee bounden to a tree in my gar-
deine, and their pituously beaten.'
But after explaining the cases (two only) which gave any shadow of justi-
fication to these reports, he declares emphatically that 'of al that ever came
in my hand for heresy, as helpe me God, sauing as I said the sure keeping
of them, and yet not so sure neither but that George Constantine could
stele awaye: els had never any of them any stripe or stroke giuen them,
so muche as a fylyppe on the forehead' (English Works, p. 901).
So far, all would be consistent. But this picture of More has to be
brought into harmony with another, and seemingly very different one. In
his epitaph, composed by himself, he is described as 'furibus, homicidis,
haereticisque molestus.' Erasmus testifies that he fully bore out this
description. While he himself pro-
fessed (Works, p. 925) to hate only
the vice of heresy, and not the persons
of heretics, his language towards these
is harsh and violent, and betokens the
strongest personal antipathy. (Ib.,
p. 348, 361, c.d., 366 c., 423. &c.).
As regards the special cases of Bain-
ham and Tewksbury, alleged by some
against More (Foxe: Acts and Monu-
ments, ed. 1846, iv. p. 698, I for one
could not discredit More's solemn
asseveration, quoted above. But
when his biographer pleads that 'in
the administration of those laws'
(against heresy) 'he was not only
rigidly upright, but as tender and
merciful as is compatible with the
character and office of a judge,' while
yet affirming that, 'he held strongly'
that the dogmatizing heretics of those
days, in the then circumstances of
England and Christendom, should be
forcibly repressed, and, if necessary
punished even by death, according to
the existing laws' (Bridgett: Life,
p. 271)—many people will feel a
difficulty in harmonizing the two pic-
tures. The description of England as
'a country hitherto in perfect peace
and unity in religious matters' (ib.
263), is too imaginary a one to con-
tribute much to our enlightenment.—
See, for further views of the subject,
trewthe of the owne powre\(^1\) woulde at the laste issue owte and come to lyght. But if contention and debate in that behalfe shoulde continuallye be vsed, as the woorste men be moste obstynate and stubburne, and in theire euell opynion moste constante; he perceaued that then the beste and holyest religion woulde be troden vnder foote and destroyed by moste vayne superstitions; euen as good corne is by thornes and weydes ouergrown and choked. Therfore al this matter he lefte vndiscussed, and gaue to euery man free libertie and choyse to beleue what he woulde; sauinge that he earnestly and straytelye chardged them, that no man shoulde conceaue so vile and base an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to thinke that the sowles do dye and perishe with the bodye; or that the worlde runneth at al auentures, gouerned by no diuine prouidence. And therfore thei beleue that after this lyfe vices be extremely punyshed, and vertues bountyfully rewarded. Hym that is of a contrary opinion they counte not in the number of men, as one that hath aualed\(^2\) the hyghe nature of his sowe to the vielnes of brute beastes

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\(^1\) That is, 'that Truth, by its innate force.'

\(^2\) Lowered, or debased.
bodies; muche lesse in the number of their citiziens, whoes lawes and ordenaunces, if it were not for feare, he wold nothing at al esteme. For yow may be suer that he wil study other with crafte pruely to mock, or els violently to breake, the commen lawes of his countrey, in whom remayneth no further feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of the bodye. Wherefore he that is thus mynded is depriued of all honours, excluded from all offices, and reiecte from all a common administrations in the weale publyque. And thus he is of all sorte b despysed as of an vnprofitable and of a base and vile nature. Howe be it they put hym to no punyshemente 1, because they be perswaded that it is in no mans powre to beleue what he lyst. No, nor they constrayne hym not with threatninges to dissemble his minde, and shewe countenaunce contrary to his thoughte. For deceite, and falsshed, and all maner of lyes, as next vnto fraude, they do meruelouslye deteste and abhorre 2. But they suffre him not to dispute in his

a [offices ... all] omitted. 
b sortes.

1 45 tum abest ut inter ciues ponant, quorum | instituta moresque (si per metum liceat) omnes floccifacturus sit. Cui enim dubiumesse potest, quin is publicas patriae leges aut arte clam eludere, aut ui nitatur infringere, dum suae priuatim cupiditati seruiat, cui nullus ultra leges metus, nihil ultra corpus spei superest amplius? Quamobrem sic animato nullus communicatur honos, nullus magistratus committitur, nullo publico muneri praeficitur. Ita passim uelut inertis ac iacentis naturae despicitur. Caeterum nullo afficiunt supplicio, quod persuasum habeant, nulli hoc in manu esse ut quicquid libet sentiat. sed nec minis adigunt ullis, animum ut dissimulet suum; nec fucos admissunt et mendacia, quae uelut proxima fraudi mirum quam habent inuisa.

1 Exclusion from civil offices, to which a man is otherwise entitled to aspire, is itself a punishment. But More no doubt refers to severe or capital punishment (supplicium) in its positive form.

2 Compare what More says in his Treatise upon the Passion (Works, p. 1384, F.): 'Among al sortes of mischief, none can there lightly be founden more odious vnto God, than when we abuse things that be of their owne nature good, and turne them contrariwise to serue vs in our lewdenes. And for this consideracion dothe God much mislike lieng, for that
opinion, and that onlye\(^1\) emong the commen people. For elles a parte, emong the pryestes and men of grauity, they doo not only suffer but also exhorte him to dispute and argue; hoopinge that at the laste that madnes will giue place to reason.

There be also other, and of them no small numbre, whych be not forbidden to speake their mindes, as ground-\(^{1}\)ing their opinion vpon some reason; being in their gliuine\(^a\) nother euell nor vitious. Their heresye is much contrary to the other. For they beleue that the soules of brute beastes be immortall and euerlasting\(^2\); but nothinge to be compared with owers in dignitie, nother ordeyned and\(^b\) predestinate to like felicite. For all they\(^3\) beleue certainly and sewerly, that mans blesse shall be so greate, that they doo morne and lamente euerye mans sicknes, but no mans death; oneles it be one whom they see depart from his liffe carfully, and agaynst his will. For this they take for a very euell token, as through the sowle, beinge

\(^a\) i.e. livinge.  \(^b\) nor.

Verum ne pro sua disputet sententia prohibent, atque id dumtaxat apud uulgus. Nam alioquin apud sacerdotes grauesque uiros seorsum non sinunt modo, sed hortantur quoque, confisi fore ut ea tandem uesania rationi cedat.

Sunt et alii, nec hii sane pauci, nempe improhibiti, ueluti neque racione penitus pro se carentes, neque mali, qui, uitio longe diueros, brutorum quoque aeternas esse animas opinantur, at nostris tamen neque dignitate comparandas, neque ad aequam natas felicitatem. hominum enim cuncti mere tam immensam fore beattitudinem, pro certo atque explorato habent, ut morbum lamententur omnium, mortem uero nullius, nisi quem uident anxie e uita inuitumque diuelli. Nempe hoc | pro pessimo habent augurio, tanquam anima exspes 146

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1 That is, the prohibition only applies to disputing, &c.
2 For some modern successors of this school, among whom it would seem that John Wesley must be included, see the Rev. Edward White's *Life in Christ*, ed. 1878, p. 73 n.
3 That is, 'they all.'
in dyspayre and vexed in conscience, through some preuy and secret forefeilyng\(^1\) of the punnishment now at hande, were aferde to depart. And they thinke he shall not be welcome to God, whyche, when he ys called, runneth not\(^2\) to hym gladly, but ys drawen by force and sore agaynste hys wyll. They therfore that see thys kynde of deathe doo abhorre it, and them that so die they burye wyth sorrow and silence. And when they haue prayed God to be mercifull to the sowle, and mercifully to pardon the infirmities therof, they couer the dead coorpe with earthe.

Contrarye wise, all that depart merely\(^3\) and ful of good hoope, for them no man mournethe, but followethe the heerse with ioyfull synging, commending the soules to god with great affection. And at the last not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reuerence, theybourne the bodies\(^4\); and in the same place they set vp a piller of ac male conscia occulto quopiam imminentis poenae praesagio reformidet exitum. Ad hoc haudquaquam gratum deo eius putant aduentum fore, qui quum sit accersitus non accurrit libens, sed inuitus ac detectans pertrahitur. Hoc igitur mortis genus qui intuentur horrent, itaque defunctos moesti ac silentes efferrunt, precatique propitium manibus deum, uti eorum clementer infirmitatibus ignoscat, terra cadauer obruunt.

Contra, quicunque alacriter ac pleni bona spe decesserint, hos nemo luget, sed cantu prosequiti funus, animas deo magno commendantes affectu, corpora tandem reuerenter magis quam dolenter concremant, columnamque loco insculptis defuncti titulis erigunt.

\(^{1}\) That is, ‘fore-feeling,’ or anticipation.

\(^{2}\) ‘He would farther say unto them, that, upon his faith, if he might perceive his wife and children would encourage him to die in a good cause, it should so comfort him, that for very joy thereof it would make him merrily run to death.’—Roper’s *Life of More*, ed. 1822, p. 54.

\(^{3}\) That is, merrily. See the preceding note.

\(^{4}\) It is noticeable that More assigns cremation to the good, and interment to the bad. This would have been contrary to the feeling of the early Christians. Burial they called the ‘veterem et meliorem consuetudinem’ (Minucius Felix, *Octav. c. 39*). Sulla is said to have been the first Roman of note who prescribed for himself the Greek custom of cremation. See the article ‘Burial of the Dead’ in the *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, i. p. 251.
stone, with the deade mans titles therin graueld. When they be comme home they reherse his vertuouse maners and his good dedes. But no parte of his liffe is soo oft or gladly talked of as his mery deathe. They thinke that this remembraunce of their vertue and goodnes doth vehementely prouoke and enforce the quicke to vertue; and that nothing can be more pleasaunt and acceptable to the dead; whom they suppose to be present emong them when they talke of them, though to the dull and feoble eye sight of mortall men they be inuisibly. For it were an vnconuenient thinge, that the blessed shoulde not be at libertye to goo whether they wold. And it were a poynte of greate vnkyndnes in them, to haue vtterly caste awaye the desyer of vysytyng and seynge their frindes, to whome they were in theyr lyfe tyme ioyned by mutuall loue and charytye; whych in good men after theyre deathe they cownte to be rather encreasede then dy-mynyshed. They beleue therefore that the deade be presentlye conversaunte emong the quicke, as beholders and witnesses of all their woordes and deedes. Therefore

\[\begin{align*}
\text{a} & \quad \text{the vertue and goodnes of the dead.} \\
\text{b} & \quad \text{liuing.} \\
\text{c} & \quad \text{inuisible.} \\
\text{d} & \quad \text{amitie.}
\end{align*}\]

domum reuersi, mores actaque eius recensent, nec ulla uitae pars aut saepius aut libentius quam laetus tractatur interitus. Hanc probitatis memoriam et uius efficacissima rentur incitamenta uirtutum, et gratissimum defunctis cultum putant; quos interesse quoque de se sermonibus opinantur, quanquam (ut est hebes mortalium acies) inuisibles. Nam neque felicium sorti conueniat libertate carere migrandi quo uelint, et ingratorum fuerit prorsus abiecisse desyderium amicos inuisendi suos, quibus eos, dum uiuerent, mutuus amor charitasque deuinxerat; quanquam bonis uiris, ut caetera bona, auctam post fata potius quam imminutam coniectant. Mortuos ergo uersari inter uiuentes credunt, dictorum factorumque spectatores; 147
they go more corragiously to their busines, as hauing a trust and affiaunce in such overseers. And this same belefe of the present conversacion of their forefathers and auncetours emonge them fearethe them from all secrete dishonesty.

They vtterly despise and mocke sothe sayinges and diuinations of thinges to come by the flighte or voyces of birdes, and all other diuinations of vayne superstition, which in other countreys be in great obseruation. But they highly esteame and worshippe miracles, that come by no helpe of nature, as workes and witnesses of the presente powre of God. And such they saye doo chaunce there very often. And sumtimes in great and dowtefull matters, by commen intercession and prayers, they procure and obteyne them with a suer hoope and confidence and a stedfast beleffe.

They thinke that the contemplacion of nature, and the eoque res agendas fidentius aggrediuntur, talibus uelut reti prae-sidibus, et ab inhonesto secreto deterret eos credita maiorum praesentia.

Auguria caeterasque superstitionis uanae diuinationes, quorum apud alias gentes magna est observatio, neglignunt prorsus atque irrident. Miracula uero, quae nullo naturae proueniunt adminiculo, uelut praesentis opera testesque numinis uenerantur; qualia et ibi frequenter extare ferunt: et magnis interdum ac dubii in rebus publica supplicatione certa cum fiducia procurant impetrantque.

Gratum deo cultum putant naturae contemplationem, laudemque ab

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1 From 'sothe sayings' to 'birdes' is all an equivalent for the single word auguria.

2 In the Dialogue concyninge Here-syes and Matters of Religion, a great part of the first Book (chs. iv-xvii) is taken up with a discussion of the subject of miracles. More elsewhere draws the same distinction as in the text between 'vayne superstition' and true miracles. The test is in their profitableness. 'For that is a good mark betwene Gods miracles and the dyuels wonders. For Christ and hys saintes haue their miracles alway tending to frute and profit. The dyuel and hys wiches and necromancers, al theyr wonderful workes draw to no fruteful end, but to a fruitelesse ostentacion and shew, as it were a jugler that woulde for a shew before the people pla' masteries at a feast.' — Works, p. 1091 c.
prayse thereof cumminge, is to God a very acceptable honour. Yet there be many so earnestly bent and affecioned to religion, that they passe no thinge for learning, nor giue their mindes to no knowledge of thinges. But ydeldes they vtterly forsake and eschue, thinkinge felicitie after this liffe to be gotten and obteined by busy labors and good exercises. Some therafore of them attende vpon the sicke, some amend highe waies, clense ditches, repaire bridges, digge turfes, grauell, and stones, fell and cleau woode, bring wood, corne, and other thinges into the cities in cartes, and serue not onlye in commen woorkes, but also in pryuate laboure, as servantes, yea, more then bondmen. For what so ever vnpleasaunte, harde, and vile worke is any where, from the which labour, lothsumnes, and desperation doth fraye other, all that they take vpon them willingly and gladly; procuring quyete and rest to other; remayning in continuall worke and labour them-

1 More may have been thinking, when he wrote this, of the 'Brethren of the Common Life,' at whose school in Deventer the early years of Erasmus were passed. They 'differed from the mendicant orders in the fact that they did not beg, but, on the contrary, maintained themselves by manual labour, having at least a partial community of goods, and distinguished generally by their strict lives and fervent devotion.'—Drummond: Erasmus, 1873, i. p. 8.

2 Partam, or some similar word, seems wanting.
of Utopia.

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selfes; not embaying others there wyth. They nother reprooue other mens liues, nor glorye in theire owne. Thies men, the more seruiseable they behauie them selfes, the moore they be honoured of all men.

Yet they be diuided into ii. sectes. The one is of them that liue single and chast, absteining not only from the company of women, but al so from the eating of flesh, and some of them from al maner of beastes. Which, utterly reiectyng the pleasures of this present lyffe as hurtefull, be all hollye set vpon the desire of the lyffe to come; by watchynge and sweatynge hoping shortly to obtaine it, beyng in the meane season meerye and lustye. The other sect is no lesse desyerous of labour, but they embrace matrimony; not despising the solace therof; thinking that they can not be discharged of theire

a the omitted.

tamen, nec aliorum sugillant uitam, nec suam efferunt. Hii quo magis sese seruos exhibent, eo maiore apud omnes in honore sunt.

Eorum tamen haereses duae sunt. Altera caelibum, qui non Venere modo in toto abstinent, sed carnium esu quoque, quidam animalium etiam omnium, reiectisque penitus tanquam noxiis utiae praesentis uoluptatibus, futurae duntaxat per uigilias ac sudores inhiant, eius propediem obtinendae spe alacres interim u egetique. Altera laboris haud minus appetens coniugium praecert, ut cuius nec aspernantur solatium, et opus naturae debere se et patriae liberos putant. Nullam

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1 Not serviceable, in our sense, but 'as servants,' or slaves. Burnet has: 'by their stooping to such servile Employments, they are ... the more esteemed,' &c.

2 'Beastes' here, as a rendering of animalium, is a more extensive term than 'flesh' (carnium); just as bestia in Latin may include fowl or fish. Hence the meaning is that, while some abstained from all that we should call butcher's meat, others abstained even from 'white-meats' as well, and were absolute vegetarians. As an example of the former may be taken the rule of the Carthusians of Shene: 'For your diet, it is a perpetuall abstainence from flesh, in so much that in the greatest or most dangerous sicknes you can expect no dispensation therein: also a good parte of the yeare wee abstaine from all whitmeates, as in Advent, Lent, and all the Fridayes of the yeare...' Formulare Carthusianorum, Lansdowne MSS., No. 1201, leaf 2 b. The practice of St. Benedict himself was an example of the latter, and still more austere, practice.
bounden duetyes towards nature withoute labour and toyle, nor towards their native countreye, wythowte procreacion of chyldren. They abstayne from no pleasure that dothe nothynge hynder them from laboure. They loue the fleshe of fourefoted beastes, bycause they beleue that by that meate they be made hardier and stronger to woorke. The Vtopians count this secte the wiser, but the other the hollier. Which, in that they preferre single liffe before matrimony, and that sharpe liffe before an easier liffe, if herin they grounded vpon reason, they wold mock them; but now, forasmuch as they say they be ledde to it by religion, they honour and worship them.

And thies be they whome in their language by a peculyare name they call Buthrescas, the whyche woordre by interpretation signifieth to vs men of religion, or religiousmen. They haue pryestes of exceeding hollines, and therefore

1 The language of right reason, and justified, with proper qualifications, by St. Paul: 1 Cor. vi. 12, 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4, 1 Cor. viii. 13. In the De quatuor nouissimis, towards the end, More has much on the text 'meats for the belly, and the belly for meats; but God will destroy both it and them.' In the present passage he gives due weight to the words that precede that text, 'all things are lawful for me.' Compare Luther's Table Talk, ed. 1872, § dvii.

2 The next sentence in the Latin is omitted by Robynson. Burnet renders it: 'There is nothing in which they are more cautious, than in giving their Opinion positively concerning any Sort of Religion.'

3 The word, as More himself explains its meaning just after, is evidently formed to express 'very devout,' as if ὁμοθυμάκος, on the analogy of ὁμοθύμασις.
very few. For there be but xiii. in euery city, according to the number of theire churches, sauynge when they go furth to battell. For than vii. of them goo furthe wyth the armye: in whose steades so manye newe be made at home. But the other, at theyre retourne home, agayn reentre every one into his own place. They that be aboue the numbre, vntyll suche tyme as they succede into the places of the other at theyre dyinge, be in the meane season continuallye in companye wyth the bishoppe. For he ys the chyeffe heade of them all. They be chosen of the people as the other magistrates be, by secrete voices for the a... they be consecrate of their owne company. They be overseers of all deuyne matters, orderers of religions, and as it were jugers and maisters of maners. And it is a great dishonestye and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them for dissolate and incontinent liuing.

\[1\] There is probably a touch of satire in this, but not of necessity, since those who are eximii in any qualifications will naturally be few. More censures Dorp for making a similar remark about the bishops of his time: —'quorum, ut sunt certe nonnulli tanto digni fastigio, ita mira est paucitas.' Lucabrationes, p. 421.

\[2\] Perhaps with reference to the thirteen apostles. See, for instances of such choice of numbers, the Rev. J. H. Blunt's Introduction to the Myongre of oure Ladye, 1873, p. xx.

\[3\] A line is here omitted in the edition of 1551 between the first syllable of 'auoydinge' and 'they be consecrate.' The ed. of 1556 supplies it: 'auoyding of strife. After their election.'
But as it is their offyce to gyue good exhortations and cownsell, so it is the deuty of the prince and the other magistrates to correct and punnyse offenders; sauynge that the priestes, whome they find exceeding vicious liuers, them they excommunicate from hauing any interest in diuine matters. And there is almoost no punnishment emonge them more feared. For they runne in verye great infamy, and be inwardly tormented with a secrete feare of religion, and shall not long scape free with their bodies. For onles they, by quycke repentaunce approve the amendement of their lyffes to the priestes, they be taken and punnished of the cownsell as wycked and irre- ligious.  

Both childhode and youth is instructed, and tought of them. Nor they be not more deligente to instructe them in learning then in vertue and good maners. For they vse with very greate endeuour and deligence to put into the heads of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliaunt, good opinions and profitable for the conser-

Caeterum ut hortari atque admonere illorum est, ita coercere atque in facinorosos animaduertere principis atque aliorum est magistra- tum; nisi quod sacris interdicunt, quos improbe malos comperiunt: nec ullum fere supplicium est quod horreant magis. Nam et summa percelluntur infamia, et occulto religionis metu lacerantur, ne corporibus quidem diu futuris in tuto. quippe ni properam poenitentiam sacerdotibus approbent, comprehensi impietatis poenam Senatui persoluunt.

Pueritia iuventusque ab illis eruditur, nec prior literarum cura quam morum ac uirtutis habetur. namque summam adhibent indus- triam, ut bonas protenus opiniones et conservuandae ipsorum reipub-

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1 Burnet brings out the sense more clearly: 'The severest thing that the Priest does, is the excluding those that are desperately wicked from join- ing in their worship.'

2 Lat. *impietatis poenam persolvunt.* This was a being delivered over to the secular arm. But it does not touch the subject of punishment for religious opinions, as those only are spoken of here as being seized by the council, whom the priests have pronounced to be improbe malos.
uation of their weale publique. Which, when they be
ones rooted in children, do remayne wyth them all their
lyfe after, and be wonders profitable for the defence and
maintenence of the state, the common wealtie; which
never decaith, but through vicis risinge of euell opinyons.

The pryestes, onles they be women
(for that kynd is
not excluded from pryesthode; howbeit fewe be chosen,
and none but widdowes and old women): the men priestes,
I saye, take to their wifes the chiefest women in all their
countrey. For to no office emong the vtopians is more

licae utiles teneris adhuc et sequacibus puerorum animis instillent; quaee ubi pueris penitus insederint, uiros per totam uitam comitantur, magnamque ad tuendum publicae rei statum (qui non nisi uitiis dilabitur, quaee ex peruersis nascontur opinionibus) afferunt utilitatem.

Sacerdotibus (ni foeminae sint, nam neque ille sexus excluditur, sed rarius, et non nisi uidua natuque grandis eligitur) uxores sunt popularium selectissimae. Neque enim ulli apud Vtopienses magistratui maior habetur Foeminae sacerdotes.

1 It would be hard to say whether this is a mere jeu d'esprit, or whether More had any more serious thought in making women eligible for the priesthood in Utopia. He may have had in his mind the greater natural devoteness of their sex, as Cicero had when he wrote to Terentia: 'Neque dii, quos tu castissime coluisti, neque homines, quibus ego semper servivi, nobis gratiam retulerunt.' (Epp. ad Div. xiv. 4). Or perhaps, with daughters educated as were his own, often discussing at home the homilies they heard in church, it may have been jestingly remarked that one of them would be better qualified to discharge the teaching office, at least, of the priesthood than some of the preachers on whom he is occasionally so severe. But when he thought that a playful suggestion was in danger of being advocated in earnest, More could become bitterly contemptuous. 'For hys heresye,' he writes, referring to Tyndall, 'rekeneth euyre woman a prest, and as able to say masse as euer was saynte Peter. And in good faythe, as for suche masses as he woulde haue sayde... I wene a woman were in dede a more mete priest than saynt Peter.'—Fifth Book of the Confutation: Works, p. 623.

2 In the Suppllication of Soules (Works, p. 308), when writing of the existing priesthood of the Church, bound to celibacy, More's language is in violent contrast to that used in the text. The marginal note: 'The mariaghe of pieestes is incestuous,' is a very mild summary of the passage. Elsewhere (ib. p. 485), speaking of the celibacy of priests as an abstract principle, he admits that 'the churche both kneweth and confesseth, that wedlocke and priesthood be not repugnant but compatible of their nature, and that wedded men have been made pieestes and kept styl theyren wiuens.'
honour and preeminence geuen. In so much that if they committ any offence, they be vnder no commen judg-
ment, but be left only to god and themselves\(^1\). For they thinke it not lawfull to touch him with mannnes hande, be he neuer so vityous, whiche after so singuler a sort was dedicate and consecrate to god as a holly offering. This maner may they easely obserue, because they haue so few priestes, and do chuse them with such circumspection. For it scasely euer\(^2\) chaunce that the most vertuous emong vertuous, which in respect only of his vertue is auauanced to so high a dignity, can fal to vice and wicked-
nes. And if it should chaunce in dede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile), yet by reason they be so few\(^3\) and

honos, usque adeo ut si quid etiam flagitii admiserint, nullo publico iudicio subsint: deo tantum ac sibi reliquuntur. Neque enim fas putant illum, quantumuis scelestum, mortalii manu con-
tingere, qui Deo tam singulare modo uelut anathema Excommunicatio. dedicatus est. Qui mos illis facilior est obseruatu, quod sacerdotes et tam pauci et tanta cum cura delignu-
tur. Nam neque temere accidit, ut qui ex bonis optimus ad tantam dignitatem, solius respectu uirtutis, euehitur, in corruptelam et uitium degeneret. et si iam maxime contingentur, ut est mortalium natura mutabilis, tamen qua sunt paucitate, nec ualla praeter

\(^1\) We may infer from this, which side More would have been likely to take in the great controversy lately stirred between the two parties of which Standish and Kidderminster were the representatives. The text \textit{noli tangere Christos meos} expressed the view of the Abbot of Winchcombe. See Brewer's \textit{Regin of Henry VIII}, i. p. 250. Colet, in his Convocation Sermon, delivered in 1512, gives a guarded assent to the same view:--

'Ye wyll haue the churches liberte,' he says to the assembled clergy 'and nat be drawen afore secular iuges: and that also is ryght. For hit is in the psalms: \textit{Touch ye nat myne anoynted}. But if ye desire this liberte, first vnhouse your selfe frome the world-
lye bondage, and from the services of men; and lyfte vp your selfe in to the trewe lybertie, the spirituall lybertye of Christe, in to grace from synnes; and serue you God, and raygne in hym. And than, beleue me, the people wyll nat touche the anoynted of theyr Lore de God.'

\(^2\) Lat. \textit{neque temere}, 'it does not lightly chance.'

\(^3\) The sarcastic marginal note to the Latin, at this point, should be observed.
promoted to no might nor powre, but only honour’, it were not to be feared that anye great dammage by them should happen and ensue to the common wealth. They haue so rare and few priestes, least, if the honour were communicate to many, the dignity of the ordre, which emong them now is so highly estemed, should runne in contempt; speciallye because they thinke it harde to find many so good, as to be meet for that dignity, to the execution and discharge whereof it is not sufficien te to be endued with mean vertues.

Furthermore, thies priestes be not more estemed of their owne countrey men, then they be of forrein and straung countreis. Which thing maye hereby plainly appere. And I think al so that this is the cause of it. For whiles the armes be fighting together in open feld, they a little beside, not farre of, knele vpon their knees in their hallowed vestimentes, holding vp theyr handes to heauen; praying first of all for peace, nexte for vyctory of theyr owne parte, but to néther part a bluddy vyctory. If their host gette the vpper hand, they runne in to honour.

honorem potestate praediti, ad publicam certe perniciem nihil magni ab his momenti pertimescendum sit. Quos ideo tam rarios atque infrequentes habent, ne dignitas ordinis, quem nunc tanta ueneratione prosequuntur, communicato cum multis honore, uilesceret; praesertim quam difficile putent frequentes inuenire tam bonos, ut ei sint dignitati pares; ad quam gerendam non sufficit mediocribus esse uirtutibus.

Nec eorum aestimatio apud suos magis quam apud exterias etiam genites habetur, quod inde facile patet unde etiam natum puto. Nempe decercentibus praelio copiis, seorsum illi non admodum procul considunt in genibus, sacras induti uestes: tensis ad caelum palmis, primum omnium pacem, proxime suis victoriam, sed neutri cruentam parti, comprecantur. uincentibus suis decurrunt in aciem, sae-

1 The picture drawn is more suggestive of Moses praying on the mount during the battle against the Amalek-ites (Exod. xvii. 12), than of the con-
to the mayne battayle, and restrayne theyre owne men from sleying and cruellye pursuyng theyre vanquyshed ennemies. Whyche ennemyes, yf they do but see them and speake to them, yt ys ynoughe for the sauegarde of theyr lyues; and the towchynge of theire clothes defendeth and saueth al their gooddes from rauyne and spoyle. Thys thing hath auauanced them to so greate wourshyp and trew maiesty emong al natonis, that many times they haue aswel preserued theire own citizens from the cruel force of their ennemies, as they haue their enemies from the furyous rage of theyre owne men. For yt ys well knowen that when their owne army hathe reculed, and in dyspayre turned backe, and runne away, theyr ennemies fyerslye pursuing with slaughter and spoyle, then the priestes cumming betwene haue stayed the murder, and parted bothe the hostes; so that peace hath bene made.

* i. e. nations.

uientesque in profugatos inhibent. uidisse tantum atque appellasse praesentes ad uitam satis; diffiluentium contactus uestium reliquas quoque fortunas ab omni bellorum iniuria defendit. Qua ex re apud omnes undique gentes tanta illis ueneratio, tantum uerae maiestatis accessit, ut saepe ab hostibus non minus salutis ad cihes reportarint, quam ab ipsis ad hostes attulissent; siquidem aliquando constat, inclinata suorum acie, desperatis rebus, quum ipsi in fugam uerterentur, hostes in caedem ac praedam ruerent, interuentu sacerdotum interpellatam stragem, ac diremptis inuicem duct of great ecclesiastics in More's own time. With his abhorrence of war between Christian princes (one of the three evils, to secure the abolition of which he would gladly have been 'put in a sack and presently cast into the Thames') More would not look with a kindly eye on the martial energy of Pope Julius II, 'more like to that Caesar, whose Name hee bare, then Peter, from whom he would faine derive his Succession,' or on the campaigns directed by Ximenes, in whom 'the spirit of the soldier burned strong and bright under his monastic weeds.' Even to prelates like those who fell at Flodden, fighting simply as brave soldiers for their country—the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the Bishops of Caithness and of the Isles, the Abbots of Incaffray and Kilwinning, and others—while his sympathy would be with them as patriots, the description in the text would serve as a silent reproach.—See Roper's Life, p. 24; Godwyn's Annales, 1630, p. 9.
and concluded betwene bothe partes vnpon equall and indyfferent condytions. For there was neuer anny natyon so fiers, so cruell and rude, but they hadde them in suche reuerence, that they cownted theyr bodyes hallowed and sanctyfyed, and therefore not to be violentlye and vnreuerentlye towched.

They kepe hollye daye the fyrste and the laste day of euerye moneth and yeare, deuydynge 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 theyr language Lynemernes, and the laste Trapemernes; the whyche woordes maye be interpreted primifeste and finifest; or els, in our speache, first feast and last feast.

Their churches be very gorgyous, and not onelye of copiis pacem aequis condicionibus esse compositam atque constitu-tam. Neque enim unquam fuit ulla gens tam fera, crudelis ac barbar, apud quos ipsorum corpus non sacrosanctum atque inuiolabile sit habitum.

Festos celebrant initialem atque ultimum cuiusque mensis diem, et anni item, quem in menses partiuntur, circuitu lunae finitos, ut solis ambitus annum circinat. Primos quosque dies Cynemernos, postremos ipsorum lingua Trapemernos appellant; quae vocabula perinde sonant, ac si pri\text{mifesti et finifesti uocentur.}

Delubra uisuntur egregia, utpote non operosa modo, sed, quod

\[1\] Why Robynson should give the word in this form, when the Latin texts have uniformly \textit{Cynemernos}, is not clear. Possibly he had a notion that More must have been thinking of \textit{Luna}, as a suitable element in his imaginary name for the first day of the month, and that \textit{Cynemernos} was thus a misprint. It is more likely that the word is meant to suggest \textit{κυν-ημερων}, 'the dog's day of the month,' strictly the night between the old and new, when food was placed out at the cross-roads, and the barking of the dogs was taken as a sign of the approach of Hecate. See Theocr. \textit{Idyll.} ii. 35, 36. So in like manner \textit{τραπ-ημερων} would express the turning or closing day of the month.

\[2\] Comp. 'Anni tempora circinante Phoebo,' Sidon. \textit{Pan.} 3382.
fyne and curious workemanship, but also (which in the fewenes of them was necessary) very wyde and large, and able to receaue a great company of people. But they be all sumwhat darke. Howbeit, that was not donne through ignoraunce in buylding, but as they say by the cownsell of the priestes. Bicause they thought that ouer much light doth disperse mens cogitations; where as in dimme and doutefull lighte 1 they be gathered together, and more earnestly fixed vpon religion and deuocion. Which bi-cause it is not there of one sort emong all men; and yet all the kindes and fassions of it, thoughe they be sondry and manifold, agree together in the honoure of the deuine nature, as going diuers wayes to one ende; therfore no-thing is sene nor hard in the churches, which a semeth not to agre indifferently with them all. If there be a dis- tinct kind of sacrifice, peculiare to any seuerall secte, that they execute at home in their owne houses. The common sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogatyon nor preiudyce to annye of the pryuate sacryfyces and reli- gions 2.

a but that.

erat in tanta ipsorum paucitate necessarium, immensi etiam populi capacia. Sunt tamen omnia subobscura; nec id aedificandi insictia factum, sed consilio sacerdotum ferunt, quod immodicam lucem cogitationes dispergere, parciore ac uelut dubia colligi animos et intendi religionem putant. quae quoniam non est ibi apud omnes eadem, et uniuersae tamen eius formae, quanquam uariae ac multiplices, in diuinae naturae cultum uelut in unum finem diuersa uia commigrant, idcirco nihil in templisuisitur auditurue, quod non quadrare ad cunctas in commune uideatur. Si quod proprium sit cuiusque sectae sacram, id intra domesticos quisque parietes curat; publica tali peragunt ordine, qui nulli prorsus ex priuatis deroget.

1 This will at once recall the 'dim religious light' of Il Penseroso. A little less familiar may be the couplet from Pope's Eloisa to Abelard:—
‘Where awful arches make a noon-day night,
And the dim windows shed a solemn light.’

2 Compare what More says just afterwards about the public prayers.
Therefore no ymage of anye god is seen in the churche; to the intente it maye be free for evry man to conceyue god by their religion after what likenes and similitude they will. They call vpon no peculiar name of god, but only Mithra. In the which word they all agree together in one nature of the deuine maiestye, whatsoeuer it be. No prayers be vsed, but such as euerye man maye boldelye pronownce wythowt the offending of any secte.

They come therefore to the churche the laste day of euery moneth and yeare, in the euenynge, yet fastyng, there to gyue thanckes to God for that they haue prosperously passed over the yeare or monethe, wherof that hollye daye ys the laste daye. The next daye they come to the churche earlye in the mornyng, to praye to God that they maye haue good fortune and successe all the newe yeare or monethe, whyche they doo begynne of that same hollye daye. But in the holly dayes that be the laste dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the churche, the wiffes fall downe prostrat before their husbandes feete at home; and the children before the feete of their parentes; confessing and acknowledinge that they

Itaque nulla deorum effigies in templo conspicitur, quo liberum cuique sit qua forma deum uelut e summa religione concipere. nullum peculiare dei nomen inuocant, sed Mythrae duntaxat, quo vocabulo cuncti in unam diuinæ maiestatis naturam, quae cunque sit illa, conspirant. nullae concipiantur preces, quas non pronunciare quiuis inoffensa sua secta possit.

Ad templum ergo in finifestis diebus uespere conueniunt, adhuc ieiuni, acturi deo de anno menseue cuius id festum postremus dies est, prospere acto gratias. Postero die, nam is primifestus est, manc ad templam confluitur, ut | inequentis anni mensisue, quem ab illo auspicienti festo sint, faustum felicemque successum compre-centur. At in finifestis, antea quam templum petunt, uxores domi ad uironum pedes, liberi ad parentum prouluti, peccasse fentetur

1 The Persian name for the Sun-god. See above, p. 267, and comp. Xen. Cyr. vii. 5, § 53. For the way in which More makes the old Utopian language to be connected with the Persian, see p. 148 n.

U 2
haue offended other by some actuall dede, or by omission of their dewty, and desire pardon for their offence. Thus yf anye cloude of preuy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction it is ouer blowen; that they may be present at the sacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. For they be aferd to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore, if they knowe themselfes to beare anye hatred or grudge towards anye man, they presume not to come to the sacrifices before they haue reconcyled themselfes and purged theyre conscyences, for feare of greate vengeaunce and punyshemente for their offence.

When they come thyther, the men goo into the ryghte syde of the churche, and the the women into the left syde. There they place themselfes in suche ordre that

\[\text{Confessio} \]
\[\text{Vtopiensium.} \]
\[\text{At apud nos, qui sunt inquina-} \]
\[\text{tissimi, aris proximi esse} \]
\[\text{contendunt.} \]

\[\text{Vtopiensium.} \]
\[\text{At apud nos, qui sunt inquina-} \]
\[\text{tissimi, aris proximi esse} \]
\[\text{contendunt.} \]

sese aut admisso aliquo, aut officio indiligenter obito, ueniamque errati precantur. ita si qua se nubecula domesticae simulatatis offuderat, tali satisfactione discutitur, uti animo puro ac sereno sacrificiis intersint. nam interesse turbido, religio est. eoque odii iraeue in quenquam sibi conscii, nisi reconciliati ac defeccatis affectibus ad sacrificia non ingerunt sese, uindictae celeris magnaue metu.

Eo quum ueniunt, uiri in dextram delubri partem, faeminae seorsum in sinistram commanct; tum ita se collocant, ut cuiusque domus

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1 The author of *Philotorus* sees in this a possible slight put upon the practice of confession to the priest alone (2nd ed., p. 128; cf. p. 238). But, as he justly says, 'the Utopia cannot be referred to as containing the writer's settled opinion upon the subjects which are introduced.'

2 With the severe tone of the Latin marginal note here, compare the apostrophe into which Colet breaks out, in his *Treatises on the Hierarchies*, p. 90.

3 The reader will note the similarity between this and a passage in the rubric before the Communion Service in the Book of Common Prayer: 'The same order shall the Curate use with those betwixt whom he perceiveth malice and hatred to reign; not suffering them to be partakers of the Lord's Table, until he know them to be reconciled.'

4 This custom of the separation of the sexes in Christian Churches is at least as old as the *Apostolical Constitutions*. Besides its being the com-
all they which be of the male kind in every household sitte before the goodman of the house; and they of the female kynde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forsene that all their gestures and behauiours be marked and observed abrode of them, by whose aucthoritye and discipline they be gouerned at home. This also they diligentlye see vnto, that the yonger euermore be coupled with his elder; lest, if children be ioyned together, they shold passe ouer that time in childish wantonnes, wherin they ought principallye to conceae a religious and deuout feere towardes god; which is the chieffe and almost the only incitation to vertue.

They kill no liuing beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the mercifull clemency of god hath delite in bloud and slaughter; which hath geuen liffe to beastes, to the intent they should liue. They burne frankensence and other sweet sauours, and light also a great number of

masculi ante patremfamilias consideant, foeminarum materfamilias agmen claudat. Ita prospicitur uti omnes omnium gestus foris ab iis obseruentur, quorum autoritate domi ac disciplina reguntur. quin hoc quoque sedulo cauent, uti iunior ibi passim cum seniore copuletur, ne pueri pueris crediti id temporis puerilibus transigant ineptiis, in quo deberent maxime religiosum erga superos metum, maximum ac prope unicum uirtutibus incitamentum, concipere.

Nullum animal in sacrificiis mactant, nec sanguine rentur ac caedi-bus diuinam gaudere clementiam, qui uitam animantibus ideo est elargitus, ut uiuerent. Thus incendunt et alia item odoramenta. ad

mon practice in his own time, More may have noticed the allusion to it in St. Augustine, when lecturing on the De Civitate (Lib. II. c. 28):—‘quia populi confluunt ad ecclesias casta celebritate, honesta utriusque sexus discretione.’

1 That is, provided for.

2 Dionysius Pseudo-Areopagita is said to be the earliest writer who testifies to the ritual use of incense in churches. Colet, in his abstract of the Hierarchies (Eccl. Hier. iii. § 3), draws out the symbolical meaning, that the sweet odour of incense is a sign of the Almighty’s fragrant love.’

‘This assuredly,’ he says, ‘the fuming of incense, beginning from the altar, and thence proceeding through the whole temple, and returning to the
waxe candelles and tapers; nott supposinge this geere to be any thing auaylable to the diuine nature, as nother the prayers of men; but this vnhurtfull and harmeles kind of worship pleaseth them. And by thies sweet sauoures, and lightes, and other such ceremonies, men feelle themselues secretly lifted vp, and encouraged to deuotion, with more willynge and fervent hartes. The people weareth in the churche white apparell: the priest is clothed in chagneable coloure, whiche in workemanship be excellent, but in stuffe not verye preious. For thiere veste- mentes be nother embrodered with golde, nor set with precious stones; but they be wrought so fynely and con- nyngly with diuers fetheres of fowles, that the estima- 
cion of no costelye stuffe is able to counteruaille the price

haec ce:reos numerosos praeferunt, non quod haec nesciant nihil ad 154
diuinam conferre naturam, quippe ut nec ipsas hominum preces, sed
et innoxium colendi genus placet, et hiis odoribus luminibusque, ac
cae teris etiam ceremoniis, nescio quomodo sese sentiunt homines
erigi, atque in dei cultum animo alacriore consurgere. Candidis in
templo uestibus amicitur populus; sacerdos uersicolores induitur, et
opere et forma mirabiles, materia non perinde preciosu. neque enim
auoe intextae, aut raris coagentatae lapidibus, sed diuersis auium
plumis tam scite tantoque artificio laboratae sunt, ut operis precium

place whence it set forth, signifies in
sacred and solemn manner to the
unlearned; that herein, if they are
able, they may perceive that sweet-
smelling grace is diffused far and wide
over all from the high place of God.'

1 For the profusion of wax candles
and tapers which would meet the eye
in St. Paul's Cathedral, see Dr. W.
S. Simpson's Registrum Statutorum,
p. 74. Their plenty may have been
in part a cause of Dean Colet's
well-known ordinance for his newly-
founded school.

2 More's selection of this fanciful
apparel for his priests may have been
in pure whim, or in the endeavours to
find something totally different from
existing customs. But the thought
may possibly have been suggested to
him by the study of his favourite Plato.
In the Timaeus the race of birds is
created out of 'innocent, light-minded
men, who thought to pursue the study
of the heavens by sight: these were
transformed into birds, and grew
feathers instead of hair.'—See Prof-
cessor Jowett's Introduction to the
Timaeus (Plato, 1871, ii. p. 502). What
Socrates says also in the Phaedo, § 85,
about birds having a prophetic gift
from Apollo, and singing for joy but
never for sorrow, deserves to be com-
pared.
of the worke. Furthermore, in thies birdes fethers, and in the dewe ordre of them, whiche is observerd in theire set-tyng, they saye is conteyned certayn deuyne misteries; the interpretation wherof known, whiche is diligentlye tawght by the priestes, they be put in remembrance of the bountyfull benefites of God towarde them, and of the loue and honoure whiche of theire behalfe is dewe to God, and also of theire dewties one towarde an other.

When the priest first commeth out of the vestrie, thus appareled, they fall downe incontinent every one reuently to the grounde, with so stylly silence on every 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 haue lien a little space on the grounde, the priest giueth them a signe for to ryse. Then they sing prayses vnto God, whiche they intermixt with instrumentes of musick, for the moste parte of other fassions then thies that we vse in this parte of the worlde. And like as some of owrs bee muche sweter then theirs, so some of theirs doo farre passe owrs. But in one

nullius aestimatio materiae fuerit aequatura. Ad hoc in illis volucrum pennis plumisque et certis earum ordinibus, quibus in sacerdotis ueste discriminantur, arcana quaedam dicunt contineri mysteria, quorum interpretatione cognita (quae per sacrificios diligenter traditur) divinorum in se beneficiorum, suaeque uicissim pietatis in deum, ac mutui quoque inter se officii, admoneantur. Quum primum sacerdos ita ornatus ex adyto sese offert, cuncti proutinus in terram uenerabundi procumbunt, tam alto ab omni parte silentio, ut ipsa rei facies terrorem quendam uelut praesentis cuius-piam numinis incutiat. Tellure paulum morati, dato ab sacerdote signo, erigunt sese. tum laudes deo canunt, quas musici instrumentis interstinguunt, aliis magna ex parte formis quam quae nostro visuntur orbe. Ex illis plejraque siciuti quae nobis in usu sunt multum suaitate uincunt, ita quaedam nostris ne conferenda quidem sint. Verum

1 More, who used often to don a surplice, and sing in the choir at Chelsea, was well qualified to express an opinion on this subject. It seems
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thynge dowteles they goo excedinge farre beyond vs. For all there musicke, both that they playe vpon instrumentes, and that they singe with mans voyse, doth so resemble and expresse naturall affections; the sound and tune is so applied and made agreeable to the thynge; that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger, the passion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye moue, stire, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes 1.

una in re haud dubie longo nos interuallo praecellunt; quod omnis eorum musica, siue quae personatur organis, siue quam uoce modulantur humana, ita naturales affectus imitatur et exprimit, ita sonus accommodatur ad rem; seu deprecantis oratio sit, seu laeta, placabilis, turbida, lugubris, irata; ita rei sensum quendam melodiae forma repraesentat, ut animos auditorum mirum in modum afficiat, penetret, incendat.

clear, from more than one contem-porary account, that the church music of the day, at least in England, had become too elaborate and artificial, the sound leaving the sense far behind. Thus Polydore Vergil complains that 'our syngers cry out so loude, that we heare nothing saue a noyse, and those that be present cannot be edified with the word.' 1 It were great furtherance to religion,' he adds, 'if those singers, not far unlike to Jayes, wer ether banished out of the Temples, or els their singing wer so modified with more sobernesse, that the wordes might be understande, to thedifying of the laytie.'—Thomas Langley's Abridgemente of the Notable Worke of Polidore Vergil, s. a., leaf 114 b. Compare what Erasmus says in the De sarcienda Ecclesiae concordia: 'Si non placet in templis illud modulatae musicae genus, et organorum cantus, possunt cita pietatis jacturam omittii: Si placet, curandum est ut illa quoque musica sit digna templo Deii'; and the striking passage which occurs in his note on 1 Cor. xiv. 19 in the Annotationes:—'In sacram aedem uelut in theatrum concurritur, ad deliniendas aures . . . Haec adeo placent, ut monachi nihil aliudagant, praesertim apud Britannos; et quorum cantus debuit esse lucustus, hi lasciuis hinnitibus et mobili gutture Deum placari credunt.'

1 Richard Pace, whose own skill in music had commended him as a boy to the notice of Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winchester, gives a high place in his De Fructu to that art, which teaches men 'et orare bene et concionari' (ed. 1517, p. 32). But the best commentary on what More has written in the text is furnished by some sensible remarks of Erasmus towards the end of his Christiani Matrimonii Institutum (a treatise which he dedicated to Queen Katharine). After complaining of the licentious tone of much secular ballad-music, especially
of Utopia.

At the laste the people and the priest together rehearse solempne prayers in wordes, expresslye pronounced; so made that euerye man may priuatelye applye to hymselfe that which is commonlye spoken of all. In thies prayers euerye man recogniseth and knowledgeth God to be hys maker, hys gouernoure, and the principal cause of all other goodnes; thankyng him for so many benefites receaued at hys hande: but namelye, that through the fauoure of God he hath chaunced into that publyque weale, which is most yeppye and welthye, and hath chosen that religion whyche he hopeth to be moste true. In the whyche thynge yf he doo annye thynge erre, or yf there bee annye other better then eyther of them is, beynge moore acceptable to GOD, he desiereth hym that he wyll

Solennes ad ultimum conceptis uerbis preces sacerdos pariter populusque percensent, ita compositas ut quae simul cuncti recitant, priuatim quisque ad semet referat. In his deum et creationis et gubernationis et caeterorum praeterea bonorum omnium quilibet recognoscit autorem; tot ob recepta beneficia gratias agit, nominatim uero quod deo propitio in eam rempublicam inciderit quae sit fecisisima, eam religionem sortitus sit, quam speret esse uerissimam. Qua in re si quid erret, aut si quid alterutra melius, et quod deus magis

*si quid sit, A.*

in the Low Countries, he urges, in words like those of More, the power of music for good or evil: 'Numerosi illi soni magnam uim habent ad afficiendos hominum animos, in tantum ut quidam hinc collegerint ipsam animam esse harmoniam, aut certe habere harmoniam, nam simile simili delectari' (ed. 1526, leaf C). He goes on to censure the style of music introduced into divine worship. 'Quid quod hoc musices genus a choreis et comensationibus inueximus in templo? Et, quod est absurdus, magno conducentur, qui sacrorum maiestatem ineptis garritibus contamint. Non

excludo Musicam a sacris, sed harmonias requiro sacris dignas. Nunc sonis nequissimis aptantur uerba sacra.'

1 Burnet, more correctly, 'in a set Form of Words.'

2 See above, p. 290. Erasmus often pleads for the like simple and comprehensive formulas. 'Adferamus fidei professionem simplicem, vereque Apostolicam,' he says, speaking of the efforts to convert the Turks, '...in paucis facilior erit consensus, et facilius constabit concordia, si in plerisque liberum erit in suo cuique sensu abundare, tantum ut absit contentio.' *Adagia,* ed. 1629, p. 301, col. b.
of hys goodnes let hym haue knowledge thereof, as one that is readye too followe what waye soever he wyll leade hym. But yf thys forme and fassion of a commen wealth be beste, and his owne religion moste true and perfecte, then he desyreth God to gyue him a constaunte stedfastnes in the same, and to brynge all other people to the same ordre of lyuyng, and to the same opinion of God; onles there be any thynge that in this dyuersitie of religions doth delyte his vnsearcheable pleasure. To be shorte, he prayeth hym that after his deathe he may come to hym; but how soone or late, that he dare not assygne or determine. Howebeit, if it myght stande with his maiesties pleasure, he would be muche gladder to dye a paynfull dethe and so to go to God, then by long lyuing in worldlye prosperytie to bee awaye from hym. Whan this prayer is sayde, they fall downe to the ground agayne, and a lytle after they ryse vp and go to dynner. And the resydewe of the daye they passe ouer in playes, and exercise of cheualrye.

approbet, orare se eius bonitas efficiat hoc ut ipse cognoscat: paratum enim sequi se qua qua uersus ab eo ducatur. sin et haec Reipublicae forma sit optima, et sua religio rectissima, tum uti et ipsi constantiam tribuat, et caeteros mortales omnes ad eadem instituta iuuendi, in eandem de deo opinionem perducat, nisi inscrutabilem eius voluntatem etiam sit quod in hac religionum uarietate delectet. Denique precatur, ut facile defunctum exitu ad se recipiat; quam cito seroue, praefinire quidem non audere se. Quanquam, quod inoffensa eius maiestate fiat, multo magis ipsi futurum cordi sit, difficilima morte obita ad deum peruadere, quam ab eo diutius prosperous uitae cursu distineri. Hac prece dicta rursus in terram proni, pauloque post erecti, discendunt pransom; et quod superest diei ludis et exercitio militaris disciplinae percurrunt.

1 Robynson neglects the facile in the Latin. Burnet is more correct. 'Then they pray that God may give them an easy Passage at last to himself.'

2 It was one of the reforms peti-
tioned for by the Cardinal of Cambray at the Council of Constance, that on festivals, all but Sundays and the maiores feriae, the lay people might be allowed, when divine service was over, to return to work: 'liceret operari post auditum officium; cum
Nowe I haue declared and descrybyd vnto yowe, as truely as I coulde, the fourme and ordre of that commen wealth, which verely in my iudgement is not onlye the beste, but also that whiche alone of good ryght may clayme and take vpon it the name of a common wealth or publique weale. For in other places they speake stil of the commen wealth; but euerye man procureth hys owne pryuate wealth. Here where nothyng is pryuate, the commen affayres be earnestly loked vpon. And truely on both partes they haue good cause so to do as they do. For in other countreys who knoweth not that he shall sterue for honger, onles he make some seuerall provision for hymself, though the commen wealth floryshe neuer so muche in ryches? And therefore he is compelled, euen of verye necessitie, to haue regarde to hym selfe rather then to the people, that is to saye, to other. Contrarywyse, there where all thynges be commen to euerye man, it is not to be dowted that any man shall lacke anye thynge necessarye for hys pryuate vses, so that the commen store howses and barnes be sufficiently

* a gaine.

Descripsi uobis quam potui uerissime eius formam Reipublicae, quam ego certe non optimam tantum, sed solam etiam censeo, quae sibi suo iure possit Reipublicae uendicare uocabulum. Siquidem alibi de publico loquentes ubique commodo priuatam curant; hic ubi nihil priuati est, serio publicum negotium agunt, certe utrobique merito. Nam alibi, quotus quisque est qui nesciat, nisi quid seorsum prospiciat sibi, quantumuis florente Republica semet tamen fame periturum; eoque necessitas urget ut sui potius quam populi, id est aliorum, habendam sibi rationem censeat. Contra hic, ubi omnia omnium sunt, nemo dubitat (curetur modo ut plena sint horrea publica) nihil quicquam priuati cuiquam defuturum. Neque enim maligna

* quia in festis saepe multiplicantur pecata, in tabernis, in choreis, et alii lasciviis quas docet otiositas, tum quia dies operabiles vix sufficiunt pauperibus ad vitae necessaria procuranda.¹—Fasciculus rerum expetend., &c., 1535, fol. 206 B.

¹ That is, feared.
stored. For there nothynge is distrybuted after a nyggyshe sorte, nother there is any poore man or begger. And though no man haue any thynge, yet euereye man is ryche. For what can be more ryche then to lyue ioyfullye and merylye without all griefe and pensifenes; not caryng for hys owne lyuing, nor vexed or troubled with hys wyfes importunate complayntes, not drydynge pouertie to his sonne, nor sorrowyng for his dowghters dowrey? Yea, they take no care at all for the lyuyng and wealthe of themsefes and all theirs; of theire wyfes, theire children, theire nephews, their childrens chylfren, and all the succession that euer shall followe in theire posteritie. And yet, besydes thys, there is no lesse prouision for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe laboure and take payne. Here nowe woulde I see yf anye man dare be so bolde, as to compare with thys equytie the iustice of other nations. Among whom, I forsake God, if I can fynde any signe not.

rerum distributio est, neque inops, neque mendicus ibi quisquam, et quum nemo quicquam habeat, omnes tamen diuites sunt. Nam quid ditius esse potest, quam, adempta prorsus omni solicitudine, laeto ac tranquillo animo iuuer? non de suo uictu trepidum, non uxoris quern flagitacione uxatum, non paupertatem filio metuentem, non de filiæ dote anxium; sed de suo suorumque omnium, uxoris, filiorum, nepotum, pronepotum, abnepotum, et quam longam posterorum seriem suorum generosi praesumunt, uictu esse ac felicitate securum. Quid quod nihil minus his prospicitur, qui nunc impotes olim laborauerunt, quam his qui nunc laborant?

Hic aliquis uelim cum hac aequitate audeat aliarum iustitiam gentium comparare, apud quas dispeream si ullum prorsus comperio

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1 The printing being indistinct, it is not clear whether this or 'themsele' is the word.
2 In the old sense of 'nephews,' as in 1 Tim. v. 4. The Latin terms used are those for the successive stages in lineal descent. Compare the language of Budé; above, p. lxxvi.
3 Lit. 'may I perish, if,' &c.
or token of equitie and iustice. For what iustice is this, that a ryche goldsmythe\(^1\) or an vsurer, or, to be shorte, any of them, whych other doo nothyng at all; or els that whiche they do is suche, that it is not very necessary to the commen wealth; should haue a pleasaunt and a welthye lyuynge, other by Idilnes, or by vnnecessary busynes? when in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yronsmythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by so great and continual toyle, as drawynge and bearyng beastes be skeant able to susteine; and agayn so necessarie toyle that with out it no commen wealth were able to continewe and endure one yere; do\(^a\) yet get so harde and poore a lyuing, and lyue so wretched and miserable a lyfe, that the state and condition of the labouring beastes maye seme seme better and welthier. For they be not put to so contynuall laboure, nor theire lyuynge is not muehe worse; yea, to them much pleasaunter; takynge no thowghte in the meane season for the tyme to come. But thies seilie poore wretches be presently tormented

\(^a\) should.

iustitiae aequitatisque uestigium. Nam quae haec iustitia est, ut nobilis quispiam, aut aurifex, aut foenerator, aut denique alius quiam eorum, qui aut omnino nihil agunt, aut id quod agunt eius generis est ut non sit Republicae magnopere necessarium, lautam ac splendidam uitam, uel ex ocio uel superuacuo negotio, consequatur, quum interim mediastinus, auriga, faber, agricola, tanto tamque assiduo labore quam uix iumenta sustineant, tam necessario ut sine eo ne unum quidem annum possit ulla durare Respublica, uictum tamen adeo malignum parant, uitam adeo miserum ducent, ut longe potior uideri possit conditio iumentorum, quibus nec tam perpetuus labor, nec uictus multo deterior est, et ipsis etiam suauior, nec ullus interim de futuro timor. At hos et labor sterilis atque infructuosus in

\(^1\) We should now rather say, a banker. It was not till the Restora-
tion that banking became a distinct occupation in England. And this new branch of business, as Macaulay says, 'naturally fell into the hands of the goldsmiths, who were accustomed to traffic largely in the precious metals, and who had vaults in which great masses of bullion could be secure from fire and from robbers.' *Hist. of Eng-
land*, ed. 1858, iv. p. 492.
with barreyne and vnfrutefull labour. And the remem-
braunce of theire poore indigent and begerlye olde age
kylleth them vp. For theire dayly wages is so lytle that it
will not suffice for the same daye; muche lesse it yeldeth
any ouerplus, that may dayly be layde vp for the relyefe
of olde age.

Is not thys an vniust and an vnkynd publyque weale,
whyche gyueth great fees and rewardes to gentelmen, as
they call them, and to goldsmythes, and to suche other,
whiche be other ydell persones or els onlye flatterers, and
deuysers of vayne pleasures; and, of the contrary parte,
maketh no gentle prouision for poore plowmen, coliards,
laborers, carters, yronsmythes, and carpenters; without
whome no commen wealth can continewe? But when it
hath abused the laboures oft heire lusty and flowringe
age, at the laste, when they be oppressed with old age and
syckenes, being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thynges;
then, forgettynge theire so many paynfull watchynges,
not remembrynge theire so many and so great benefytes;
recompenseth and acquyteth them moste vnkyndly with
mysterable death. And yet besides this the riche men not

praesenti stimulat, et inopis recordatio senectutis occidit; quippe
quibus parcior est | diurna merces, quam ut eidem possit diei suffi-
cere: tantum abest ut excrescat et supersit aliquid quod quotidiem
queat in senectutis usum reponi.

An non haec iniqua est et ingrata respublica, quae generosis, ut
uocant, et aurificibus, et id genus reliquis, aut osciosis aut tantum
adulatoribus et inanum uluptatum artificibus, tanta munera pro-
digit; agricolis contra, carbonariis, mediastinis, aurigis et fabris, sine
quibus nulla omnino Respublica esset, nihil benignre prospicit; sed
eorum florentis aetatis abusa laboribus, annis tandem ac morbo
graues, omnium rerum indigos, tot uigiliarum inmemor, tot ac tan-
torum oblita beneficiorum, miserriima morte repensat ingratiissima.
Quid quod ex diurno pauperum demenso diuites cotidie aliquid, non

See the note above, p. 301.
only by priuate fraud, but also by commen lawes, do euery day plucke and snatche away from the poore some parte of their daily liuung. So, where as it semed before uniuste to recompense with vnkyndnes their paynes that haue bene beneficiall to the publique weale, nowe they haue to this their wrong and vniuste dealinge (whiche is yet a muche worse pointe), geuen the name of iustice\(^1\), yea, and that by force of a law.

Therefore when I consider and way in my mind all thies commen wealthes which now a dayes any where do florish, so god helpe me, I can perceaeue nothing but a certein conspiracy of riche men, procuringe theire owne commodities vnder the name and title of the commen wealth. They inuent and deuise all meanes and craftes, first how to kipe safely without feare of lesing that they haue vniustly gathered together; and next how to hire and abuse the woorke and labour of the poore for as little modo priuata fraude sed publicis etiam legibus abradunt: ita quod anteuidebatur iniustum, optime de Republica meritis pessiam referre gratiam, hoc isti deprauatum etiam fecerunt, tum prouulgata lege iustitiam.

Itaque omnes has quae hodie usquam florent Respublicas animo intuenti ac uersanti mihi, nihil, sic me amet deus, occurririt aliud quam quaedam conspiratio diuitium, de suis commodis Re-publicae nomine tituloque tractantium. comminis cunturque et excogitant omnes modos atque artes quibus, quae malis artibus ipsi congerserunt, ea primum ut absque perdendi metu retineant, post hoc ut pauperum omnium opera ac laboribus\(^2\) quam minimo sibi redimant, eisque\(^a\) abutanitur. Haec

\(^1\) Burnet gives what must be the general sense of this passage: 'So that, though it is a Thing most unjust in it self, to give such small Rewards to those who deserve so well of the Publick, yet they have given those Hardships the Name and Colour of Justice, by procuring Laws to be made for regulating them.' But the Latin is obscure, at least if the tum before prouulgata be correct.

\(^2\) The ablative is apparently due to attraction with eisque just afterwards. In this case opera must also be taken as ablative. But the proper construction would be opera (n. pl.) ac labores.
money as may be. Thies deuyses when the riche men haue decreed to be kept and obserued for the commen wealthes sake, that is to saye, for the wealth also of the poore people, then they be made lawes. But thies most wicked and vicious men, when they haue by their unsatiable couetousnes deuided emong them selfes all those thinges which wold haue suffised all men, yet howe farre be they from the wealth and felicity of the vtopian commen wealth? owt of the which in that all the desire of moneye with the use thereof is ytterly secluded and bannisshed, howe great a heape of cares is cut away? How great an occasion of wickednes and mischiefe is plucked vp by the rotes? For who knoweth not that fraud, theft, rauine, brauling, quarelling, brabling, striffe, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning; which by dayly punishmentes are rather reuenged then refrained; do dye when money dieth? And also that feare, griefe, care, laboures, and watchinges, do perishe, euen the very same moment that money perisseth? Yea, pouerty it selfe, which only semed to lacke money, if money were gone, it also wold decrease and vanishe away.

*a [for . . . sake] under colour of the comminalltie.
*b [for . . . wealth] omitted.

maclinamenta ubi semel diuites publico nomine, hoc est etiam pauperum, decreuerunt obseruari, iam leges fiunt. At homines deterrimi cum inexplebili cupiditate, quae fuerant omnibus suffectura, ea omnia inter se partierint, quam longe tamen ab Vtopiensium Reipublicae felicitate absunt? e qua cum ipso usu sublata penitus omni auiditate pecuniae, quanta moles molestiarum recisa, quanta scelerum seges radicitus euulsa est? Quis enim nescit fraudes, furtalia, rapinas, rixas, tumultus, iurgia, seditiones, caedes, proditiones, ueneficia, cotidianis uindicata potius quam refrenata supplicis, interempta pecunia com-mori; ad haec metum, sollicitudinem, curas, labores, uigilias, eodem momento quo pecunia perituras? quin paupertas ipsa, quae sola pecuniis uisa est indigere, pecunia prorsus undique sublata, protinus etiam ipsa decresceret.

a decesceret, A.; dicesceret, B.
And that you may perceaeua this more plainly, consider with your selves some barrein and vnfrutefull yeare, wherin many thousandes of people haue starued for honger. I dare be bolde to say, that in the end of that penury so much corne or grain might haue bene found in the riche mens barnes, if they had bene searched, as being deuided emong them, whome famine and pestilence hath killed, no man at all should haue felt that plage and penury. So easely might men gett their liuinge, if that same worthye princesse, lady money, did not alon stoppe vp the way betwene vs and our liuings; whiche a goddes name was very excellently deuised and inuented, that by her the way therto should be opened. I am sewer the ryche men perceaeua thys, nor they be not ignoraunte how much better yt werre to lacke noo necessarype thyng then to abunde with ouermuch superfluyte; to be rydde owte of innumerable cares and trowbles, then to be beseiged wyth greate ryches. And I dowte not that other the respecte of euery mans priuate commoditie, or els the aucthority of oure sauioure Christe (which for his great

\[a \text{[hath killed]}\] then consumed.  
\[b \text{and encombred wyth.}\]

Id quo fiat illustrius, revolue in animo tecum annum aliquem sterilem atque infocandum, in quo multa hominum millia fames abstulerit. contendo plane in fine illius penuriae, excusserit diuitium horreis, tantum frugum potuisse reperiri, quantum si fuisse inter eos distributum, quos macies ac tabes absumpsit, illam caeli solique parcitatem nemo omnino sensisset. tam facile uictus parari posset, nisi beata illa pecunia, quae praeclare scilicet inuenta est, ut aditus ad uictum per eam patesceret, sola nobis ad uictum uiam intercluderet. Sentient 160 ista, non dubito, etiam diuites, nec ignorant quan\text{to potior esset illa conditio nulla re necessaria carere, quam multis abundare superfluis; tam numerosis eripi malis, quam magnis obsideri diuitiis. Neque mihi quidem dubitare subit, quin uel sui cuuisque commodi ratio, uel christi seruatoris auctoritas (qui neque pro tanta sapientia potuit

\[1 \text{That blessed Thing, called Money (Burnet). There is nothing to show that More meant to personify pecunia here; and beata, in the sense of 'affluent,' is a common epithet of ubertas, copia, and the like.}\]
wisdom could not but know what were best, and for his inestimable goodnes cold not but counsell to that which he knew to be best) wold haue brought all the wordle long agoo into the lawes of this weale publique, if it were no that one only beast, the prince and mother of all mischiefe, pride, doth withstonde and let it. She measureth not wealth and prosperity by here own commodities, but by the miserieis and incommodities of other. She wold not by her good will be made a goddes, if there were no wretches left, whom she might be lady ouer to mocke and scorne; ouer whose miseries her felicity might shine, whose pouerty she might vexe, torment, and encrease by gorgiously setting furthe her riches. This hell hound crepeth in to mens hartes, and plucketh them backe from entering the right pathe of liffe; and is so depely roted in mens brestes, that she can not be plucked out.

This forme and fassion of a weale publique, which I wold gladly wishe vnto all nations, I am glad yet that it

*a princeesse.  b [whom... scorne] ouer whom she might like a scorneful ladie rule and triumph.

ignorare quid optimum esset, neque qua erat bonitate id consulere quod non optimum sciret) totum orbem facile in huius

Mire dictum.  Reipublicae leges iamdudum traxisset, nisi una tantum belua, omnium princeps parensque puestium, superbia, 

reluctaretur.  haec non suis commodis prosperitatem, sed ex alienis metitur incommodis.  haec ne Dea quidem fieri uellet, nullis relictis miseris, quibus imperare atque insultare possit; quorum miseris praefulgeat ipsius comparata felicitas; quorum suis explicatis opibus angat atque incendat inopiam.  Haec auerni serpens, mortalium pererrans pectora, ne meliorem uitae capessant uiam, uelut remora retrahit ac remoratur.

Quae quoniam pressius hominibus infixa est, quam ut facile possit euelli, hanc Reipublicae formam, quam omnibus libenter optarim,

*a Haece adnotatio deest in B.

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1 Dibdin here refers to the chapter on Pride in More's treatise De quatuor nouissimis, in evidence of the detestation in which this vice was held by the author. See the English Works, 1577, pp. 82, 1270; and the extracts given by Bridgett: Wit and Wisdom, pp. 55-58.
hath chaunced to the Vtopians; which haue followed those institutions of liffe, wherby they haue laid such fondations of their common wealth, as shall continew and last, not only wealthely, but also, as farre as mans wit maye iudge and coniecture, shall endure for euer. For seinge the chiefe causes of ambition and sedition with other vices be plucked vp by the rootes and abandoned at home, there can be no ieopardye of domesticall dissention; which alone hathe caste vnder fote and broughte to noughte the well fortefied and strongly defenced wealth and riches of many cities. But for asmuch as perfect concord remaineth, and holisme lawes be executed at home, the enuy of all forrein princes be not able to shake or moue the empire, though they haue many tymes long ago gone about to do it, being euermore dreuen backe.'

Thus when Raphaell hadde made an ende of his tale, though he manye thinges came to my mind which in the manners and lawes of that people semed to be instituted and founded of no good reason 1, not only in the fassion of their cheualry and in their sacrifices and religions, and in

Vtopiensibus saltem contigisse gaudeo; qui ea uitae sunt instituta sequuti, quibus Reipublicae fundamenta iecerunt non modo felicissime, uerum etiam, quantum humana praesagiri coniectura contigit, aeternum duratura. Extirpatis enim domi cum caeteris uitiis ambitionis et fractionum radicibus, nihil impendet periculi ne domestico dissidio laboretur, quae | una multarum urbium egregie munitas opes pessundedit. At salua domi concordia et salubribus institutis non omnium finitimorum inuidia principum (quae saepius id iam olim semper reuerberata tentauit) concutere illud imperium aut commouere quetat.

Haec ubi Raphael recensuit, quamquam haud paua mihi succurrebant, quae in eius populi moribus legibusque perquam absurde uidebantur instituta, non solum: de beli gerendi ratione, et rebus diuinis, ac religione, aliisque insuper eorum institutis, sed in eo

1 This is weaker than the Latin, perquam absurde, 'very absurdly.'
other of their lawes, but also, yea and chieffely, in that which is the principall fondacion of all their ordinaunces, that is to saye, in the communitie of their life and liuinge, without any occupieng of money; by the whych thynge onelye all nobilitie, magnificence, wourship, hon-our, and maiestie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a common wealth, utterly be overthrown and destroyed; yet, because I knew that he was wery of talkinge, and was not sure whether he could abide that any thing shoulde be said against his minde; specially becausie I remembred that he had reprehended this fault in other, which be aferd least they shoulde seme not to be wise enough, onles they could find some fault in other mens inuentiones: thercfor I, praiusing both their institutions and his communication, toke him by the hand, and led him into supper; saying that we wold chuse an other time to way and examine the same matters, and to talke wyth him more at lardge therin. Whiche wold to God it might ones come to passe. In the mean time as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he said; being els without dowte a man singulerly well learned, and also in all wordely matters exactely and profoundely

* speciallye remembranye.  
* to omitted.  
* worldly.

quoque ipso maxime, quod maximum totius institutionis fundamen-tum est, uta selicet uictuque communi, sine ullo pecuniae commercio, qua una re funditus uerititur omnis nobilitas, magnificentia, splendor, maiestas, uera (ut publica est opinio) decora atque ornamenta Rei-publicae; tamen, quoniam defessum narrando sciebam, neque mihi satis exploratum erat, possetne ferre ut contra suum sententiam sentiretur, praesttim quod recordabar eo nomine quosdam ab illo reprehensos, quasi uererentur ne non satis putarentur sapere, nisi aliquid inuenirent in quo uellicare aliorum inuenta possent, idcirco et illorum institutione et ipsius oratione laudata, manu apprehendens intro coenatum duco; praefatus tamen aliud nobis tempus iisdem de rebus altius cogitandi atque uberius cum eo conferendi fore. Quod utinam aliquando contingeret. Interea, quemadmodum haud possum 162 omnijbus assentiri quae dicta sunt, alioqui ab homine cita controver-
of Utopia.

experienced; so must I nedes confess and graunt, that many thinges be in the utopian weal publique, which in our cities I may rather wisshe for then hoope after.

Thus endeth the afternones talke of Raphaell Hythlodayye concerning the lawes and institutions of the Iland of Vtopia.

Imprinted at London

by Abraham Vele, dwelling in Pauls churchyarde at the sygne of the Lambe. Anno.

1551.

siam eruditissimo simul et rerum humanarum peritissimo, ita facile confiteor permulta esse in Vtopiensium republica, quae in nostris ciuitatibus optarim uerius quam sperarim.

SECVNDI LIBRI FINIS.

SERMONIS POMERIDIANI RAPHAELIS HY THLODAEI, DE LEGIBVS ET INSTITV- TIS VTOPIENSIS INSVLAE PAVCIS ADHVC COGNITAE, PER CLA- RISSIMVM ET ERVDITISSI MVM VIRVM D. THOMAM MORVM CIVEM ET VI CECOMITEM LON DINENSEM, FINIS.
APPENDIX

FROM THE ORIGINAL
JEROME BUSLEYDEN

TO THOMAS MORE

GREETING.

IT was not enough, my accomplished friend More, that you formerly spent all your care, labour and study upon the interests and advantage of individuals; but you must bestow them (such is your kindness and generosity) on the community at large. You thought that this benefit of yours, whatever it might be, deserved the greater indulgence, courted the greater favour, and aimed at the higher renown, on this very account, that it was likely to profit the more; the more widely it was diffused and the more there were to share it. To confer this benefit has always been your object on other occasions, and of late you have,

HIERONYMVS

BVSLIDIVS THOMAE

MORO S.D.

NON SAT FVIT ORNATISSIME More, olim omnem curam, operam, studium intulisse in rem et commodum singulorum, nisi uel ea (quae tua pietas et liberalitas est) conterres in uniuersum, ratus hoc tuum qualecumque foret beneficium eo maiorem hinc mereri a fauorem, uenari gratiam, aucupari gloriam, quanto illud et latius propagatum, et in plures distributum, pluribus esset pro-futurum. Quod et si alias semper praestare contenderis, tamen id

1 This letter, which was not translated by Robynson, came before the
Utopia, in the edition of 1516, but in that of 1518 was placed after it, as here. For Busleyden see above, p. xcv.
with singular good fortune, been most successful in attaining it: I mean, in that ‘afternoon’s talk,’ which you have reduced to writing and published, about the right and good constitution, that all must long for, of the Utopian commonwealth.

In your happy description of that fair institution, we nowhere miss either the highest learning or consummate knowledge of the world. Both those qualities are blended together in the work, meeting on such equal terms that neither yields to the other, but both contend on an equality for the palm. The truth is, you are the able possessor of such varied learning, and on the other hand of so wide and exact a knowledge of the world, that, whatever you write, you assert from full experience, and, whatever assertion you have decided to make, you write most learnedly. A felicity this as rare as it is admirable! What makes it rarer is that it withholds itself from the many, and only imparts itself to the few;—to such above all as have the candour to wish, the knowledge to understand, the credit which will qualify, and the influence which will enable them to consult the common interest as dutifully, justly, and providently as you now plainly do. For, deeming yourself born not for yourself alone, but for the whole

maxime es nuper mira felicitate adsecutus, scilicet pomeridiano illo sermone abs te in literas relato, quem de recte et bene constituta, ab omnibus expectenda, Vtopiensium republica aedidisti.

In cuius pulcherrimi instituti felici descriptione nihil est in quo uel summa eruditio, uel absoluta rerum humanarum peritia desyderari possit; quando ea quidem ambo in illo tanta paritate et aequabili congressu concurrunt, ut, neutro alteri herbam porrigente 1, utrumque aequo marte de gloria contendat. Tam siquidem multifaria polles doctrina, rursum tam multa eaque certa rerum peritia, ut prorsus expertus affirmes quicquid scripseris, doctissime scribas quicquid 163b affirmandum destinaueris. Mira proiecto raraque felicitas, ac plane eo rarior, quo magis ipsa sese inuidens plurimis non praebet nisi raris, maxime iis, qui, sicut candore uelint, ita eruditione sciant, fide queant, autoritate possint, tam pie, recte, prouide in commune consu- lere, sicut tu iam facis probe, qui quod non solum tibi, uerum etiam

world, you have thought fit by this fair service to make the whole world itself beholden to you.

And this result you would not have been able to effect so well and rightly by any other means, as by delineating for rational beings themselves an ideal commonwealth, a pattern and finished model of conduct, than which there has never been seen in the world one more wholesome in its institution, or more perfect, or to be thought more desirable. For it far surpasses and leaves a long way behind the many famous states, that we have heard so much about, of Sparta and Athens and Rome. Had these been inaugurated under the same favourable conditions, with the same institutions, laws, enactments and rules of life to control them as this commonwealth of yours, they would not, we may be sure, have by this time been lying in ruins, levelled with the ground, and now alas! obliterated beyond all hope of renewal. On the contrary, they would have been still unfallen, still fortunate and prosperous, leading a happy existence, mistresses of the world meanwhile, and dividing a widespread empire by land and sea.

Of these commonwealths you compassionated the un-

toti te genitum a orbi existimas, operae precium duxeris hoc tuo pulcherrimo merito uel otum ipsum orbem demereri.

Quod praestare alia ratione neque rectius neque melius potuisses, quam ipsis mortalibus ratione pollentibus eam reipublicae ideam, eam morum formulam absolutissimumque simulacrum praescribere; quo nullo b unquam in orbe uisum sit uel salubrius institutum, uel magis absolutum, uel quod magis expetendum uideatur; utpote multo quidem praestante, atque longo post se interuallo relinquente tot celebratissimas tantopere decantatas Lacedaemoniorum, Athenien- sium, Romanorum republicas. Quae si iisdem essent auspiciis auspicatae, iisdem quibus haec tua reipublica institutis, legibus, decretis, moribus moderatae, profecto hae nondum labefactatae et solo aequatae iam pro dolor citra spem omnem instaurationis extinctae iacerent; sed contra incolumes adhuc, beatae, felices, fortunatissime agerent; interim rerum dominae, suum late imperium terra marique sortitae.

Quarum quidem rerum publicarum tu miserandum miseratus

a gentium, B. 

b sic et A. Leg. nullum.
happy lot. And so you wished to save other states in like manner, which now hold the supreme power, from undergoing a like vicissitude, by your picture of a perfect state; one which directed its chief energies not so much to framing laws as to appointing the most approved magistrates. (And with good reason: for otherwise, without them, even the best laws, if we take Plato's word for it, would all be counted dead.) Magistrates these, above all, after whose likeness, pattern of uprightness, ensample of conduct, and mirror of justice, the whole state and right course of any perfect commonwealth whatever ought to be modelled; wherein should unite, above all things, prudence in the rulers, courage in the soldiers, temperance in the private individuals, and justice in all.

And since the commonwealth you make so famous is manifestly formed, in fairest manner, of these principles, it is no wonder if on this account it comes not only as an object of fear to many, but also of reverence to all nations, and one for all generations to tell of; the more so,

sortem, ne aliae itidem, quae | hodie rerum potitae summum tenent, | parem sustinerent uicem, prospecere voluiisti, scilicet hac tua absolutilissima republica; quae non tam in condendis legibus quam vel probatissimis magistratibus formandis maxime elaborauit. Nec id quidem ab re: quando aliqui sine illis omnes uel optime leges, si Platoni credimus, mortuae censerentur; praesertim ad quorum magistratum simulacrum, probatissis specimen, exemplar morum, iusticiae imaginem, totus status et rectus tenor cuiusuis absolutae reipublicae sit effingendus; in quo in primis concurrent prudentia in optimatibus, fortitudo in militibus, temperantia in singulis, iusticia in omnibus.

Quibus quum tua, quam tantopere celebras, respublica sit tam pulcherrime, ut liqueat, composita, non mirum si hinc ueniat non solum multis timenda, sed et cunctis gentibus ueneranda, simul omnibus saeculis praedicanda; idque eo magis quod in ea, omnis

1 See the De Legibus, Lib. vi. (§ 751, B, C).
2 This is a brief summary of the Fourth Book of the Republic, the object of which is to show that the wisdom of the ideal State will reside in the Guardians or Magistrates, the courage in the Soldiers or Auxiliaries, and the political temperance in the general body of citizens. Justice, like a common bond, keeps all classes in their place. See the Introduction, above, p. llii.
that in it all competition for ownership is taken away, and no one has any private property at all. For the rest, all men have all things in common, with a view to the commonwealth itself; so that every matter, every action, however unimportant, whether public or private, instead of being directed to the greed of many or the caprice of a few, has sole reference to the upholding of one uniform justice, equality and communion. When that is made the entire object of every action, there must needs be a clear-ance of all that serves as matter and fuel and feeder of intrigue, of luxury, envy, and wrong; to which mankind are hurried on, even at times against their will, either by the possession of private property, or by the burning thirst of gain, and that most pitiable of all things, ambition, to their own great and immeasurable loss. For it is from these things that there often suddenly arise divisions of feeling, taking up of arms, and wars worse than civil; whereby not only is the flourishing state of wealthy republics utterly overthrown, but the renown they won in other days, the triumphs celebrated, the splendid trophies, the rich spoils so often won from conquered enemies, are all utterly effaced.

If on these matters the words I write should chance to be less convincing than I desire, there will at any rate

proprietas contentione sublata, nulli sit quippiam proprii. Caeterum in rem ipsam communem communia sunt omnibus omnia; adeo ut omnis res, quaeuis actio, seu publica seu priuata, non ad multorum cupiditatem, non ad paucorum libidinem, spectet; sed ad unam iusticiam, aequabilitatem, communionem sustinendam, quantulacunque sit, tota referatur. Quo ulla integre relata, omnis materies, fax, et fomes ambitus, luxus, inuidentiae, injuriae, facessat necesse est; in quae nonnunquam aut priuata rerum possessio, aut ardens habendi sitis, omniumque miseri\|ma rerum ambitio, mortales uel reluctantes protrudit, maximo suo idque incomparabili malo; quando hinc saepe-numero dissensiones animorum, motus armorum, et bella plus quam ciuilia derepente orientur, quibus non solum florentissimus status beatissimarum rerumpublicarum funditus pessundatur, uerum illarum olim parta gloria, acti triumphi, clar\|a trophaea, totiesque opima spolia deuictis hostibus relata, penitus obliterantur.

Quod si in his haec nostra pagina minorem forte ac uelim fidem
be ready at hand the most sufficient witnesses for me to refer you to: I mean, the many great cities formerly laid waste, the states destroyed, the republics overthrown, the villages burnt and consumed. As scarce any relics or traces of their great calamity are to be seen at this day, so neither are their names preserved by any history, however ancient it be, and however far back its records extend.

These memorable disasters, devastations, overthrows, and other calamities of war our states, whatever they be, will easily succeed in escaping, if they only adapt themselves exactly to the one pattern of the Utopian commonwealth, and do not deviate a hair's-breadth from it. By so acting alone, they will at length most fully recognize by the result how greatly they have profited by this service you have rendered them; especially since by its acquisition they have learnt to preserve their own state in safety, unharmed, and victorious. It follows that their debt to you, their present deliverer, will be no less than is the just due of those, who have saved—I do not say some one member of a state, but the whole state itself.

fecerit, certe in promptu aderunt testes ad quos te relegem locupletissimi, uidelicet, tot et tantae olim uastatae urbes, dirutae ciuitates, prostratae respublicae, incensi et consumpti uici; quorum uti hodie uix uallae tantae calamitatis reliquiae aut uestigia uisuntur, ita nec nomina illorum uilla quantumuis uetus et longe deducta historia sat probe tenet.

Quas quidem insignes clades, uastationes, euersiones, caeterasque belli calamitates, nostrae si quae sint respublicae facile euaserint, modo ad unam Vtopiensium respublicae normam sese adamussim componentes ab ea ne transuersum quidem, ut aiunt, unguem rece- dant. Quod sic demum praestantes tandem re ipsa cumulatissime agnoscent, quantum hoc tuum in se collatum beneficium proferit; maxime quo accedente didicerint suum rempublicam saluam, incom- mem, triumphantem seruare; proinde tantum tibi suo praesentissimo seruatori debiturae, quantum is haud inuia promeretur, qui non tantum aliquem e respublica ciuem, sed uel ipsam totam rempublicam seruarit.

a om. B.  b d dicerint, A; id dicerint, B.

1 This is a reiteration of what More had said about the Carthaginians and others, above, p. 49.
to Thomas More.

Meanwhile farewell. Go on and prosper, ever devising, carrying out and perfecting something, the bestowal of which on your country may give it long continuance and yourself immortality. Farewell, learned and courteous More, glory of your island, and ornament of this world of ours.

From my house at Mechlin¹, 1516.

Interea uale, ac feliciter perge nonnihil usque meditari, agere, elaborare, quod in rempublicam collatum illi perpetuitatem, tibi immortallatem addat. Vale, doctissime et idem humanissime More, tuae Britanniae ac nostri huius orbis decus.

Ex aedibus nostris Mechliniae. M.D.XVI.

¹ The splendour of Busleyden’s house at Mechlin seems to have impressed More. See his epigrams upon it, and on the collections of coins, and the like, to be found there (Epigrammata, ed. 1638, pp. 131, 133). In his letter to Erasmus, written shortly after his return from Flanders, he dwells on the same subject.
Gerartie Noviomage of Utopia.

Doth pleasure please? then place the here, and well the rest,
Most pleasaunt pleasures thou shalte finde here.
Doeth profit ease? then here arriue, this yle is best.
For passinge profettes do here appeare.

GERARDVS NOVIOMAGVS
DE VTOPIA.

Dulcia lector amas? sunt hic dulcissima quaeque.
Vtile si quaeris, nil legis utilius.

Gerhard Geldenhaur, commonly called, from the place of his birth, Gerardus Noviomagus, was a native of Nimeguen in Guelderland. His father bore the same name. He studied at Deventer, and afterwards at Louvain, where he made such proficiency in philosophy that he became a teacher of that subject in the University. After passing some time at Antwerp, probably a few years before More’s visit, he was called to the service of Charles of Austria as Court Chaplain. He then became secretary to Philip of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht (Horawitz, Erasmus von Rotterdam und Martinus Lipsius, 1882, p. 112). After a while he was sent, in 1526, to visit the schools of Wittenberg. What he there saw, strengthening, no doubt, some previous inclination that way, made him embrace the reformed faith. He removed to Worms, where, like Luther, he laid aside the cowl, and married. After teaching at Augsburg and Marburg, he died, Jan. 10, 1542, at the age of sixty. His change of religion lost him the friendship of Erasmus, who wrote bitterly of him in his letter In Pseudevangelicos. See Melchior Adam, Vitae Germ. Theologorum, 1653, p. 92; Bayle, Dict. ii. p. 1394; and the Grosses vollständiges Lexikon, 1735, s.v. I have been the more particular about this person, because of an opinion (see Dr. Lumby’s Utopia, 2nd ed. p. 237 bis) that this Gerardus was no other than the Gerardus Listrius, who wrote the commentary on Erasmus’s Moriae Encomium. As if to preclude the possibility of such a notion, the lives of the two are found side by side in Gesner’s Bibliotheca, 1545, leaf 274.
Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldest thou gripe both
gaine and pleasure?
This yle is fraught with both bounteously.
To still thy gredie intent, reape here incomparable
treasure
Bothe minde and tongue to garnishe richelie.
The hid welles and fountaines both of vice and vertue
Thou hast them here subiect vnto thine eye.
Be thankful now, and thankes where thankes be due
Geue to Thomas More Londons immortall glorye.

Siue utrunque uoles, utroque haec insula abundat,
Quo linguam ornes\(^a\), quo doceas animum.
Hic fontes aperit recti prauique disertus
Morus, Londini gloria prima sui.

\(^a\) exornes, B., \textit{rect.}
Cornelius Grapheus 1 to the Reader.

Vilt thou knowe what wonders straunge be in the lande 2 that late was founde? 
Wilte thou learne thy life to leade, by diuers wayes that godly be? 
Wilt thou of vertue and of vice vnderstande the very grounde? 
Wilt thou see this wretched world, how ful it is of vanitie? 
Then read, and marke, and beare in mind, for thy behoufe, as thou maie best 
All thinges that in this present worke, that worthie clerke sir Thomas More, 
With witte diuine ful learnedly, vnto the worlde hath plaine exprest, 
In whom London well glory maye, for wisedome and for godly lore.

CORNELIVS GRAPHEVS AD LECTOREM.

Vis noua monstra, nouo dudum nunc orbe reperto? 
Viuendi uaria uis ratione modos? 
Vis qui uirtutum fontes, uis unde malorum Principia? et quantum rebus inane latet? 
Haec lege, quae uario Morus dedit ille colore, Morus Londinæ nobilitatis honos.

BASILEAE APVD IOANNEM FROBE 
NIVM MENSE MARTIO 3. 
AN. M. D. XVIII.

1 A full account of Cornelius Grapheus (Schreiber) of Alst is given in the Appendix to vol. I. of Ullmann’s Reformers before the Reformation, tr. by Menzies, 1855, pp. 397–416. Grapheus died Dec. 19, 1558, having survived his friend Erasmus twenty-two years. In 1521 he came under the grasp of a severe penal law enacted against heresy in the Netherlands by Charles V, and after being imprisoned in Brussels for a considerable time, he recanted and was released, March 25, 1522. Erasmus always retained a kindly feeling for him, and left him a legacy in his will. 
2 The immediate reference is to Utopia; but probably in the Latin, nouo orbe, there is a suggestion of the wider range of discoveries in the New World. 
3 For the date, see the Introd. p. lxx.
GLOSSARY

[The authorities chiefly relied on have been The New English Dictionary, now in progress; Stratmann's Middle-English Dictionary, ed. by Bradley; and Professor Skeat's Etymological Dictionary.]

A.
A (prep.), a worn form of 'on,' as in 'set a worke.' Comp. 'on liue' (p. 255) = alive.

A brode, abroad.
A goddes name, in God's name.
A pece, each. Comp. St. John ii. 6: 'two or three firkins apiece.'
Addict, devoted or inclined to.
Aduention (at all), at all hazards, at any rate.
Aduisement, thought, consideration. Fr. avis. For the d inserted, comp. 'advantage.'
Adoutrye, adultery. Old Fr. avoutrie, Lat. adulterium.
Aduoyded, avoided. For the inserted d see 'aduisement.'
Aferd, afraid. So used in the Homilies of 1563.
Affection. See p. 237 n.
Aglettes, aglets. Fr. aiguillettes, tags of laces, pendants.
Allebencheis, ale-benches, seats in front of public-houses.
Alliaunce, alliance, used collectively (p. 257) for connexions.
Allyaunte to, akin to.

Alon, alone.
A lowe, to, to allow, Approve. Old Fr. alouer, Lat. allaudare.
Ambre, amber. If 'or' be not a misprint for 'of' (p. 133), the word must be used for 'oil of amber.'
Amplyfycatyons, extensions or enlargements (logical term, p. 185).
An, and.
Ancientest, most ancient, oldest. Fr. ancien, Lat. antianum. For the added t, comp. 'peasant,' 'tyrant.'
Angerlye, angrily. So used in Shaksp., Two Gentlemen of Verona, i. 2. 62.
Appayred, impaired. So used in the Paston Letters.
Appoynte, to, to arrange, prepare. Old Fr. apointer, Lat. appunctare.
Archedoltes, arch dolts, great dullards.
Arrive, to, to come.
Assault, to, to assail (with reasoning). 'To assault him with a
newer declaration’ is quoted from Clarendon in the *New Engl. Dict.*

**Assone, as soon.**

**Auale, to, to lower, or debase (pp. 240, 274)** Old Fr. *avaler* ‘to descend,’ now ‘to swallow.’ Lat. *ad vallem* (of rivers flowing down to the valley).

**Auaunee, to, to advance, move forward. For the *d*, comp. ‘advisement.’**

**Auauncement, furtherance, promotion.** Comp. the title of Bacon’s treatise: *The Advancement of Learning.*

**Auaylable, serviceable, efficacious.**

**Auctor, author, adviser.**

**Auenture, adventure, chance.** ‘At al auentures’ (p. 274), all by chance.

**Auncetours, ancestors.** Old Fr. *ancestres, Lat. antecessores*; with the Latin termination retained.

**Auncient.** See p. 271 *n.*

**Auncyetnes, ancientness, antiquity; also priority.** In the *New Engl. Dict.* Coke *On Littleton* is quoted: ‘And then all other Bishops of both Provinces after their ancientnesse.’

**Aunters, in, in adventure (comp. ‘peradventure’), in case that.** Stratmann quotes Robert of Gloucester’s *Chronicle, ed. 1810,* p. 65: ‘to do his lif an aunte’ (in adventure).

**A veyleable, available.** See Auaylable.

**Ayere, air.** So spelt by Hawes, 1509.

**B.**

**Bandes, bonds.**

**Basse, low, base.** Fr. *bas, basse.*

**Battayle, used sometimes for the army in battle array, as in 1 Sam. xvii. 21.**

**Be, by; still common as a provincialism.**

**Behated, held in hatred.** Comp. ‘beloved.’

**Behoufe, behoof, advantage.**

**Bende, band (of men), akin to *bind.***

**Bestowe, to, to place, dispose of.** So used in St. Luke xii. 17.

**Bocher, butcher.** Fr. *boucher,* properly one who kills *buck* goats.

**Bolles, bowls.**

**Borderours, borderers, those living on the confines of a country.**

**Botys, boats.**

**Brabling, wrangling: the ‘pribbles and prables’ of Sir Hugh Evans.**

**Bredeth, breadth.**

**Bronte, brunt.**

**Bryde, Bryed, to, to breed.**

**Busily, eagerly, importantly.** The *New Engl. Dict.* quotes the *Towneley Myst.* 26: ‘Pray for me besele.’

**By and by, immediately.** So in St. Luke xxii. 9.

**Bycause that, in order that.** Still often so used by uneducated people. The *New Engl. Dict.* quotes Burton, *Anat. of Melancholy,* ed. 1651, i. p. 525: ‘Anointing the doors and hinges with oyl, because they should not creak.’

**By like, belike (‘by what is like’), probably.**

**Bye, to, to buy.**

**Bygnes, bigness, magnitude.**

**C.**

**Cannellis, channels, canals.**

**Carfully, in a way full of care, anxiously.**
Carke, to, to be anxious. Stratmann quotes 'carke and care' from The Squyr of Lowe Degre.

cauillation, cavil, used to render columnia (p. 239). Fr. cavillation, a quibble.

cautell, caution, proviso. Lat. cautela.

chaffayre, to, to chaffer, buy and sell: a contraction of cheapfare.

Charges, expense: the plural form used as a singular.

Cheualrye, chivalry, used co-extensively with res militaris.

Cheuse, to, to choose. More uses both 'chese' and 'chuse' in his English Works.

Children. See p. 235 n.

Circumstaunce, surroundings; used (p. 235) for all that wraps up and obscures the truth.

Circumuertions, a word formed like 'perversions,' to express distortions of the truth (p. 235).

Cleped, called. 'Clepe' is used by Shakspere.

Cleyme, to, to claim. 'Cleimed theim quit of ther servise' is quoted by Stratmann from Manning's Hist. of England.

Coliars, colliers.

Coloure, colour, as in 'colour of reason'; appearance or pretence.

Commen, to, to come.

Commen, to, to commune.

Commodytye, convenience.

Conceyt, opinion.

Conduotyon, leading.

Condytions, terms.

Conningly, cunningly, skilfully. Comp. the 'cunning work' of Exod. xxxi. 4.

Conueiaunce, conveyance, cunning management. The New Engl. Dict. quotes from Sir Thomas Elyot: 'If they be taken with any crafty conueiaunce.'

Conuersation, way of living, as in 2 Pet. iii. 11.

Coorpe, corpse. Lat. corpus. The form corp is quoted from Middleton.

Corragiously, with a good heart. See Courage.

Couch, to, to lie. Fr. se coucher.

Couett, to, to covet.

Coueyne, couyne, covin, fraudulent action. Late Lat. convenium. The word occurs in Fabyan's Chronicle.

Couraghe, courage, in its original sense of 'heart.' Low Lat. coraticum. So used in Chaucer's Prologue.

Cowardyshe, cowardly.

Coytes, quoits.

Cracke, to, to talk big, or vaunt. 'And Ethiops of their sweet complexion crack.'—Love's Labour's Lost, iv. 3.

Crafte, skill, as in 'handicraft.' 'Onely the crafte' (p. 253) = the only means.

Credence, credit. The New Engl. Dict. quotes from Strype: 'meat and drink... had and obtained upon their credence.'

Cunnynge, (sub.) knowledge; (adj.) knowing, skilful.

Cure, care: still used in 'cure of souls.'

Customablye, as a matter of custom, usually.

Cyuyle, civil.

D.

Dasell, to, to dazzle, frequentative of to daze, or dase, to stupefy.

Daunger, danger. Originally in the sense of dominion or power.
Fr. danger; late Lat. dominaria. See the note on p. 182.
Delyte, delight. The old spelling is nearer the Lat. delectare.
Deuydyme, dividing.
Deuyne, divine (adj.).
Deuyse, device.
Dew, due.
Deyntye, dainty, exquisite.
Disbourdened, unburdened.
Discriue, to, to describe. Common in the form 'descrive.'
Diserdes, clowns, fools. A 'disar,' according to Halliwell, was an actor in a play, especially the clown; and hence a fool in general.
Dishonestie, dishonour, disgrace.
Displeasaunt, displeasing, offensive.
Dissidents (from), different from, at variance with.
Dissoloe, to, to solve, settle (a doubt, or question).
Dorme, dumb. The form 'dom' is found in Rolle's Pricke of Conscience.
Dorres, drones. A 'dor' was a drone beetle, as in Ben Jonson's Cynthia's Revels, iii. 3 (quoted by Wright): 'What should I care what every dor doth buzz | In credulous ears?'
Dote, to, to be foolish. Comp. 'dotage.'
Dreuell, a drudge, bond-servant (Stratmann). According to Skeat, from 'drab,' a slut. Used as a word of contempt (p. 182) to translate nebulo.

Drydynge, dreading.
Dytt, song or poem. Old Fr. dité or dicté, Lat. dictatum. Comp. Ps. xiv. 1: 'My heart is inditing a good matter.'

Dyot, song or poem.
E.
Easere, easier.
The New Eng. Dict. quotes Bullinger's Decades (1592), 111: 'Touching the proclamation or first edition of the ten Commandments.'
Eftsones, soon, presently; lit. 'soon after,' 'eft' being 'afterwards' in Gower and other early writers.
Egal, equal. Fr. égal. Chaucer uses 'egall.'
Elles, else.
Eloquence, not only 'eloquent language' (in the concrete), but the art of using such language.
Embrayding, upbraiding, bringing as a reproach against. According to Skeat, the simple verb, besides its meaning of 'to weave,' also signified to fasten on, or attack.
Emonge, among. Used in this form by Sir Thomas Malory.
Endaunger, to, to subject to control, bring under one's power or influence. See Daunger.
Endeauoure, to, used transitively. For the reflexive use, see p. 249 n.
Endeauoir, endeavour. Fr. en devoir, as in 'se mettre en devoir de faire quelque chose.'
Enfamed. See Infamed.
Ensure, to, to assure.
Enterteynement, occupation, way of spending (time). Shaksp., Love's Labour's Lost, v. 1. 126:
GLOSSARY.

'as concerning some entertainment of time.'

Equynootyall, equinoctial. 'The line equynootyall,' the equator.

Eschue, eschew. 1 Pet. iii. 11: 'Let him eschew evil and do good.' Fr. essuyer, Lat. exsuc-care.

Espiall, a spy.

Euel, evil, ill.

Existymatyon, estimation.

Exploited, managed, worked (esp. of land). Fr. exploiter, Lat. *explicitare (explicare); lit. to develop.

Expresslye, openly, aloud.

False, wrong (p. 214), as in a 'false note.'

Falshed, falsehood. The Anglo-Saxon had denoted state or quality.

Fanglenes, used in the phrase 'newe fanglenes' (p. 57). We still use 'newfangled.' The root of 'fangle' is the same as of 'fang,' so that the word means 'readiness to catch at (news).'

Fantasy, to, to fancy, imagine. The form 'phantasie' is used by Foxe.

Fardell, a package. Fr. fardeau, said to be of Arabic origin.

Farfurth, far forth; used in the phrase 'in so far forth as,' in so far as.

Fassyon, fashion. Fr. fa$on, Lat. factionem.

Fauour, look, countenance, as in 'well-favoured.' So used by Shakspere.

Fawt, fault.

Fealnige (p. 224), a misprint in the original for 'fealinge.'

Feare, to, to frighten, deter. Hence 'afearéd,' afraid.

Feat, anything done. Fr. fait, Lat. factum. 'Feat of armes' (p. 243), used to translate disciplina militaris, 'military training.'

Ferefull, formidable. See to Feare.

Ferfurth. See Farfurth.

Fernes, farms. Fr. fermes, lit. 'agreements' (Lat. firma).

Filde, field.

Flowringe, flowering, in its prime.

Flowtynge, flowing, mocking. Acc. to Skeat, the root is the same as that of 'to flute,' Du. fluyten. The word occurs (p. 10) in the phrase 'lowtynge and flowtynge,' used to render the Lat. capellio uellicantes, an unusual expression, apparently meant for 'plucking by the hair.'

Fond, foolish, as in 'When men were fond, I smiled.'—Measure for Measure, ii. 2.

Forby. See p. 128 n.

Forestalle, to, to buy up beforehand; joined with 'ingrossing' (p. 57). See Jacob's Law Dictionary for the nature of the offence implied in each term.

Forsothe, forsooth, in truth.

Fownde, found.

Foynes, foins, thrusts with the point of a sword or other weapon.

Fraight, freighted.

Fraye, to, to frighten, deter. Hence 'afraid.'

Frende, friend.

Furth with, forthwith.

Fyerslye, fiercely.

Fyne, fine; used (p. 42) of speech, refined, polished.

Fynesse, fineness.
GLOSSARY.

G.

Gage, pledge. Fr. gage.

Gallawnte, fine, gay. Fr. galant, originally partic. of galer, to rejoice.

Gallous, gibbet. 'Gallous wretche,' Lat. fœcifer, one who deserves hanging.

Gallymalfreye, used (p. 99) to express an incongruous medley. For its use to denote a dish of various meats mixed together, Halliwell quotes Cotgrave s. v. Hachis, and Lilly's Six Court Comedies, 1632, sig. T. The French Schoolmaster, 1636, gives 'a gallimaufrey, une fricassee!'

Garnishing, furnishing.

Gawl, gall. As used at p. 75, the word has no reference to gall in the sense of bile, but is the Old Fr. galle, Lat. callus, in the sense of a sore place.

Geanyng, gaining.

Geaste wyse, guestwise, as a guest, or visitor.

Geere, gear, business in hand. At p. 294 for 'stuff' or 'things.'

Geme, gem.

Gently men, gentlemen.

Gieste, to, to jest. The g recalls the Lat. gesta.

Giues, gyves.

Gorgious, gorgeous, with the notion of a certain pompousness. Lit. 'swelling out the throat' (Fr. gorge).

Gramercye, originally grand merci, 'many thanks.' Then used for the obtaining anything for mere thanks, gratuitously. Shakspere uses it in the former sense.

Greiffe, grief, in the sense of trouble; lit. 'burden' (Lat. gravis).

Greuously, grievously, with pain or reluctance.

Gripe, to, to grip, or seize.

Grislye, grisly, dreadful.

Grosse, strictly 'big' (Fr. gros), then plain, probable.

Ground, to (used intransitively, p. 282), to rest as on a basis.

Groundes, lands.

Guyse, guise.

Gyaunte, giant.

Gyell, Gyle, guile.

Gyues. See Giues.

H.

Hable, able. Fr. habile, Lat. habilis.

Handsome, handy, manageable.

Skeat cites the Dutch handzaam, 'tractable.'

Hapt, wrapt. 'Happing' is used in the York Mysteries for wrapping.

Harborough, harbour, shelter.

Fr. auberge, anciently herberge.

The word is used by Chaucer.

Hard, heard.

Harmelesse, unharmed.

Haylsede. See p. 29 n.

Heard man, herdsman.

Heare, hair; spelt heer in the Prompt. Parvulorum.

Hether, hither.

Heuely, heavily.

Heuynes, heaviness.

Hole, whole.

Hollye, holy.

Holsom, wholesome, salutary.

Holy, Holye, wholly.

Honeste, honourable. Lat. honestus.

Howke, hook. Used (p. 53) in the phrase 'by howke or crooke,' 'by hook or by crook,' by one means or another.
GLOSSARY.

Hurley-Burley, tumult. So used by Shaksp., *Macbeth*, i. 1. Shakspere also uses the simple word *hurly* in the same sense (Comp. Fr. *hurlier*, to howl): 'Amid this hurly.'—*Taming of the Shrew*, iv. 1. The 'burly' is merely a reduplication.

Hydeous, hideous, frightful. Fr. *hideux*, from Lat. *hispidosus*, shaggy. Hence the word has passed through stages of meaning similar to 'horrid.'

Hyere, to, to hire.

I.

Iauell, a vagabond, worthless person. Halliwell quotes from Lansdowne MSS., no. 1033 (in an account of Sir Thomas More's execution): 'shall I count him a javel, who is to doe me so great a benefit?' *Avoines javelles* are oats spoilt by the rain, from lying on the ground.

Jeopardye, jeopardy. Old Fr. *jeu parti*, a game in which the hazard was equally divided.

Jette, to, to strut. Lat. *iactare* (comp. 'jetty'). Wright quotes from Rowlands, *Knave of Hearts*, 1613: 'Along the streetes as he doth jetting passe | His outside showes him for an inward asse.'

Ight, eighth.

Imbrayde, to. See Embrayding.

Impery. See p. 112 n.

Incomprehensible (p. 267), not to be confined within boundaries. Compare its use in the Athanasian Creed.

Incontinent, immediately. 'He says he will return incontinent.'—*Othello*, iv. 3.

Indyfferent, impartial. Comp. 'judge indifferent' in *Hen. VIII*, ii. 4.

Inestymable, too great to be measured.

Infamed, made infamous, degraded.

Informatyons, instructions. Comp. the use of Lat. *informator*.

Ingrosse, to. See Forestall.

Institute, trained.

Instructe (past partic., like the preceding).

Intentyons. See p. 185 n.

Interest, concern or share in. Comp. the use of the Lat. *interesse*.

Intreatuance, entreaty.

Intreate, to, to treat of.

Intyerlye, entirely.

Intreataunce, entreaty.

Intreate, to, to treat of.

Inuehing, inveighing. Lat. *invehere* (the *g* being an intrusion).

Inured, trained.

Ionckettes, sweetmeats, originally served upon rushes (Lat. *iuncus*): hence the name.

Iugers, judgers, adjudicators.

Iust, equal.

K.

Kendle, to, to kindle. The old spelling is nearer to *candle*, which is given as the origin of the word.

Kinrede, kindred. The *d* in the modern form is an intrusion. Comp. 'hatred.'

Kipe, to, to keep.

Knowledge, to, to acknowledge. Wright quotes from Gascoigne: 'Mine owne deere nimphes, which knowledge me your queene.'

Kyeles, keels. Skeat compares the Dutch *Kiel*.
GLOSSARY.

L.

Laussasse, lavish.
Laundes. See p. 52 n. Perhaps used there as the Fr. landes, waste lands.
Leage, league.
Lease.
Leaste, lest.
Leese.
Leise, Lese, to, to lose. Comp. Germ. verlernen.
Leffe, life.
Let, to, to hinder.
Letell, little.
Lette, to. See Let.
Lette (sub.), a hindrance.
Lieuetenaunte, lieutenant.
Liqueresse, liquorice; a corrupted form of Pliny’s glycyrrhiza, ‘sweet root.’
Liue (sub.), life.
Line, to, to live.
Lores, teachings, systems. Used (p. 211) with ‘ordinaunces’ to render instituta.
Lothsumnes, loathsomeness, irksomeness.
Lowtynge, bowing (in mockery). See Flowtynge. Stratmann quotes from Robert of Gloucester: ‘his hed louted a doun’; and ‘louting’ for ‘inclination.’
Lubber, lubber, dolt.
Lumpysh, stupid.
Lust, to, to desire.
Lyceased, left free.

M.

Madder, a plant from which a red dye is made.
Make, ‘to make to’ (p. 205), to contribute to.
Manfully, twice used (pp. 46, 247) to translate strennue (strenue), ‘resolutely,’ ‘courageously.’
Mansleers, manslayers, homicides.
Margent, margin. For the t comp. ‘peasant,’ ‘tyrant.’
Marrish, marsh, marsh.
Meane, moderate, ordinary.
Meate, meet.
Meose, a mess, a set (of four) at table (p. 164). Orig. a portion of food. Comp. Fr. mets.
Meruellyng, marveling. Comp. Fr. mervelle.
Mery, merry, cheerful. The word could formerly be applied to the weather, or to clean and cheerful towns, conveying the notion of quieter gladness than now. Hence even ‘Glad homage pay with awful mirth,’ in the New Version of the Hundredth Psalm.
Methe, mead. See p. 124 n.
Mo, Moo, more. ‘Ne mo ne les’ is found in the Ayenbite of Invyt. ‘More’ is sometimes thought to be a comparative of ‘mo’; but, as Professor Skeat shows, wrongly.
Modestie, moderation.
Mone, moon.
Moneth, month.
Mormosett, a marmoset, a monkey. Acc. to Littré, the word is from *marmoretum, a little marble figure, such as the grotesque ones seen on fountains.
Morreyn, murrain.
Mortall, deadly, as in ‘a mortal wound.’
Moughteaten, motheaten.
Moyle. See p. 86 n.
Musynge, meditating.
Myddes, the middle. Comp. ‘mid-ship,’ ‘mid-ocean.’
Myenes, mines.
**GLOSSARY.**

Myke, meek.
Myte, mite.

N.
Namelye (p. 143), by name, specially.
Natiue, innate.
Neeke (to lay in the, set in the). See p. 103 n.
Nemblenes, nimbleness. The e appears in the German nehmen, which is akin to it.
Nex, nighest, nearest.
Nigeshe, niggardly, stingy. The adj. nig is quoted from old writers by Stratmann. Hence 'niggard' (with French termination).
Nother, neither. The spelling with o preserves the true form of the negative.
Noughtenes, naughtiness, as in St. James i. 21: 'all superfluity of naughtiness.'
Nourceis, nurses. Fr. nourrices, Lat. nutrices.
Noyinge, injuring. We retain the compound, 'annoy.' The simple verb to 'noy' is quoted by Hal- liwell from North and Becon.
Noyous, hurtful, injurious. See the preceding.
Noysome, noisome, troublesome.
Nyce, nice, fastidious. Old Fr. nice, Lat. nescius; orig. ignorant, then indolent.
Nye, nigh.
Nyggyshe. See Nigeshe.

O.
Obseruation, respect, Lat. observatio.
Occupy, to, to do business. Ezek. xxvii.9: 'to occupy thy merchandise.' Lit. 'to take hold of,' Lat. occupare.
Oneles, unless.

Opteyne, to, to obtain.
Orels, or else.
Other, either. See Nother.
Ouerseen. See p. 138 n.
Ouerthwarte, cross, contradictory. We retain the compound 'a-thwart,' and the sub. 'thwarts,' cross-pieces.

P.
Parasite, a sycophant. Lit. 'one who dines beside another at his table'; hence a hanger-on.
Parcell, part. Comp. our phrase 'part and parcel of.' The form is a diminutive.
Parloure, a room in a house. Fr. parloir, lit. 'a room to talk in.' Comp. 'boudoir.'
Parsons, persons.
Paseis, paces.
Pass for, to (also to pass alone), to care, to have regard for. 'These silken-coated slaves I pass not.' —2 Hen. VI, iv. 2.
Patient, to (used reflexively, 'to patient oneself'), to compose, calm. Comp. the Fr. patienter.
Peerles, pearls.
Pennyfathers, misers, penurious persons. Wright quotes from Harrington: 'Cosmus has ever been a penny-father.'
Pensifenes, (anxious) thought, solidity. Fr. pensif.
Pensille, pencil, orig. a small brush for painting. Fr. pinceau.
Perfet, perfect.
Performed, completed. The word has nothing to do with form, but is from the same root as Fr. fournir.
Persecute, Persequute, to, to follow up.
Perseuer, to, to persevere.
Phisick (books), medical works.
Phrensie, frenzy, madness. Fr. frénésie.
Pike (a thank), to, to be a pickthank, a flatterer. Wright quotes from Fairfax: 'A flatterer, a pickthank, and a lyer.'
Plat, plot (of ground). 2 Kings ix. 26.
Platte fourme, platform, in its literal sense of 'ground plan.'
Plotte. See Plat.
Pluck away, to, to seize and take away, to remove. Comp. 'pluck up one's courage.'
Plucke backe, to. See the preceding. Used of setting back one who had been promoted.
Policie, device.
Polle, to, to shave (the head), hence to plunder.
Pour, power.
Praye, prey.
Preese, press.
Prescrypt, prescribed.
Presentlye, in one's presence; at the present time.
Pretended, Pretensed, intended, designed.
Preuented, anticipated, forestalled.
Preuy, Privilye, privy, privily.
Pristynate, original, ancient.
Procure, to, to take means for, to manage.
Proffe, proof.
Propriety, property.
Prouoke, to, to challenge, invite.
Prouost, provost, the head of a college, and the like. Lat. praepositus. For the office of provost see The Inmates of Beverley Minster, by Arthur Leach, F.S.A., p. 11.
Pryestes, priests.
Puisaunce, power. Fr. puissance.
Puleyne, poultry. Comp. 'pullet' and Fr. poule. Wright quotes Beaumont and Fletcher's Scornful Lady, v. 2: 'She...knows how pullen should be cramm'd.'
Puppettes, dolls. Fr. poupées.
Pusyaunce. See Puisaunce.
Pylled, plundered. For to pill, sometimes confused with peel, comp. Fr. piller.

Q.
Quayled, quelled. 'Quell' and 'quail' are related to each other as active (or causal) and passive.
Quicke, living.
Quod, quoth, saith. One of More's Dialogues was popularly known as Quod he and Quod I, from the frequent recurrence in it of those two sentences. See Bridgett's Life, p. 283.
Quyte, quit, discharged.
Qweynes, queans, immodest women. Not necessarily in a bad sense by derivation, being the same word as 'queens.'

R.
Rampiere, to, to fortify. The forms 'rample' and 'ramper' are closely akin to Fr. remparer (Lat. re-em-parare). Hence the modern 'rampart.'
Rauin, to, to devour, plunder. Comp. Gen. xlix. 27: 'Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf.'
Rauyne, rapine. See the preceding.
Recule, to, to recoil, give ground. Fr. reculer.
Reherse, to, to repeat, declare. Said to mean originally to drag the 'herse' (harrow) again over the same ground.
Glossary.

Rehersynge, repeating. Used (p. 59) to translate the Lat. *repetunt*.

Reken, to, to reckon.

Renowme, renown. The old spelling is more agreeable to the derivation. Fr. *renom*.

Repriued, reprieved.

Retaynoure, retainer.

Reuerende, used (p. no) as a noun, 'reverence,' if the spelling be correct.

Rewle, rule.

Rides. See p. 219 n.

Rounding, used (p. 74) for the mode of cropping the hair of bondmen, 'rownded a lytle aboue the eeres' (p. 68).


Rubbers, robbers.

Russhe-bucklers. See p. 146 n.

Ryffe, rife.

S.

Sad, serious. Lit. sated; and so heavy, oppressive.

Saffe, safe.

Saintuaries, sanctuaries.

Sauffe. See Saffe. Fr. *sauf*.

Seaseily, scarcely. The *r* is wanting also in the cognate Spanish *escaso*.

Sciences, used (p. 140) in the sense of arts.

Sclaunderer, slanderer. Fr. *esclandre*, a scandal; Lat. *scandalum*. The *l* is an interpolation.

Scoupe, scope. Joined (p. 63) with 'license.' The original idea of 'mark to aim at' passes into that of space (as in 'scope-law,' a distance allowed to one running a race), and so into that of liberty.

Seal, to, to assure by written contract.

Seille, Sely, Seely, silly, simple, innocent. Germ. *selig,' 'blessed'; with which compare the history of the Fr. *benêt* and the Greek *eüthes*.

Seke (to be to), to be wanting in, to be at a loss.

Selfe (in common use not joined to its pronoun, as 'it selfe.' Sometimes used as a noun, as 'the owne selfe').

Sene (to be well), in anything, is to be well prepared, skilful in it. Comp. *Taming of the Shrew*, i. 2: 'A schoolmaster | well seen in music.'

Separrtion, separation.

Sethe, to, to boil.

Seuerall, separate. Lat. *separatus*. For the change of *pa* to *v* comp. *Sèvre* (the river), from *Separis*.

Sewere, sure.

Shamefastnes, a sense of what is becoming (p. 177), used to translate Lat. *pudor*. 'Shamefacedness' is a modern corruption. Trench compares 'rootfast,' 'rockfast,' &c.

Sheathes (p. 179), apparently in the sense of 'outsides,' 'cases.' Comp. Daniel vii. 15, where 'body' is an equivalent for 'sheath.'

Sheffe, sheaf.

Shilter, shelter. The *i* preserves the connexion with 'shield.'

Shrewedlye, cursedly, maliciously, and so roughly. *Hen. VIII*, v. 2: 'Do my lord of Canterbury a shrewd turn, and he is your friend for ever.'

Shyere, shire.
Sickerly, surely. Germ. *sicherlich*.
Sike, to, to seek.
Siriens, Syrians.
Skante, scarcely.
Skape, to, to escape.
Skarsenes, scarcity.
Skaselie. See Seasely.
Skeant. See Skante.
Skyrnyshe, skirmish.
Sleane, slain.
Sloughishnes, sluggishness.
Slowth, sloth, slowness.
Smacke, a taste.
Smugge, neat, trim, used disparagingly, p. 11, in the same collocation as by Davies, *Scourge of Folly* (1611): 'And makes the same to look most smooth and smugge.' Comp. the German *schmuck*.
Soecour, to, to succour.
Sodde, sodden. See to Sethe.
Sodeyne, sudden.
Softely, gently, quietly. Wright quotes from Palsgrave: 'Soft, softe, the chylde is aslepe.'
Solas, solace.
Solempne, solemn, customary.
The form is found in Chaucer.
Sollicitour, suitor.
Som, Some, sum.
Soone, sun.
Sorte (a good), a good number or quantity. 'We were set upon | By a sort of country fellows.'—Ben Jonson, *Tale of a Tub*, ii. 2.
Speces, spices. Lat. *species*.
Spill, to, to spoil, ruin. Halliwell quotes from *MS. Cantab. Ff* ii. 38: 'Allas! sche seyde, now am y spylte.'
States, men of high rank, like Estates. St. Mark vi. 21: 'He-rod made a supper to his chief estates.'

Stiele, to, to steal.
Stomackes, tempers, inclinations, *Hen. V*, iv. 3: 'Which have no stomach to this fight.'
Stonde, to, to stand.
Stonyshe, stony, hard.
Storries, storeys.
Straung, strange.
Streken, stricken.
Stroke (to bear the). See p. 104 n.
Stuffe, matter. *The Tempest*, ii. 1: 'What stuff is this? How say you?'
Sturre, to, to stir.
Stynte, to, to stint.
Subiect, placed under. Lat. *subiectus*.
Subleuation, elevation. Applied (p. xcix) to the latitude of a place measured from the equator.
Suete, suit.
Sueters, suitors.
Surmount, to, to mount up, to swell.
Swing (to bear the), to have the chief influence. Halliwell quotes from Hall: 'Whiche in those quarters bare great swynge.' Comp. also the expression 'to give full swing to'; and the note on 'bearing the stroke,' p. 104.
Sylie. See Seilie.

T.

Thadmynstratyon, the administration. The definite article is often blended thus with nouns beginning with vowels.
The (sometimes), thee.
The (p. 221), they.
Then, than.
There selfes, themselves. See Self.
Throng, crowded.
Througly, thoroughly.
Tiole (p. 282), a misprint for toil.
To, too.
Toolynge, toiling.
Torues, turves, pl. of turf.
Trade, habit or custom. Lit. 'a beaten path,' from 'tread.' Skeat compares 'trade-wind,' a wind that blows habitually in one direction.
Traditions, rules delivered, or handed down.
Traine, contrivance. Hal- liwell quotes from MS. Cantab. Ff. ii. 38: 'Have slayne Syr Roger be some trainye.'
Trauayle, travail, labour.
Trime, to, to trim.
Trippe, trip, a fault.
Troughewyse, troughwise, like a trough.
Tuition, keeping, guardianship.
V. 
Valiaunt, strong. Fr. vaillant.
Vewere, viewer, contemplator.
Vielnes, vileness, worthlessness.
Vmpier, umpire, arbiter.
Vnconuenient, inconvenient, unfitting. Comp. Eph. v. 4: 'Nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not convenient.'
Vndoynge, undoing, destruction.
Vnhonest, dishonourable.
Vnpleasaunt, displeasing, disagreeable.
Vnquieten, to, to disquiet, to disturb.
Vnthyfty (p. 149), a misprint in the original for 'vnthyfty.'
Vntyed, untied, set free.
Vnweldye, unwieldly, awkward, unmanageable. Used of impotent persons, and of armour.
Vplandishe, rustic, countryfied.
Wright quotes from Tales and Quicke Answers: 'an uplandishe man nourysshed in the woodes.'
Vpryght, right. Comp. 'uprighness,' in the sense of 'rectitude.'
Vred, used. We retain the compound 'inured.' 'Ure' is not from the same root as 'use,' but is akin to the French œuvre, Lat. opera, as in manoeuvre.
Vtter, to, to publish. We speak of 'uttering counterfeit coin.'
W. 
Wageyn, waggon, or wain.
Wantonly, unrestrainedly.
Ware, merchandise; then, like 'gear,' of other matters.
Wayde, weighed.
Wayinge, weighing.
Weale publiquye, commonwealth.
Wealthely, well.
Weldynge, wielding.
Well, will.
Well a worthe. See p. 227 n.
Weydes, weeds.
Whether, whither.
Whiles, at times.
Whomewyth, with whom. Comp. Lat. quibuscum.
Wieles, wiles.
Wipe beside, to. See p. 245 n.
Woll, wool.
Wonders, used adverbially, as in 'wonders gladde.'
Wonte, accustomed. Originally past ptcp. of won 'to dwell' (Germ. wohnen), from which Chaucer uses woning.
Wordle, a variety, occurring several times (as at pp. 184, 306) for world. Stratmann gives the form 'wordle' from William de Shoreham, circ. 1315, and from various other early writers.
GLOSSARY.

Wower, wooer.
Wrie, to, to twist, pervert. Comp. 'awry.'
Wrythen, twisted.
Wysefooles, an oxymoron, like morosophi, for persons wise in their own conceits.
Wyttelye, wisely.

Y.
Ydill, idle.
Yelde, to, to yield.
Yeopardye. See Ieopardye.
Yle, isle. The s is an intrusion
Ynowe, enough. Germ. genug.
Yooke, yoke.
INDEX

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