



Pool

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John

John Campbell
has Pool



THE
COMMON-
WEALTH

OF
UTOPIA:

Containing a Learned and
pleasant Discourse of the best
state of a Publike Weale, as it
is found in the Government
of the new Ile called
Vtòpia.

WRITTEN

By the right Honourable,

SIR THOMAS MOORE,

Lord Chancellour of
England.

LONDON,

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TO THE HON^{ble}.
descended Gentleman,

CRESACRE MOORE,
of *More-place* in North-
Mimes, in the County of
Hertford, Esquire ;

Next in Bloud to Sir THOMAS
MOORE, L. Chancellor of Eng-
land, and Heire to the ancient
Family of the CRESACRES, some-
time Lord of the Mannor of
Bamborough, in the County
of *Torke*, in the time
of Edward the
first.

S I R,



Have found you so
Noble in the first De-
dication, that I should
much derogate from
your true Worth, and wrong my
selfe to make choise of a new Pa-

A
tron

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

tron for the second (exactly done with applause) wherein though I presume, yet persume, t'will bee no sinne to multiply my obligation. Your name, and nature, claimes, and deserves it, 'tis your due and my duty, and were I able to expresse more MORE should have it, for I must alwayes acknowledge your goodnesse in whatsoever quality fortune shall bestow me. SIR, I know you are wise. In a word I am, really what I am.

Your worships ever to
be commanded.

Ber. *Alsop.*



THE
FIRST BOOKE

of the Communication of
RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY,
concerning the best State
of a COMMON-
WEALTH.



HE most victori-
ous King of *Eng-
land*, HENRY the
eight of that name,
in all royall ver-
tues, a Prince most peerelesse, had
of late in Controversie with
CHARLES, the right high and
mighty King of *Castile*, weigh-
tie matters, and of great impor-
tance. For the debatement and
finall determination whereof, the
B Kings

Cuthbert
Tunstall.

Kings Maiestie sent me Ambas-
sador into *Flanders*, ioyned in
Commission with CUTHBERT
TUNSTALL, a man doubtlesse
out of comparison, and whom the
Kings Maiestie of late, to the
great reioycing of all men, did
preferre to the Office of Master of
the Rolles.

But of this mans praises I will
say nothing, not because I doe
feare that small credence shall be
given to the testimony that com-
meth out of a friends mouth: but
because his vertue and learning
be greater, and of more excellen-
cie, then that I am able to praise
them: and also in all places so
famous and so perfectly well
knowne, that they need not, nor
ought not of me to be praised,
unlesse I would seem to shew and
set forth the brightnesse of the
Sunne with a Candle, as the Pro-
verb saith. There met us at *Brn-*
ges (for thus it was before agre-
ed) they whom their Prince had
for

for that matter appointed Commissioners : excellent men all. The chiefe and head of them was the Margrave (as they call him) of *Bruges*, a right honourable man : but the wisest and the best spoken of them was **GEORGE TEMSISE**, Provost of *Casselles*, a man, not only by learning, but also by nature of singuler eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned : but in reasoning and debating of matters, what by his naturall wit, and what by daily exercise, surely he had few fellowes. After that we had once or twise met, and vpon certaine points or articles could not fully and throughly agree, they for a certaine space tooke their leaue of vs, and departed to *Bruxells*, there to know their Princes pleasure. I in the meane time (for so my businelle lay) went straight thence to *Antwerpe*. While I was there abiding, oftentimes among other, but which

Peter
Giles.

to me was more welcome then any other, did visit me one PETER GILES, a Citizen of *Antwerpe*, a man there in his Countrey of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions; worthy truly of the highest. For it is hard to say, whether the young man be in learning, or in honesty more excellent: For he is both of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and also singularly well learned, and towards all sorts of people exceeding gentle: But towards his friends so kind-hearted, so loving, so faithfull, so trusty, and of so earnest affection, that it were very hard in any place to find a man, that with him in all points of friendship may be compared. No man can be more lowly or courteous; no man useth lesse simulation, or dissimulation, in no man is more prudent simplicity. Besides this, he is in his talke and communication so merry and pleasant, yea, and that with-

without harme, that through his gentle entertainment, and his sweete and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated and diminished the fervent desire that I had to see my native Country, my wife and my children, whom then I did much long and covet to see: because that at that time I had beene more then foure moneths from them. Vpon a certaine day when I had heard the Divine Service in our Ladies Church, which is the fairest, the most gorgeous and curious Church of building in all the City, and also most frequented of people, and the Service being done, was ready to goe home to my lodging, I chanced to espy this foresaid PETER talking with a Captaine, stranger, a man well stricken in age, with a black Sunne-burned face, a long beard, and a cloake cast homely about his shoulders, whom by his favour and apparell forthwith I

I judged to be a Marriner. But the said PETER seeing me, came unto me and saluted me. And as I was about to answer him : see you this man, saith he (and therewith he pointed to the man, that I saw him talking with before) I was minded (quoth he) to bring him straight home to you. He should haue beene very welcome to me, said I, for your sake. Nay (quoth he) for his owne sake, if you knew him : for there is no man this day living, that can tell you of so many strange and vnknowne peoples, and Countries, as this man can. And I know well that you be very desirous to heare of such newes. Then I conjectured not farre amisse (quoth I) for even at the first sight , I judged him to be a Marriner. Nay (quoth he) there ye were greatly deceived : he hath sayled indeed, not as the Mariner *Palmire*, but as the expert & prudent Prince *VLYSSES* : Yea, rather

as the ancient and Sage Philosopher PLATO. For this same *Raphael Hythloday* (for this is his name) he is very well learned in the Latine tongue: but profound and excellent in the Greeke language. Wherein he ever bestowed more study then in the Latine, because he had given himselfe wholly to the study of Philosophy. Whereof he knew that there is nothing certaine in Latine, that is to any purpose, saving a few of *Senecaes*, and *Ciceroes* doings. His patrimonie that he was borne unto, he left to his brethren (for he is a *Portugall* borne) and for the desire he had to see, and know the farre Countries of the world, he joyned himselfe in company with *Americke Vespute*; and in the three last voyages of those foure that be now in print, and abroad in every mans hands, he continued still in his company, saving that in the last voyage he came not home

*Raphael
Hythloday.*

again with him. For he made such meanes and shift, what by intreatance, and what by importune suite, that he got licence of Master *Americke* (though it were fore against his will) to be one of the twenty foure, which in the end of the last voyage were left in the Country of *Gulicke*. He was therefore left behind for his mind-sake, as one that tooke more thought and care for travelling, then dying; having customably in his mouth these sayings: *He that hath no grave, is covered with the skie; and, The way to heaven, out of all places, is of like length and distance.* Which fantasie of his, (if God had not beene his better friend) he had surely bought full deere. But after the departure of master *Vespuce*, when he had travelled through and about many Countries with five of his companions *Gulikians*; at the last by mervailous chance he arrived in *Taprobane*,
from

from whence he went to *Caliquit*, where he chanced to finde certaine of his Country Ships, wherein he returned againe into his Country, nothing lesse then looked for. All this when **PETER** had told me, I thanked him for his gentle kindnesse: that he had vouchsafed to bring me to the speech of that man, whose communication, he thought should be to me pleasant, and acceptable. And therewith I turned me to *Raphael*: And when we had hal- sed each other, and had spoke these commune words, that he customably spoke at the first meeting, and acquaintance of strangers, we went thence to my house, and there in my Garden, vpon a bench covered with greene turves, we sate downe talking together. There he told us, how that after the departing of *Vespuce*, he and his fellowes that tarried behind in *Gulicke*, began by little and little, through faire

and gentle speech, to winne the love and favour of the people of that Country; insomuch, that within short space, they did dwell among them, not onely harmelless; but also occupying with them familiarly. He told vs also, that they were in high reputation and favour with a certaine great man (whose name and Countrey is now quite out of my remembrance) which of his meere liberality, did beare the costs and charges of him and his five companions. And besides that, gaue them a trusty guide to conduct them in their journey (which by water was in Boats, and by land in Wagons) and to bring them to other Princes with very friendly commendations.

Thus after many dayes journeyes, he said, they found Townes, and Cities, and Weale publiques, full of people, governed by good and wholsome Lawes: for under the line Equinoctiall, and on
both

both sides of the same, as farre as the Sunne doth extend his course, lyeth (quoth he) great and wide Desarts , and Wildernesles, parched, burned, and dried vp with continuall and intollerable heate. All things be hideous, terrible, loathsome, and unpleasant to behold : All things out of fashion and comelinesse, inhabited with wilde Beasts, and Serpents ; or at the least-wise, with people, that be no lesse savage, wild, and noysome, then the very Beasts themselves be. But a little farther beyond that, all things begin by little and little to waxe pleasant. The Ayre soft, temperate, and gentle : the ground covered with greene grasse : lesse wildnesse in the Beasts. At the last shall yee come to people, Cities and Townes, wherein is continuall entercourse and occupying of merchandize and chaffare, not onely among themselves, and with their Borderers ; but also
with

with Merchants of farre Countreyes, both by land and water. There I had occasion (said he) to goe to many Countreyes on euery side. For there was no ship ready to any voyage or journey, but I and my fellowes were into it very gladly received. The ships that they found first, were made plain, flat, and broad in the bottome trough-wise. The sayles were made of great rushes, or of wickers, and in some places of leather. Afterward they found Ships with ridged kyles, and sayles of Canvalle: yea, and shortly after, having all things like ours. The ship-men also were expert and cunning, both in the Sea, and in the weather. But he said, that he found great favour and friendship among them, for teaching them the feate and use of the Loadstone. Which to them before that time was vnknowne. And therefore they were wont to be very timorous and fearefull vpon the Sea:

*Ships of
strange
fashions.*

*The Load-
stone.*

Sea: Nor to venture vpon it, but
onely in the Summer time. But
now they haue such a confidence
in that Stone, that they feare not
stormy Winter: in so doing, far-
ther from care then danger. In so
much, that it is greatly to be
doubted, least that thing, through
their owne foolish hardinesse,
shall turne them to evill and
harme, which at the first was sup-
posed should be to them good
and commodious. But what he
told vs that he saw in every
Country where he came, it were
very long to declare. Neither is it
my purpose at this time to make
rehearfall thereof. But peradven-
ture in another place will I speak
of it: chiefly such things as shall
be profitable to be knowne: as in
speciall be those decrees and ordi-
nances, that he marked to be well
and wittily provided and enacted
among such peoples, as doe liue
together in a civill policie, and
good order. For of such things
did

did we busily enquire, and demand of him, and he likewise very willingly told vs of the same. But as for Monsters, because they be no newes, of them we were nothing inquititue : For nothing is more easie to be found, then barking *Scillaes*, ravening *Celebes*, and *Lestrigones*, devourers of people, and such like great and incredible monsters. But to find Citizens ruled by good and wholesome Lawes, that is an exceeding rare, & hard thing. But as he marked many fond and foolish Lawes in those new-found Lands ; so he rehearsed divers acts and constitutions, wherby these our Cities, Nations, Countries, and Kingdomes, may take example to amend their faults, enormities and errors. Whereof in another place (as I said) I will intreat. Now at this time I am determined to rehearse onely that he told vs of the Manners, Customs, Lawes, and Ordinances of the *Utopians*.

But

But first I will respect our former communication by the occasion, and (as I might say) the drift whereof he was brought into the mention of the Weale Publique: For when *Raphael* had very prudently touched divers things that be amisse, some here, and some there; Yea, very many on both parts; and againe had spoken of such wise Lawes, and prudent Decrees, as be established and used, both here among vs, and also among them; as a man so perfect, and expert in the Lawes, and Customes of every severall Country, as though into what place soever he came ghest-wise, there he had led all his life: then *PETER* much marvailing at the man; Surely Master *Raphael* (quoth he) I wonder greatly, why you get you not into some Kings Court: For I am sure, there is no Prince living, that would not be very glad of you, as a man not only able high-
ly.

ly to delight him with your profound learning, and this your knowledge of Countries, and peoples, but also meet to instruct him with examples, and helpe him with counsell. And thus doing, you shall bring your selfe in a very good case, and also be of ability to helpe all your friends and kinsfolke. As concerning my friends and kinsfolke (quoth he) I passe not greatly for them: For I thinke I haue sufficiently done my part towards them already. For these things, that other men doe not depart from, vntill they be old and sicke; yea, which they be then very loath to leaue, when they can no longer keepe, those very same things did I being not onely lusty, and in good health, but also in the flowre of my youth, deuide among my friends and kinsfolkes. Which I thinke with this my liberality ought to hold them contented, and not to require nor to looke that besides
this,

this, I should for their sakes giue
my selfe in bondage unto Kings.
Nay, God forbid that (quoth *Peter*)
it is not my mind that you
should be in bondage to Kings,
but as a retainer to them at your
pleasure. Which surely I thinke
is the nighest way that you can
devise how to bestow your time
fruitfully, not onely for the pri-
uate cominodity of your friends,
and for the generall profite of all
sorts of people, but also for the ad-
vancement of your selfe to a
much wealthier state and conditi-
on, then you be now in. To a
wealthier condition (quoth *Ra-
phael*) by that meanes, that my
mind standeth cleane against?
Now I liue at liberty after mine
owne mind and pleasure, which
I thinke very few of these great
States, and Peeres of Realmes can
say. Yea, and there be enough of
them that sue for great mens
friendships: and therefore thinke
it no great hurt, if they haue not
me,

me, nor third or fourth such other as I am. Well, I perceue plainly friend *Raphael* (quoth I) that you be desirous neither of riches, nor of power. And truly I haue in no lesse reverence and estimation a man of your mind, then any of them all that be so high in power and authority: But you shall doe as it becometh you; yea, and according to this wisdom, to this high and free courage of yours, if you can find in your heart, so to appoint and dispose your selfe, that you may apply your wit and diligence to the profite of the Weale publique, though it be somewhat to your owne paine and hindrance. And this shall you never so well doe, nor with so great profit performe, as if you be of some great Princes counsell, and put into his head (as I doubt not but you will) honest opinions, and vertuous perswasions: For from the Prince, as from a perpetuall

tuall well-spring, commeth among the people the flood of all that is good or evill. But in you is so perfect learning, that without any experience, and againe, so great experience that without any learning you may well be any Kings Counsellour. You be twice deceived Master *More* (quoth he) first in mee, and againe in the thing it selfe : For neither is in me the ability that you force vpon me, and if it were never so much, yet in disquieting mine owne quietnesse I should nothing further the Weale publicke. For first of all, the most part of all Princes haue more delight in warlike matters, and feates of Chivalry (the knowledge whereof I neither haue nor desire) then in the good feates of peace : and imploy much more study, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their Dominions, then how well and peaceable to rule, and governe that they haue already.

More-

Moreover, they that be Counsellours to Kings, every one of them either is of himselfe so wise indeed that he needeth not, or else he thinketh himselfe so wise, that he will not allow another mans counsell, saving that they doe shamefully, and flatteringly, giue assent to the fond and foolish sayings of certaine great men : whose favours, because they be in high authority with their Prince, by assentation and flattery they labour to obtaine. And verily it is naturally given to all men to esteeme their owne inventions best : So both the Raven and the Ape thinke their owne young ones fairest. Then if a man in such a company, where some disdain and haue despight at other mens inventions, and some count their owne best; if among such men (I say) a man should bring forth any thing, that he hath reade done in times past, or that he hath scene done
in

in other places; there the hearers, fare as though the whole existimation of their wisdom were in jeopardy to be overthrowne, and that ever after they should be counted for very defects, unless they could in other mens inventions picke out matter to reprehend, and find a fault at. If all other poore helps faile: then this is their extreame refuge. These things (say they) pleased our forefathers and ancestors: would God we could be so wise as they were: and as though they had wittily concluded the matter, and with this answer stopped every mans mouth, they sit downe againe. As who should say, it were a very dangerous matter, if a man in any point should bee found wiser then his fore-fathers were. And yet be we content to suffer the best and wittiest of their Decrees to lye unexecuted: but if in any thing a better order might haue beene
taken

*Partiall
judgement.*

taken, then by them was, there we take fast hold, finding there many faults. Many times haue I chanced vpon such proud, lewd, over-thwart, and way-ward judgements; yea (and once in *England*: I pray you Sir (quoth I) haue you beene in our Country? Yea forsooth (quoth he) and there I tarried for the space of foure or five moneths together, not long after the Insurrection, the Westerne English men made against their King, which by their owne miserable and pitifull slaughter, was suppressed and ended. In the meane season, I was much bound and beholding to the right reverend Father, JOHN MORTON, Arch-bishop and Cardinall of *Canterburie*, and at that time also Lord Chancellour of *England*; a man, Master Peter (for Master *Moore* knoweth already that I will say) not more honourable for his authority, then for his prudence and vertue.

*Cardinall
MORTON*

He

He was of a meane stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his body upright.

In his face did shine such an amiable reverence, as was pleasant to behold. Gentle in communication, yet earnest, and sage. He had great delight many times with rough speech to his suiters, to proe, but without harme, what prompt wit, and what bold spirit were in every man. In the which as in a vertue much agreeing with his nature, so that therewith were not joyned impudency, he tooke great delectation. And the same person as apt and meet to haue an administration in the Weale publike, he did lovingly imbrace. In his speech he was fine, eloquent and pithie. In the Law, he had profound knowledge; in wit, he was incomparable; and in memory, wonderfull excellent. These qualities, which in him were by nature singular, he by learning and
use

use had made perfect. The King put much trust in his counsell, the Weale publike also in a manner leaned unto him, when I was there : For even in the chiefe of his youth hee was taken from Schoole into the Court, and there passed all his time in much trouble and businesse, being continually tumbled and tolled in the waves of divers misfortunes and aduersities. And so by many and great dangers, he learned the experience of the world, which so being learned, cannot easily be forgotten. It chanced on a certaine day, when I sate at his Table, there was also a certaine lay man, cunning in the Lawes of your Realme : Who, I cannot tell, whereof taking occasion, began diligently and earnestly to praise that strait and rigorous justice, which at that time was there executed upon Felonies ; who as he said, were for the most part twenty. hanged together upon
on

on one gallowes. And, seeing so few escaped punishment, he said he could not choose, but greatly wonder and marvaile, how and by what evill luck it should so come to passe, that Theeves neverthelelle were in every place so rife and so ranck. Nay, sir quoth I (for I durst boldly speake my mind, before the Cardinall) mervaile nothing hereat : for this punishment of Theeves passeth the limits of Iustice, and is also very hurtfull to the Weale publike : For it is too extreame and cruell a punishment for theft, and yet not sufficient to refraine and with-hold men from theft : for simple theft is not so great an offence, that it ought to be punished with death ; neither there is any punishment so horrible, that it can keepe them from stealing, which have none other craft, whereby to get their living. Therefore in this point, not you only, but also the most part of the

*Of Lawes
not made
according
to equity.*

By what
meanes
ther might
be fewer
theeves
and rob-
bers.

world be like evill Schoolema-
sters, which bee readier to beat,
then to teach their schollers. For
great and horrible punishments
be appointed for Theeves, where-
as much rather, provision should
have bin made, that there were
some meanes, wherby they might
get their living, so that no man
should be driven to this extreame
necessitie; first to steale, and then
to dye. Yes (quoth he) this mat-
ter is well enough provided for
already. There be Handy-crafts,
there is Husbandry to get their
living, if they would not willing-
ly be naught. Nay, quoth I, you
shall not scape so: for first of all,
I will speake nothing of them,
that come home out of the warres
mained and lame, as not long a-
goe out of *Black-beath* field, and
a little before that, out of the
warres in *France*: such I say, as
put their lives in jeopardy for the
Weale publiques, or the Kings
fake, and by reason of weaknetie
and

and lameness be not able to occupie their old crafts, and be too aged to learne new: of them I will speake nothing, forasmuch as Warres have their ordinary recourse.

But let us consider those things that chance daily before our eyes. First, there is a great number of Gentlemen, which cannot be content to live idle themselves, like Dorrers, of that which other have laboured for: their Tenants I meane, whom they poll and shave to the quicke, by raising their Rents (for this onely point of frugalitie doe they use, men else through their lavish and prodigall spending, able to bring themselves to very beggery) these Gentlemen, I say, doe not onely live in idleness themselves, but also carry about with them at their tails, a great flock or traine of idle and loytering Serving-men, which never learned any craft, wherby to get their livings.

*Idleness,
the mother
of theevs.*

*Landlords
by the way
checked for
Rent raising.*

*Of idle
Serving-
men come
theevs.*

These men as soone as their Master is dead, or be sick themselves, be incontinent thrust out of doores : For Gentlemen had rather keepe idle persons, then sick men, and many times the dead mans Heire is not able to maintaine so great a House, and keepe so many Serving-men as his Father did. Then in the meane season, they that be thus destitute of service, eyther starve for hunger, or manfully play the Theeves : For what would you have them to doe ? When they have wandered abroad so long, untill they have worne threed-bare their apparell, and also appaired their health ; then Gentlemen, because of their pale and sickly faces, and patched coates, will not take them into service. And Husbandmen dare not set them a work : knowing well enough, that hee is nothing meet to doe true and faithfull service to a Poore man with a Spade and Mattocke for small wages

wages and hard fare, which being daintily and tenderly pampered up in idlenesse and pleasure, was wont with a Sword and a Buckler by his side, to jet through the street with a bragging looke, and to thinke himselfe too good to bee any mans mate. Nay by Saint *Mary* sir (quoth the Lawyer) not so: For this kinde of men must we make most of; for in them as men of stouter stomacks, bolder spirits, and manlier courages, then Handicrafts-men and Plough-men be, doth consist the whole power, strength, and puillance of our army, when wee must fight in battaile. Forsooth sir, as well you might say (quoth I) that for Warres sake you must cherish Theeves: For surely you shall never lacke theeves, whiles you have them. No nor Theeves be not the most false and faint-hearted Souldiers, nor souldiers bee not the cowardliest theeves: so

C 3

well

*Betweene
souldiers
and theeves
small di-
versity.*

well these two Crafts agree together. But this fault, though it be much vsed among you, yet is it not peculiar to you onely, but cōmon also almost to all Nations. Yet *France* besides this is troubled and infected with a much forer plague. The whole Realme is filled and besieged with hired Soldiers in peace time (if that be peace) which be brought in under the same colour and pretence, that hath perswaded you to keepe these idle Serving-men. For these wise-fooles, and very arch-dolts, thought the wealth of the whole Countrey herein to consist, if there were ever in a readinesse a strong and a sure Garrison, specially of old practised Soldiers; for they put no trust at all in men unexercised. And therefore they must be forced to seeke for warre, to the end they may ever have practised Soldiers, and cunning man-slayers, least that (as it is pretily said of *Salust*) their hands and their minds through idle-

neisse or lacke of exercise, should waxe dull.

But how pernicious and pestilent a thing it is, to maintaine such Beasts, the Frenchmen, by their owne harmes haue learned, and the examples of the Romanes, Carthaginians, Syrians, and of many other Countries doe manifestly declare: For not onely the Empire, but also the fields and Cities of all these, by diuers occasions haue bene overrunned and destroyed of their owne armies, beforehand had in a readinesse. Now how unnecessary a thing this is, hereby it may appeare: that the French Souldiours, which from their youth haue bene practised and inured in feates of armes, doe not cracke or advance themselues to haue very often got the vpper hand and mastery of your new-made and unpractised souldiours. But in this point I will not vse many words, least perchance I may

What inconveniences cometh by continuall Garrisons of souldiours.

seeme to flatter you. No, nor those same handy-craft men of yours in Cities, nor yet the rude and vplandish plough-men of the Country, are not supposed to be greatly afraid of your Gentlemens idle servingmen, unlesse it be such as be not of body or stature correspondent to their strength and courage; or else whose bold stomackes be discouraged through poverty. Thus you may see, that it is not to be feared least they should be effeminated, if they were brought vp in good crafts and laboursome workes, whereby to get their livings, whose stout and sturdy bcdies (for Gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupt and spill none but picked and chosen men) now either by reason of rest and idlenesse be brought to weaknesse: or else by too easie and womanly exercises be made feeble, and unable to endure hardnesse. Truly, howsoever the case
stan-

standeth, this me thinketh is nothing availeable to the Weale publike, for warre sake, which you never haue, but when you will your selues, to keepe and maintaine an vnnumerable flock of that sort of men, that be so troublesome & noyous in peace, whereof you ought to haue a thousand times more regard, then of warre. But yet this is not onely the necessary cause of stealing. There is another, which as I suppose, is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is that, quoth the Cardinall? forsooth my Lord (quoth I) your sheepe, that were wont to be so meeke and tame, and so small eaters; now, as I heare say, be become so great devourers, and so wild, that they eat vp, and swallow downe the very men themselues. They consume, destroy, and deuoure whole fields, houses, and Cities: For looke in what parts of the Realme doth

*English
sheepe de-
vourers of
men.*

grow the finest ; and therefore dearest Wooll, there noble men, and gentlemen, yea, and certaine Abbots, holy men no doubt, not contenting themselves with the yearely revenues, and profits, that were wont to grow to their fore-fathers and predecessours of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure, nothing profiting; yea, much noying the Weale publike, leaue no ground for tillage: they inclose all into pastures; they throw downe houses; they plucke downe townes, and leaue nothing standing, but onely the Church to be made a sheephouse. And as though you lost no small quantity of ground by forests, chases, lands, and parkes, those good holy men turne all dwelling places and all glebe land into desolation, and wilderness.

Therefore, that one covetous and unsatiabie Cormorant, and
very

very plague of his natiue Country, may compasse about and inclose many thousands Akers of ground together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of their owne, or else either by covine and fraud, or violent oppression they be put besides it, or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all: by one meanes therefore or by other either by hooke or by crooke they must needs depart away, poore, sillie, wretched foules, men, women, husbands, wiues, fatherlesse children, widdowes, wofull mothers with their young babes, and the whole houshold small in substance, and much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands.

Away they trudge, I say, out of their knowne and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. All their houshold-stuffe, which is very little worth,

though

*sheep-masters
de-
cayers of
husbandry.*

*The decay
of husbandry
cau-
seth beg-
gery, which
is the mo-
ther of va-
gabonds &
theeves.*

*The cause
of dearth
of victuals.*

*What in-
conveni-
ence com-
meth of
dearth of
Wool.*

though it might well abide the
fale: yet being suddainly thrust
out, they be constrained to sell it
for a thing of naught. And
when they haue wandered a-
broad till that be spent, what can
they then doe but steale, and then
justly pardy be hanged, or else
goe about a begging. And yet
then also they be cast into Prison
as Vagabonds, because they goe
about and wotke not: whom no
man will set a worke, though
they never so willingly proffer
themselues thereto. For one Shep-
heard or Heardman is enough to
eat vp that ground with cattell,
to the occupying whereof, about
husbandry, many hands were
requisite. And this is also the
cause why victuals be now in
many places dearer. Yea besides
this the price of wooll is so risen,
that poore folkes, which were
wont to worke it, and make
cloath thereof, be now able to
buy none at all. And by this
meanes very many be forced to

forfake worke, and to giue themselves to idlenesse.

For after that so much ground was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of sheepe died of the rot, such vengeance God tooke of their inordinate and unsatiabable covetousnesse, sending among the sheepe that pestiferous murrein, which much more justly should haue fallen on the sheep-masters owne heads. And though the number of sheepe increase never so fast, yet the price falleth not one mite, because there be so few sellers: For they be almost all come into a few rich mens hands, whom no need forceth to sell before they lust, and they lust not before they may sell as deare they lust. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the dearth of the other kinds of Cattell, yea, and that so much the more, because that after Farmes plucked downe, and husbandry decayed, there is no man that passeth for the breeding of.

*The cause
of dearth
of Woolle.*

*Dearth of
cattell,
with the
cause thereof.*

of young store : for these rich men bring not vp the young ones of great cattell as they doe lambes.

But first they buy them abroad very cheape, and afterward when they be fatted in their pastures, they sell them againe exceeding deare. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommodity hereof is not yet felt : for yet they make dearth onely in those places, where they sell. But when they shall fetch them away from thence where they be bred faster then they can be bought vp : then shall there also be felt great dearth, store beginning there to faile ; where the ware is bought. Thus the unreasonable covetousnesse of a few hath turned that thing to the vtter undoing of your Hand, in the which thing the chiefe felicity of your Realme did consist ; For this great dearth of victuals causeth men to keepe as little houses, and as small hospitality

Dearth of victuals is the decay of house-keeping ; whereof ensueth beggery and theft.

pitality as they possible may, and to put away their servants: whether, I pray you, but a begging; or else (which these gentle blouds, and stout stomacks) will sooner set their minds unto stealing? Now to amend the matter, to this wretched beggery, and miserable poverty, is joynd great wantonnesse, importunate superfluity, and excessive riot: For not onely gentlemens servants, but also handy craft men; yea, and almost the Ploughmen of the Country, with all other sorts of people, vse much strange and proud new-fangles in their apparell, and too much prodigall riot, and sumptuous fare at their table.

Now Baudes, queanes, whores, harlots, strumpets, brothel-houses, stewes; and yet another stewes, wine-taverns, ale-houses, and tripling houses, with so many naughty, lewd, and unlawfull games; as dice, Cardes, tables, tennis,

Excesse in apparell and diet, a maintainer of beggery and theft.

Baudes, Whores, wine-tavernes, ale-houses, and unlawfull games, be very mothers of theeves.

tennis, boules, coytes; doe not all these tend the haunTERS of them straight a stealing; when their money is gone? Cast out these pernicious abominations; make a law, that they which, plucked downe farmes, and townes of husbandry, shall reedifie them, or else yeeld, and vprender the possession thereof to such, as will goe to the cost of building them anew.

*Richmen
ingrossers
and fore-
sellers.*

Suffer not these rich men to buy vp all, to ingrosse, and fore-stall; and with their monopoly to keepe the market alone as please them. Let not so many be brought vp in idlenesse; let husbandry and tillage be restored; let Cloth-working be reuued, that there may be honest labours for this idle sort to passe their time in profitably, which hitherto either poverty hath caused to be theeves, or else now be either vagabonds, or idle Seruingmen, and shortly will be theeves,

theeves. Doubtlesse, unlesse you find a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vaine advance your selues of executing justice vpon fellows : For this iustice is more beautifull in appearance, and more flourishing to the shew, then either just or profitable : For by suffering your youth wantonly, and viciously to be brought vp, and to be infected, even from their tender age, by little and little with vice: then a Gods name to be punished, when they commit the same faults after being come to mans state, which from their youth they were ever like to doe. In this point, I pray you, what other thing doe you, then make theeves, and then punish them? Now as I was thus speaking, the Lawyer began to make himselfe ready to answer, and was determined with himselfe, to vse the common fashion, and trade of disputers, which be more diligent

The corrupt education of youth, a mother of thevery.

Nota perbison

gent in rehearsing, then answering, as thinking the memory worthy of the chiefe praise. Indeed Sir (quoth he) you haue said well, being but a stranger, and one that might rather heare something of these matters, then haue any exact or perfect knowledge of the same, as I will incontinent by open prooffe make manifest and plaine. For first I will rehearse in order all that you haue said: then I will declare wherein you be deceived, through lacke of knowledge, in all our fashions, manners, and customes: and last of all, I will answer your arguments, and confute them every one. First therefore, I will begin where I promised. Foure things you seemed to me. Hold your peace, quoth the Cardinall: for it appeareth that you will make no short answer, which make such a beginning: Wherefore at this time, you shall not take the paines to make your answer,

He is verily put to silence that is too full of words.

swer, but keepe it to your next meeting, which I would be right glad, that it might be to morrow next, unlesse either you, or Master *Raphael* haue earnest let. But now Master *Raphael*, I would very gladly heare of you, why you thinke theft not worthy to be punished with death, or what other punishment you can devise more expedient to the Weale publike? for I am sure that you are not of that mind, that you would haue theft escape unpunished. For if now the extreame punishment of death cannot cause them to leaue stealing, then if ruffians and robbers should be sure of their liues, what violence, what feare, were able to hold their hands from robbing; which would take the mittigation of the punishment, as a very provocation to the mischiefe? Surely my Lord, I thinke it not right nor justice, that the losse of money should cause the losse of mans

*That theft
ought not
to be pu-
nished by
death.*

mans life : For mine opinion is, that all the goods in the world are not able to countervaile mans life.

But if they would thus say ; that the breaking of Iustice, and the transgression of lawes is recompenced with this punishment, and not the losse of the money, then why may not this extreame and rigorous justice well be called plaine injury ? For so cruell governance, so straight rules, and unmercifull lawes be not allowable, that if a small offence be committed, by and by the sword should be drawne : Nor so stoicall ordinances are to be borne withall, as to count all offences of such equality, that the killing of a man, or the taking of his money from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offence then the other : betweene the which two if we haue any respect to equity, no similitude or equality consisteth.

*Straight
Lawes not
allowable.*

God

God commandeth vs that we shall not kill. And be we then so hasty to kill a man for taking a little money ? And if a man would understand killing by this commandement of God, to be forbidden after no larger wise, then mans constitutions define killing to be lawfull ; then why may it not likewise by mans constitutions be determined after what sort whoredome, fornication, and perjury may be lawfull ? For whereas by the permission of God, no man neither hath power to kill neither himselfe, nor yet any other man : then if a law made by the consent of men, concerning slaughter of men, ought to be of such strength, force, and vertue, that they which contrary to the commandement of God haue killed those, whom this constitution of man commanded to be killed, be cleane quit & exempt out of the bonds & danger of Gods cōmandement?

shall

That mans law ought not to be prejudiciall to Gods law.

shall it not then by this reason follow, that the power of Gods commandement shall extend no further, then mans law doth define, and permit? And so shall it come to passe, that in like manner, mans constitutions in all things shall determine how farre the observation of all Gods commandements shall extend. To be short, *Moses Law*, though it were ungentle and sharpe, as a law that was given to bondmen, yea, and them very obstinate, stubborne, and stiffe-necked: yet it punished theft by the purse, and not with death. And let vs not thinke that God in the new law of clemency and mercy, under the which he ruleth vs with fatherly gentlenesse, as his deare children hath given vs greater scope and licence to the execution of cruelty, one vpon another. Now you haue heard the reasons, whereby I am perswaded, that this punishment is unlawfull

*Theft in
the old
law not
punished
by death.*

lawfull. Furthermore, I thinke that there is no body that knoweth not, how unreasonable, yea, how pernicious a thing it is to the Weale publike, that a theefe and an homicide or murtherer should suffer equall and like punishment: For the theefe seeing that man, that is condemned for theft in no lesse jeopardy, nor judged to no lesse punishment, then him that is convict of manslaughter; through this cogitation onely he is strongly and forcibly provoked, and in a manner constrained to kill him, whom else he would haue but robbed: For the murder being once done, he is in lesse feare, and in more hope that the deed shall not be bewrayed or knowne, seeing the party is now dead, and rid out of the way, which onely might haue vttered and disclosed it.

But if he chance to be taken and discied; yet he is in no more

What in convenience ensueth of punishing theft with death.

Punishing of theft by death causeth theft to be a murtherer.

Nota prohiberi

more danger and jeopardie, then if he had committed but single felony. Therefore, while we goe about with such cruelty to make theeues afraid, we provoke them to kill good men. Now as touching this question, what punishment were more commodious and better : that truly in my judgement is easier to be found then what punishment might be worse. For why should we doubt that to be a good and a profitable way for the punishment of offenders, which we know did in times past so long please the Romanes, men in the administration of a Weale publike most expert, politique and cunning ? Such as among them were convicted of great and heynous trespasses, them they condemne into stone quarries, and into mines to digge mettall, there to be kept in chaines all the dayes of their life. But as concerning this matter, I allow the ordinance of nation

fo

What lawfull punishment may be devised for Theft.

How the Romans punished theft.

so well as that which I saw, while I travelled abroad about the world, used in *Persia* among the people that commonly be called the Polylerites : whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittily governed ; and the people in all conditions free, and ruled by their owne lawes, saving that they pay a yearly tribute to the great King of *Persia*.

But because they be farre from the Sea, compassed and inclosed, almost round about with high mountaines, and doe content themselves with the fruits of their owne land, which is of it selfe very fertill and fruitfull : for this cause neither they goe to other Countries, nor other come to them. And according to the old custome of the Land, they desire not to enlarge the bounds of their Dominions : and those that they haue, by reason of the high hills be easily defended : and the

D

tribute

A worthy and commendable punishment of thieves in the Weale publike of the Polylerites in Persia.

tribute which they pay to their chiefe Lord and King, setteth them quit and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallant, and may better be called happy or wealthy, then notable and famous: For they be not knowne, as inuch as by name, I suppose saving onely to their next neighbours and borders. They that in this Land be attainted and convict of Fellony, make restitution of that which they stole, to the right owner: and not (as they doe in other lands) to the King: whom they thinke to haue no more right to the theefe-stollen thing, then the theefe himselfe hath. But if the thing be lost or made away, then the value of it is paid of the goods of such offenders, which else remaineth all whole to their wiues, and children. And they themselues be cōdemned to be cōmon labourers, and unlesse the theft be very hainous, they

te

*A privy
nip for
them that
doe other-
wise.*

*Nota
bwn.*

*Theeves
condemned
to be com-
mon labo-
rers,*

be neither locked in prison, nor fettered in gyues, but be vnted and goe at large, labouring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or goe slowly or slacke to their worke, be not on-ly tyed in chaines, but also pricked forward with stripes. But being diligent about their worke, they liue without checke or rebuke. Every night they be called in by name, and be locked in their chambers. Beside their daily labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious; their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the Weale publike; because they be common seruants to the Common-wealth. But their charges in all places of the land is not borne alike. For in some parts that which is bestowed vpon them is gathered of almes. And though that way be vncertaine; yet the people be so full of mercy and pittie, that none is found more profitable or

plentifull. In some places certaine Ladies be appointed hereunto: of the revenues whereof they be maintained. And in some places every man giveth a certaine tribute for the same vse and purpose.

*Serving-
men.*

Againe in some part of the land these Servingmen (for so be these damned persons called) doe not common worke, but as every private man needeth labours, so he cometh into the marketplace, and there hireth some of them for meat and drinke, and a certaine limited wages by the day, somewhat cheaper then he should hire a free-man. It is also lawfull for them to chastice the slouth of these servingmen with stripes. By this meanes they never lacke worke, and besides the gaining of their meat and drink, every one of them bringeth daily something into the common Treasury. All and every one of them be apparelled in one colour

lour. Their heads be not poled or shaven, but rounded a little aboue the eares. And the tip of the one eare is cut off. Every one of them may take meate and drinke of their friends, and also a coat of their owne colour: but to receiue money is death, aswell to the giver, as to the receiver. And no lesse jeopardy it is for a freeman to receiue money of a seruingman, for any manner of cause: and likewise for seruingmen to touch weapons. The seruingmen of every severall shiere be distinct and knowne from other, by their severall and distinct badges: which to cast away is death: as it is also to be seene out of the precinct of their owne shiere; or to talke with a seruingman of another shiere. And it is no lesse danger to them, for to intend to runne away, then to doe it indeed. Yea, and to conceale such an enterprize in a seruingman, it is death; in a free

D 3

man,

*An evill
intent e-
steemed as
the deed.*

man, seruitude. Of the contrary part, to him that openeth and vttereth such counfels, be decreed large gifts : to a Freeman, a great summe of money ; to a Serving-man freedome : and to them both forgivenesse and pardon of that they were of counsell in that pretence. So that it can never be so good for them to goe forward in their evill purpose, as by repentance to turne backe. This is the Law and order in this behalfe, as I haue shewed you : Wherein what humanity is vsed, how farre it is from cruelty, and how commodious it is, you doe plainly perceiue. For as much as the end of their wrath and punishment intendeth nothing else, but the destruction of vices, and saving of men : with so vsing, and ordering them, that they cannot chuse but be good ; and what harme soever they did before, in the residue of their life, to make amends for the same.

*The right
end and
intent of
punish-
ment.*

More-

Moreover it is so little feared, that they should turne againe to their vicious conditions, that way-faring men will for their safeguard choose them to their guides before any other, in every shiere changing and taking new: For if they would cominit robbery, they haue nothing about them meete for that purpose. They may touch no weapons: money found about them, should betray the robbery. They should be no sooner taken with the manner, but forthwith they should be punished. Neither can they haue any hope at all to scape away by flying: For how should a man, that in no part of his apparell is like other men, flye privily and vnknowne, vnlesse he would runne away naked? Howbeit, so also flying, he should be descried by the rounding of his head, and his eare-marke. But it is a thing to be doubted, that they will lay their heads together, and

conspire against the Weale publique. No, no, I warrant you: For the Servingmen of one shiere alone, could never hope to bring to passe such an enterprize, without solyciting, entising, and alluring the Servingmen of many other shieres to take their parts. Which thing is to them so impossible, that they may not as much as speake or talke together, or salute one another. No, it is not to be thought that they would make their owne Countrymen and companions of their counsell in such a matter, which they know well should be jeopardy to the concealor thereof, and great commodity and goodnesse to the opener and detector of the same. Whereas on the other part, there is none of them all hopelesse or in despaire to recover againe his former estate of freedome, by humble obedience, by patient suffering, and by giving good tokens and likelihood of himselfe,
that

that he will ever after that, live like a true, and an honest man.

For every yeare divers of them be restored to their freedome, through the commendation of patience. When I had thus spoken, saying moreover, that I could see no cause why this order might not be had in *England*, with much more profit, then the Iustice with the Lawyer so highly praised. Nay, quoth the Lawyer this could never be so stablished in *England*, but that it must needs bring the Weale publike into great jeopardy and hazard. And as he was thus saying, he shaked his head, and made a wry mouth, and so he held his peace. And all that were present, with one assent agreed to his saying. Well, quoth the Cardinall, yet it were hard to judge without a prooffe, whether this order would doe well here or no. But when the sentence of death is given, if then the King should

command execution to be referred and spared, and would prove this order and fashion, taking away the priviledge of Sanctuaries : if then the prooffe should declare the thing to be good and profitable, then it were well done that it were stablished : Else then condemned and reprived persons may as well be put to death after this prooffe, as when they were first cast. Neither any jeopardy can in the meane space grow hereof. Yea, and me thinketh that these Vagabonds may very well be ordered after the same fashion, against whom we have hitherto made so many lawes, and so little prevailed. When the Cardinall had thus said, then every man gaue great praise to my sayings, which a little before they had disallowed. But most of all was esteemed that which was spoken of Vagabonds, because it was the Cardinals addition. I cannot tell whether it were

Vagabonds

*The wavering
judgements of
flatterers*

were best to rehearse the communication that followed ; for it was not very sad. But yet you shall heare it, for there was no evill in it, and partly it pertained to the matter before-said. There chanced to stand by a certaine jesting Parasite, or scoffer, which would seeme to resemble and counterfeit, the foole. But he did in such wise counterfet, that he was almost the very same indeed that he laboured to present : he so studied with words and sayings, brought forth so out of time and place , to make sport and more laughter, that he himselve was oftner laughed at, -then his jests were. Yet the foolish fellow brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable stuffe , that he made the Proverbe true, which saith : He that shooteth oft , at the last shall hit the marke : So that when one of the company said, that through my communication

nication, a good order was found
 for Theeues, and that the Cardi-
 nall also had well provided for
 Vagabonds, so that onely remai-
 ned some good provision to be
 made for them that through sick-
 nesse and age were fallen into
 poverty, and were become so
 impotent and vnweldy, that they
 were not able to worke for their
 living. Tush (quoth he) let
 me alone with them : you shall
 see me doe well enough with
 them. For I had rather then a-
 ny good, that this kind of peo-
 ple were driven somewhere out
 of my sight , they haue so sore
 troubled me many times and oft
 when they haue with their la-
 mentable teares begged money
 of me : and yet they could never
 to my mind so tune their song,
 that thereby they ever got of me
 one farthing. For ever more the
 one of these chanced : either that
 I would not, or else that I could
 not, because I had it not. Therefore

*Sick, aged,
 impotent
 persons
 and beg-
 gers.*

now

now they be waxed wise: For whē they see me goe by, because they will not leese their labour, they let me passe, and say not one word to me. So they looke for nothing of me, no in good sooth; no more, then if I were a Priest, or a Monk. But I will make a Law, that all these beggers shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shall be made Lay brethren, as they call them; and the women, Nunnes. Hereat the Cardinall smiled, and allowed it in jeast, yea, and all the residue in good earnest.

But a certame Fryar, graduate in divinity, tooke such pleasure and delight in this jeasts of Priests and Monkes, that he also (being else a man of grisly and sterne gravity) began merily and wantonly to jest and taunt. Nay, (quoth he) you shall not be so rid and dispatched of beggers, unlesse you make some provision also for vs Fryars.

*A common
Proverbs
among
Beggars.*

*A merry
talke be-
tweene a
Fryar and
a Foole.*

Why, quoth the Ieaster, that is done already, for my Lord himselfe set a very good order for you, when he decreed, that Vagabonds should be kept ittraight and set to worke: for you be the greatest and veriest Vagabonds that be. This jeast also when they saw the Cardinall not disproue it, every man tooke it gladly, saving onely the Fryar: For he (and that no mervaile) being thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, so fretted, so fumed, and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refraine himselfe from chiding, scolding, railing, and reviling: He called the fellow Ribbald, villaine, javell, backbiter, slaunderer, and the child of perdition: citing therewith terrible threatenings out of holy Scripture. Then the jeasting scoffer began to play the scoffer indeed, and verily he was good at that; for he could play a part in that play, no man better: Patient your selfe,

good Master Fryar (quoth he)
 and be not angry ; for Scripture
 saith : In your patience you shall
 saue your soules. Then the Fryar
 (for I will rehearse his owne ve-
 ry words :) No gallowes wretch,
 I am not angry (quoth he) or at
 the least-wise, I doe not sinne: for
 the Psalmist saith. Be you angry
 and sinne not. Then the Cardi-
 nall spake gently to the Fryar,
 and desired him to quiet him-
 selfe. No my Lord (quoth he) I
 speak not but of a good zeale as I
 ought ; for holy men had a good
 zeale : Wherefore it is said ; The
 zeale of thy house hath eaten me.
 And it is sung in *the* Church: The
 scorner's of *Helizens*, whiles he
 went vp into the house of God,
 felt the zeale of the bald, as per-
 adventure this scorning vil-
 laine Ribbould shall feele. You
 doe it (quoth the Cardinall)
 perchance of a good minde
 and affection : but me thin-
 keth you should doe, I can-
 not

*Talke qua-
 lified ac-
 cording to
 the person
 that spea-
 keth.*

not tell whether more holily, certes more wisely, if you would not set your wit to a fooles wit, and with a foole take in hand a foolish contention. No forsooth my Lord (quoth he) I should not doe more wisely : for *Solomon* the wise saith : Answer a foole according to his folly, like as I doe now, and doe shew him the pit that he shall fall into, if he take not heed : For if many scorneres of *Helizem*, which was but one bald man, felt the zeale of the bald, how much more shall one scorner of many Fryars feele, among whom be many bald men ? And wee haue also the Popes Bulls, whereby all that mocke and scorne vs be excommunicated, suspended and accursed. The Cardinall seeing no end would be made, sent away the Ieaster by a privy beck and turned the communication to another matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to heare his suitors,

and so dismissed vs. Looke Master *Moore*, with how long and tedious a tale I haue kept you, which surely I would haue beene ashamed to haue done, but that you so earnestly desired me, and did after such a sort giue eare vnto it, as though you would not that any parcell of that communication should be left out. Which though I haue done somewhat briefly, yet could I not choose but rehearse it, for the judgement of them, which when they had improved and disallowed my sayings, yet incontinent hearing the Cardinall allow them, did themselves also approve the same: so impudently flattering him, that they were nothing ashamed to admit, yea, almost in good earnest, his ieastructures and foolish inventions: because that he himself by smiling at them, did seeme not to disprove them. So that hereby you may right-well perceiue how little the courtiers would regard
and

and esteeme me and my sayings. I ensure you, Master *Raphael*, quoth I, I tooke great delectation in hearing you : all things that you said, were spoken so wittily and so pleasantly. And me thought me selfe to be in the meane time, not onely at home in my Country, but also through the pleasant remembrance of the Cardinall, in whose house I was brought up of a Child, to wax a child againe. And friend *Raphael*, though I did beare very great love towards you before, yet seeing you doe so earnestly favour this man, you will not beleeve how much my love towards you is now increased. But yet, all this notwithstanding, I can by no meanes change my mind, but that I must needs beleeve, that you, if you be disposed, and can find in your heart to follow some Princes Court, shall with your good counsels greatly helpe and further the Common-wealth.

Where-

Wherefore there is nothing more appertaining to your duty, that is to say, to the duty of a good man. For whiercas your *Plato* judgeth that weale-publikes shall by this meanes attaine perfect felicity, either if Philosophers be Kings, or else if Kings give themselves to the study of Philosophy; how farre I pray you, shall Common-wealths then be from this felicitie, if Philosophers will vouchsafe to instruct Kings with their good counsell? They be not so unkind (quoth he) but they would gladly doe it, yea, many have done it already in books that they have put forth, if Kings and Princes would be willing and ready to follow good counsell. But *Plato* doubtlesse did well fore-see, unlesse Kings themselves would apply their mindes to the study of Philosophy, that else they would never thorowly allow the counsell of Philosophers, being themselves before
even

euen from their tender age infected, and corrupt with peruerse and euill opinions, Which thing *Plato* himselfe prooued true in king *Dyonise*, If I should propose to any King wholesome decrees, doing my endeavour to pluck out of his mind the pernicious originall causes of vice and naughtinesse, thinke you not that I should forthwith either be driven away, or else made a laughing stocke? Well, suppose I were with the *French* King, and there sitting in his Counsell, whiles in that most secret consultation, the King himselfe there being present in his owne person, they beat their braines, and search the very bottomes of their wits, to discusse by what craft and meanes the King may still keepe *Millaine*, and draw to him againe fugitiue *Naples*: and then how to conquer the *Venetians*, and how to bring vnder his iurisdiction all *Italie*; then how to winne the Dominion

The French men priuily be counsailed from the desire of Italy.

Dominion of *Flanders, Brabant,* and all *Burgundy*; with divers other Lands, whose Kingdomes hee hath long agoe in mind and purpose invaded. Heere, whiles one counsaileth to conclude a League of Peace with the *Venotians*; so long to endure, as shall be thought meete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their Councell; yea and besides that, to give them part of the prey, Which afterward, when they have brought their purpose about, after their owne mindes, they may require and claime again? Another thinketh best to hyre the *Germans*: Another, would have the favour of the *Switzers* wonne with money: Anothers advice, is to appease the puissant power of the Emperors Majestie with Gold, as with a most pleasant and acceptable sacrifice: Whiles another giveth counsell to make peace with the King of *Arragon*, & to restore

unto

*Lance-
knights.*

unto him his owne Kingdome of *Navarre*, as a full assurance of of peace : Another commeth in with his five egges, and adviseth to hooke in the King of *Castile*, with some hope of affinitie, or allyance ; and to bring to their part certaine Peeres of his Court, for great Pensions.

Whiles they all stay at the chiefest doubt of all, what to doe in the meane time with *England* ; and yet agree all in this, to make with the *English-men*, and with most sure and strong bonds to binde that weake and feeble friendship, so that they must be called friends, and had in suspicion as enemies. And that therefore the *Scots* must be had in a readinesse, as it were in a standing, ready at all occasions (in case the *English-men* should stir never so little) incontinent to set upon them. And moreover, privily and secretly (for openly it may not be done, by the Truce
that

that is taken ;) privily therefore, I say, to make much of some Peere of *England*, that is banished his Countrey, which must clayme Title to the Crowne of the Realme, and affirme himselfe just Inheritor thereof : that by this subtile meanes they may hold to them the King, in whom else they have but small trust and affiance.

Here, I say, where so great and high matters be in consultation, where so many noble and wise men counsaile their King onely to Warre : here if I, silly man, should rise up, and will them to turne over the Lease, and learne a new Lesson, saying ; That my counsaile is not to meddle with *Ita'ie*, but to tarry still at home ; and that the Kingdome of *France* alone is al nost greater, then that it may well be governed of one man ; so that the King should not need to study how to get more : And then

*A notable
Example,
and wor-
thy to be
followed.*

then should propose unto them the Decrees of the People that be called the *Achoriens*, which be situate over-against the Island of *Utopia*, on the South-east side.

These *Achoriens* once made warre, in their Kings quarrell, for to get him another Kingdome which hee laid clayme unto, and advanced himselfe right Inheritor to the Crowne thereof, by the Title of an old alliance. At the last, when they had gotten it, and saw that they had even as much vexation and trouble in keeping it, as they had in getting it; and that either their new conquered Subjects by sundry occasions were making daily Insurrections to rebell against them, or else that other Countries were continually with divers Inrodes and forraignes invading them; so that they were ever Fighting, either for them, or against them, and never could breake up their Campes: Seeing them-

selues in the meane season, pilled
and impoverished, their money
carried out of the Realme; their
owne men killed, to maintaine
the glory of another Nation:
when they had no Warre, peace
nothing better then warre, by
reason that their people in warre
had so injured themselves to
corrupt and wicked manners;
that they had taken a delight and
pleasure in robbing and stealing;
that through manlaughter, they
had gathered boldnesse to mis-
chiete; that their Lawes were
had in contempt, and nothing set
by or regarded; that their King
being troubled with the charge
and governance of two King-
domes, could not, nor was not
able perfectly to discharge his
office towards them both: seeing
again, that all these evils and
troubles were endlesse, at the last
laid their heads together, and
like faithfull and loving sub-
jects gaue to their King free
E choise

choise and liberty: to keepe still the one of these two Kingdomes, whether he would; alledging, that he was not able to keepe both, and that they were more then might well be governed of halfe a King, for as much as no man would be content to take him for his Mulettor, that keepeth another mans Mules besides his. So this good Prince was constrained to be content with his old Kingdome, and to giue over the new to one of his friends, who shortly after was violently driven out.

Furthermore, if I should declare vnto them, that all this busie preparance to warre, whereby so many Nations for his sake should be brought into a troublesome hurly-burly, when all his Coffers were emptied, his Treasures wasted, and his people destroyed, should at the length through some mischance, be in vaine, and to none effect: and

words

II

that

that therefore it were best for him to content himselfe with his owne Kingdome of *France*, as his fore-fathers and predecessors did before him; to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourishing as he could; to endeavour himselfe to loue his subjects, and againe to be beloved of them; willingly to liue with them, peaceably to governe them, and with other Kingdomes not to meddle, seeing that which he hath already is even enough for him, yea, and more then he can well turne him to.

This mine advice, Master *Moore*, how thinke you, would it not be hardly taken? So God helpe me, not very thankfully, (quoth I.) Well let vs proceed then (quoth he.) Suppose that some King and his Councell were together, whetting their wits, and devising what subtile craft they might invent, to enrich the King with great Treasures of

E 2

Mony.

*Enhancing
and embas-
sing of
Coynes.*

Money.

First, one counsaileth to raise and enhance the valuation of Money, when the King must pay any; and againe, to call downe the value of Coyne to lesse then it is worth, when he must receiue or gather any: For thus, great summes shall be paid with a little money; and where little is due, much shall be received.

*Counterfeit
Warres.*

Another counsaileth to faine Warre: that when under this colour and pretence the King hath gathered great abundance of money, he may, when it shall please him, make peace with great solemnity, and holy ceremonies, to blind the eyes of the poore Communalty, as taking pittie and compassion forsooth vpon mans blond, like a loving and a mercifull Prince.

*The re-
newing of
old Lawes.*

Another putteth the King in remembrance of certaine old and moath-eaten Lawes, that of long time have not bene

beene put in execution, which because no man can remember that they were made, every man hath transgressed. The fines of these Lawes he counsaileth the King to require: for there is no way so profitable, nor more honourable, as that which hath a shew and colour of Iustice.

Another adviseth him to forbid many things vnder great Penalties and Fines, specially such things as is for the peoples profit not to be vsed; & afterward, to dispence for money with them which by this prohibition sustain losse and damage: For by this means, the favor of the people is won, & profit riseth two wayes: first, by taking forfeits of them, whom covetousnesse of gaynes hath brought in danger of this Statute; and also by selling Priviledges and Licences: which the better that the Prince is forsooth, the dearer he selleth them, as one that is loath to

Restraint

*Selling of
Licences.*

grant to any private person any thing that is against the profit of his People ; and therefore may set none, but at an exceeding deare price.

Another giveth the king counsell to endangervnto his Grace the Judges of the Realme, that he may have them ever on his side, and that they may in every matter dispute and reason for the Kings right. Yea, and further to call them into his Pallace, and to require them, there to argue and discusse his matters in his owne presence : So there shall be no matter of his so openly wrong and unjust, wherein one or other of them, either because he will have something to alledge and object ; or that he is ashamed to say that which is said already ; or else to picke a thanke with his Prince, will not finde some hole open to set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrary part in a trip.

Thus

Thus whiles the Iudges cannot agree amongst themselves, reasoning and arguing of that which is plaine enough, & bringing the manifest truth in doubt: in the meane season, the King may take a fit occasion to understand the Law as shall most make for his advantage, whereunto all other for shame, or for feare will agree. Then the Iudges may bee bold to pronounce on the Kings side: for hee that giveth sentence for the King, cannot be without a good excuse: For it shall be sufficient for him to have equity on his part, or the bare words of the Law, a wrythen and wrested understanding of the same (or else, which with good and just Iudges is of greater force then all lawes be) the Kings indisputable Prerogative. To conclude, all the Counsellors agree and consent together with the rich *Crassus*, That no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a

E 4 Prince,

The saying of rich Crassus.

Prince, which must keepe and maintaine an Army: furthermore that a King, though he would, can doe nothing vnjustly.

For all that men have, yea, also the men themselves be all his. And that every man hath so much of his owne, as the Kings gentlenesse hath not taken from him. And that it shall be most for the Kings advantage, that his subjects have very little or nothing in their possession, as whole safeguard doth herein consist, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealthy through riches and liberty, because where these things be, there men be not wont patiently to obey hard, vnjust, and vnlawfull commandements. Whereas on the other part, need and poverty doth hold downe and keepe vnder stout courages, and maketh them patient perforce, taking from them bold and rebelling stomackes.

Here

Here againe if I should rise vp, and boldly affirme, that all these counsels be to the King dishonour and reproach, whole honour and safety is more and rather supported and vpholden by the wealth and riches of his people, then by his owne Treasures? and if I should declare that the communalty chooseth their king for their owne sake, and not for his sake: to the intent, that through his labour and study they might all live wealthy, safe from wrongs and injuries: and that therefore the King ought to take more care for the wealth of his people, then for his owne wealth, even as the office and duty of a shepheard is in that he is a shepheard, to feed his sheepe rather then himselfe. For: as touching this, that they thinke the defence and maintenance of peace to consist in poverty of the people, the thing it self sheweth that they be farre out of the way:

*Poverty
the mother
of debate,
and decay
of Realms.*

way: For where shall a man find more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling and chiding, then among Beggers? Who bee more desirous of new mutations and alterations, then they that be not content with the present state of that life? Or finally, who be bolder stomacked to bring all in a hurly-burly (thereby trusting to get some wind-fall) then they that have now nothing to leese? And if any King were so smally regarded, & so lightly esteemed; yea, so be-hated of his Subjects, that other wayes hee could not keepe them in awe, but onely by open wrongs, by polling and shaving, and by bringing them to beggerie; surely, it were better for him to forsake his Kingdome then to hold it by that meanes: whereby though the name of a King be kept, yet the Majesty is lost: For it is against the dignity of a King to have rule over Beggers, but rather over rich and
weal-

wealthy men. Of this mind was the hardy and couragious *Fabrice*, when he said; that *He had rather be a Ruler of rich men, then be rich himselfe.*

And verily, one man to live in pleasure and wealth, whiles all all other weepe and smart for it, that is the part, not of a King, but a jaylour. To be short, as he is a foolish Physitian, that cannot cure his patients disease, vntill he cast him in another sicknesse; so he that cannot amend the liues of his subjects, but by taking from them the wealth and commodity of life: he must needs grant, that he knoweth not the wealth and commodity of life; he must needs grant, that he knoweth not the feate how to gouerne men. But let him rather amend his owne life, renounce vn honest pleasures, and forsake pride: for these be the chiefe vices that cause him to runne in the contempt or hatred

A worthy saying of Fabrice.

of his people. Let him liue of his owne, hurting no man: Let him do cost not aboue his power: Let him restraine wickednesse: Let him prevent vices, and take away the occasions of offences by well-ordering his subjects, and not by suffering wickednes to encrease, afterward to be punished: Let him not be too hastie in calling againe lawes which a custome hath abrogated; especially such as have been long forgotten, and neuer lacked nor needed. And let him neuer under the cloake and pretence of transgression, take such fines and forfeits, as no Iudge will suffer a private person to take, is unjust and full of guile.

Here if I should bring forth before them the Law of the *Macedonians*, which be not farre distant from *Protopia*, whose King, the day of his Coronation is bound (by a solemne Oath; that he shall neuer at any time have in his Treasure above a thousand pound of Gold

A strange
and notable
law of the
Macedonians

Gold or Silver. They say, that a very good King, which tooke farre more care for the wealth and commodity of his Countrey, then for the enriching of himselfe, made this law to be a stop and barre to kings from heaping and whording vp so much money as might impoverish their people: For he fore-saw that this sum of treasure would suffice to support the king in battaile against his owne people, if they should chance to rebell: & also to maintaine his warres against the invasions of his forraine enemies. Againe, he perceived the same stocke of money to be too little and vn sufficient to encourage and enable him wrongfully to take away other mens goods: which was the chiefe cause why the law was made. Another cause was this. He thought that by this provision his people should not lack mony, wherewith to maintaine their daily occupying & chaffer.

And

And seeing the King could not choose but lay out and bestow all that came in about the prescript summe of his stocke, he thought he would seeke no occasions to doe his subjects injury. Such a King shall be feared of evill men and loved of good men. These, and such other informations, if I should vse among men wholly inclined and given to the contrary part, how deafe eares thinke you shall I haue? Deafe hearers doubtlesse (quoth I.) And in good faith no mervaile. And to be plaine with you, truly I cannot allow that such communication shall be vsed, or such counsell given, as you be sure shall never be regarded nor received: For how can so strange informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their heads, whose minds be already prevented, with cleane contrary perswasions? This Schoole Philosophy is not unpleasant among friends

in familiar communication, but in the counsels of Kings, where great matters be debated and reasoned with great authority, these things haue no place.

That is it which I meant (quoth he) when I said Philosophy had no place among Kings. Indeed (quoth I) this Schoole philosophy hath not: which thinketh all things meet for every place. But there is another Philosophy more civill, which knoweth, as ye would say, her owne stage, and thereafter ordering and behaving her selfe in the play that she hath in hand, playeth her part accordingly with comelinesse, uttering nothing out of due order and fashion. And this is the Philosophy that you must vse. Or else whiles a Comody of *Plautus* is playing, and the vild bond-men scolding and trifling among themselves, if you should suddenly come vpon the Stage in a Philosophers appatell,

and

*Schoole
Philosophy
in the con-
sultations
of Princes
hath no
place.*

*A fine and
fit simili-
tude.*

A dumme
player.

and rehearse out of *Octavia* the place wherein *Seneca* disputeth with *Nero* : had it not beene better for you to haue played the dumme person, then by rehearsing that, which served neither for the time nor place to haue made such a tragicall Comedy or gallimalfry : For by bringing in other stufte that nothing appertaineth to the matter, you must needs marre & prevent the play that is in hand, though the stufte that you bring be much better. What part soever you have taken vpon you, play that as well as you can and make the best of it : And doe not therefore disturbe and bring out of order the whole matter, because that another, which is merrier and better commeth to your remembrance. So the case standeth in a Common-wealth : and so it is in the consultations of Kings and Princes. If evill opinions and naughty perswasions cannot be vtterly & quite

quite plucked out of their hearts, if you cannot even as you would remedy vices, which vse and custome hath cōfirmed: yet for this cause you must not leaue and forsake the Common-wealth: you must not forsake the Ship in a tempest, because you cannot rule and keepe downe the winds. No nor you must not labour to driue into their heads new and strange informations, which you know well shall be nothing regarded with them that be of cleane contrary minds. But you must with a crafty wile & subtile train study and endeavour your selfe, as much as in you lieth, to handle the matter wittily and handsomly for the purpose, and that which you cannot turne to good, so to order it that it be not very bad: For it is not possible for all things to be well, vnlesse all men were good: which I think will not be yet these good many yeares. By this meanes (quoth he) nothing else will be brought to passe; but

but whiles I goe about to reinedy the madnesse of others, I should be even as mad as they: For if I should speake things that be true, I must needs speake such things: but as for to speake false things, whether that be a Philosophers part or no I cannot tell, truly it is not my part. Howbeit this communication of mine though peradventure it may seeme vnpleasant to them, yet cannot I see why it should seeme strange, or foolishly newfangled. If so be that I should speake those things that *PLATO* saith in his *Weale publike*, or that the *Utopians* doe in theirs, these things though they were (as they be indeed) better, yet they might seeme spoken out of place. For as much as here amongst vs, every man hath his possessions severall to himselfe, and there all things be in common.

The Utopian weale publike.

But what was in my communication contained, that might not

not, and ought not in any place to be spoken? Saving that to them which haue throughly decreed and determined with themselves to runne headlong on the contrary way, it cannot be acceptable and pleasant, because it calleth them backe, and sheweth them the jeopardies: Verily if all things that evill and vicious manners have caused to seeme vnconvenient & naught should be refused, as things vnneet and reproachfull; then we must among Christian people winke at the most part of all those things which Christ taught vs, and so straightly forbad them to be wincked at, that those things also which he whispered in the eares of his Disciples, he commanded to be proclaimed in open houses. And yet the most part of them is more dissident from the manners of the world now a dayes, then my communication was. But Preachers silly and wily men following

following your counsell (as I suppose) because they saw men evill-willing to frame their manners to Christs rule , they have wrested and wried his doctrine, and like a rule of lead have applied it to mens manners : that by some meanes at the least way, they might agree together. Wherby I cannot see what good they have done : but that men may more sicklyer be evill. And I truly should prevaile even as little in Kings counsels : For either I must say otherwayes then they say, and then I were as good to say nothing , or else I must say the same that they say, and (as *Mitio* saith in *Terence*) helpe to further their madnesse. For that crafty will and subtill traine of yours, I cannot perceiue to what purpose it serveth , wherewith you would have me to study and endeavour my selfe, if all things cannot be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomely for the purpose that as far forth

as is possible, they may not be very evill. For there is no place to dissemble in, nor to worke in. Naughty counsels must be openly allowed, and very pestilent decrees must be approved.

He shall be counted worse, then a spy, yea, almost as evill as a Traitor, that with a faint-heart doth praise evill and noisome decrees. Moreover, a man can have no occasion to doe good, changing into the company of them, which will sooner pervert a good man then be made good themselves: through whose evill company he shalbe marred, or else if he remain good & innocent, yet the wickednesse and folly of others shall be imputed to him, and laid in his neck. So that it is impossible with that crafty wile, and subtill traine to turne any thing to better. Wherefore *Plato* by a goodly similitude declareth, why wise men refraine to meddle in the Common-wealth: For when they see the people swarime

swarme into the streetes, and daily wet to the skin with raine, and yet cannot perswade them to goe out of the raine, and to take their house, knowing well, that if they should goe out to them, they should nothing prevaile, nor winne ought by it, but with them be wet also in the raine, they doe keepe themselves within their houses, being content that they be safe themselves, seeing they cannot remedy the folly of the people. How be it doubtlesse Master *Moore* (to speake truly as my mind giveth me) where possessions be private, where money beareth all the stroake, it is hard and almost impossible that there the Weale publike may justly be governed, and prosperously flourish ; vnlesse you thinke thus: That Iustice is there executed, where all things come into the hands of cvill men ; or that prosperity there flourisheth, where all is divided among a few:

few : which few neverthelesse doe not leade their liues very wealthily, and the residue live miserably, wretchedly, and beggerly.

Wherefore, when I consider with my selfe, and weigh in my mind, the wise and godly ordinances of the *Vtopians*; among whom, with very few lawes, all things be so well and wealthy ordered, that vertue is had in a price and estimation, and yet all things being there common, every man hath abundance of every thing. Againe, on the other part, when I compare with them so many Nations ever making new lawes, yet none of them all well and sufficiently furnished with lawes: where every man calleth that he hath gotten, his owne proper and private goods, where so many new lawes daily made, be not sufficient for every man to enjoy, defend, and know from another mans that which he calleth

*Plato wil-
led all
things in a
Common-
wealth to
be common.*

leth his owne: which thing the infinite controversies in the law, daily rising, never to be ended, plainly declare to be true. These things (I say) when I consider with my selfe, I hold well with *Plato*, and doe nothing mervaile that he would make no lawes for them, that refused those lawes, whereby all men should have and enjoy equall portions of wealths and commodities.

For the wise man did easily fore-see, this to be the one and onely way to the wealth of a communnalty, if equality of all things should be brought in and stablished. Which I thinke is not possible to be observed, where every mans goods be proper and peculiar to himselfe: For where every man under certaine titles and pretences draweth, and plucketh to himselfe as much as he can; so that a few divide among themselves all the whole riches,

riches, be there never so much abundance and store, there to the residue is left lacke and poverty.

And for the most part it chanceth, that this latter sort is more worthy to enjoy that state of wealth, then the other be : because the rich men be covetous crafty, and vnprofitable. On the other part, the poore be lowly, simple, and by their daily labour, more profitable to the commonwealth, then to themselues. Thus I do fully perswade my selfe, that no equall and just distribution of things can be made, nor that perfect wealth shall ever be among men, vnlesse this propriety be exiled and banished. But so long as it shall continue, so long shall remaine among the most and best part of men, the heauy and inevitable burthen of poverty and wretchedness. Which, as I grant that it may be somewhat eased, so

I vtterly deny that it can wholly to be taken away: For if there were a Statute made, that no man should haue in his stocke aboue a prescript and appointed summe of money: if it were by certaine Lawes decreed, that neither the King should bee of too great power, neither the People too haughty and wealthy; and that Offices should not by inordinate sute, or by bribes and guifts: that they should neither bee bought nor sold; nor that it should be needfull for the Officers, to be at any cost or charge in their Offices: For so occasion is given to them by fraud and raine to gather up their money againe; and by reason of guifts and bribes, the Offices be given to rich men, which should rather haue beene executed of Wise men: By such lawes I say, like as Sicke bodies that be desperate and past cure, be wont with continuall good cherishing

to be kept and botched up for a time : so these evils also may be lightned and mitigated. But that they may be perfectly cured, brought to a good and upright state, it is not to be hoped for, whiles every man is Master of his owne to himselfe. Yea, and whiles you goe about to doe your cure of one part, you shall make bigger the sore of another part, so the helpe of one causeth anothers harme : forasmuch, as nothing can be given to any one unlesse it be taken from another.

But I am of a contrary opinion (quoth I) for me thinketh that men shall never there live wealthy, where all things bee common : For how can there be abundance of goods, or of any thing, where every man withdraweth his hand from labour? Whom the regard of his owne gaines driveth not to worke, but the hope that he hath in other

mens travailes maketh him sloathfull.

Then when they be pricked with poverty, and yet no man can by any law or right defend that for his owne, which he hath gotten with the labor of his own hands, shall not there of necessity be continuall sedition and bloodshed? Specially the authority and reverence of Magistrates, being taken away, which, what place it may have with such men among whom is no difference, I cannot devise. I marvaile not (quoth he) that you be of this opinion. For you conceive in your mind either none at all, or else a very false Image and similitude of this thing. But if you had beene with me in *Vtopia*, and had presently seene their fashions and lawes, as I did, which lived there five yeares, and more, & wold never haue come thence, but onely to make that new land knowne

knowne heere : Then doubt-
lesse you would grant , that
you never saw people well or-
dered, but onely there. Surely
(quoth Master PETER) it
shall be hard for you to make
me beleve, that there is bet-
ter order in that New Land,
then is here in the Countries
that we know. For good wits
be as well here as there : and I
thinke our Common-wealths
be ancients then theirs ;
wherein long vse and expe-
rience hath found out many
things commodious for mans
life ; besides that many things
here among vs have beene
found by chance , which no
wit could ever have devised.
As touching the ancientnesse
(quoth he) of Common-
wealths, then, you might better
judge if you had read the Histo-
ries , and Chronicles of that
land, which, if we may beleue,
E. 3 Cities

Cities were there, before men were heere.

Now what thing soever hitherto by wit hath beene devised, or found by chance, that might be as well there as heere. But I thinke verily, though it were so that we did passe them in wit: yet in study, in trauell, and in laboursome endeavour, they farre passe vs: For (as their Chronicles testifie) before our arrivall there they never heard any thing of vs, whom they call the *Ultra-equinoctialles*: saving that once about 1200 yeares agoe, a certaine Ship was lost by the Ile of *Vtopia*, which was driven thither by tempest. Certaine *Romans* and *Egyptians* were cast on Land. Which after that never went thence.

Marke now what profit they tooke of this one occasion through diligence and earnest trauaile. There was no craft nor science within the Empire of
Rome

Rome whereof any profit could rise, but they either learned it of these strangers, or else of them, taking occasion to search for it, found it out. So great profit was it to them that ever any went thither, from hence. But if any like chance before this hath brought any man from thence hither, that is as quite out of remembrance, as this also perchance in time to come shall be forgotten, that ever I was there. And like as they quickly, almost at the first meeting, made their owne, whatsoever is among us wealthily devised: So I suppose it would be long before we should receive any thing, that among them is better instituted then among us.

And this I suppose is the chiefe cause why their common-wealths be wiselyer governed, and doe flourish in more wealth then ours, though wee neither in wit nor riches be their inferiours.

Therefore gentle Master *Raphael* (quoth I) I pray you and beseech you describe vnto us the Iland. And study not to bee short: but declare largely in order their Grounds, their Rivers, their Cities, their People, their Manners; their Ordinances, their Lawes, and to bee short, all things that you shall thinke us desirous to know. And you shall thinke us desirous to know whatsoever we know not yet.

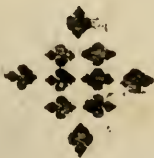
There is nothing (quoth hee) that I will doe gladlier. For all these things I have fresh in minde: But the matter requirith leifure. Let us goe in therefore (quoth I) to dinner, and afterward wee will bestow the time at our pleasure. Content (quoth hee) be it. So wee went in and dined.

When dinner was done, we came into the same place againe, and sate us downe upon the same bench, commanding our ser-
vants

vants that no man should trouble us. Then I and Master *Peter Giles*, desired Master *Raphael* to performe his promise.

Hee therefore seeing us desirous and willing to hearken to him, when he had sate still and paused a little while, musing and bethinking himselfe, thus he began to speake.

The end of the first Booke.





THE
SECOND BOOKE
of the Communication of
RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY,
concerning the best State
of a COMMON-
WEALTH.

Containing the Description of
VTOPIA, with a large decla-
ration of the politike govern-
ment, and of all the good Lawes
and Orders of the same Iland.



The Iland of VTO-
PIA, containeth in
breadth in the mid-
dle part of it (for
there it is broadest)

200 miles. Which breadth conti-
nueth through the most part of
the Land, saving that by little it
cometh in, and waxeth narrower

The sight
and fashi-
on of the
new Iland
Utopia.

towards both the ends: which fetching about a circuit or compasse of 500 miles, doe fashion the whole Iland like to the new Moone. between these two corners the Sea runeth in, dividing them a sunder by the distance of 11 miles or thereabouts, & there surmounteth into a large Sea, which by reason that the Land on every side compasseth it about, and sheltreth it from the winds, is not rough, nor mounteth not with great waves, but almost floweth quietly not much vnlike a great standing poole: and maketh well-nigh all the space within the belly of the Land in manner of a haven: and to the great comodity of the inhabitants, receiveth in Ships towards every part of the land. The fore-fronts or frontiers of the two corners, what with bords and shelves and what with rockes, be jeopardous and dangerous. In the middle distance between them both, standeth up above the water a great Rock, which therefore it is

is nothing perilous because it is in sight. Vpon the top of this rock is a faire and strong tower builded, which they hold with a garrison of men. Other rockes there be lying hid under the water, which therefore be dangerous. The channels be knowne onely to themselves. And therefore it seldome chanceth that any Stranger unlesse he be guided by an *Utopian*, can come into this haven. Inso-much that they themselves could scarcely enter without jeopardy, but that their way is directed and ruled by certaine Land-markes standing on the shore. By turning translating, and removing the markes into other places, they may destroy their enemies navies, be they never so many. The outside or utter circuit of the land, is also full of havens, but the landing is so surely fenced, what by nature, & what by workmanship of mens hands, that a few defenders may drive back many armies

How-

A place naturally feaced, needeth one Garrison.

A politike devise in the changing land-markes.

The Island
of Utopia,
so named
of King
Utopus.

Howbeit as they say, and as the fashion of the place it selfe doth partly shew, it was not ever compassed about with the Sea. But King *Utopus*, whose name, as conquerour, the Island beareth: For before this time it was called *Abraxa*) which also brought the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection in all good fashions, humanity, and civill gentleness, wherein they now goe beyond all the people in the world: even at his arriving and entering vpon the land, forthwith obtaining the victory, caused fifteene miles space of vplandish ground, where the Sea had no passage, to be cut and digged vp. And so wrought the Sea round about the Land. He let to this worke: not onely the inhabitants of this Island (because they should not thinke it done in contumely and despight) but also all his owne souldiours.

Thus the worke being divided

into

into so great a number of workemen, was with exceeding marvailous speed dispatched. Insomuch that the borderers which at the first began to mocke, and to jest as the vaine enterprise, then turned their derision to mervaile at the successe, and to feare. There be in the Iland fifty foure large and faire Cities, or shiere towns, agreeing altogether in one tongue, in like manners, institutions, and lawes, they be all set and situate alike, and in all points fashioned alike, as farre forth as the place or plot suffereth.

Of these Cities, they that be nighest together be twenty foure miles asunder. Againe, there is none of them distant, from the next, aboue one dayes journey a foot. There come yearely to *Amaurote*, out of every City, three old men wise and well experienced, there to intreate and debate, of the common matters of the Land. For this City (because it

stan-

*Many
hands make
light
worke.*

*Cities in
Utopia.
Similitude
causeth
concord.*

*A meane
distance
betwene
City. and
City.*

The distribution of Lands. But this now a daies is the ground of all mischief.

Husbandry & tillage, chiefly and principally regarded and advanced.

standeth just in the midst of the Iland, and is therefore most meet for the Ambassadors of all parts of the Realme) is taken for the chiefe and head City. The precincts and bounds of the Shieres, be so commodiously appointed out, and set forth for the Cities, that none of them all hath of any side lesse then twenty miles of ground, and of some side also much more, as of that part where the Cities be of further distance a sunder. None of the Cities desire to enlarge the bounds and limits of their shires. For they count themselves rather the good husbands, then the owners of their lands. They have in the Countrey in all parts of the shiere, houses or farmes builded, well appointed and furnished with all sorts of instruments and tooles belonging to Husbandry. These houses be inhabited of the Citizens, which come thither to dwell by course.

No

No household or Farme in the Countrey hath fewer then fifty persons men and women, besides two bondmen, which be all vnder the rule and order of the good man, and the good wife of the house, being both very sage, discreet; and ancient persons. And every thirty Farmes or families have one head ruler, which is called a *Philarch*, being as it were a head Bayliffe, Out of every one of these families or farmes, commeth every yeare into the City twenty persons, which have continued two yeares before in the Countrey. In their place so many fresh be sent thither out of the City, who, of them that have beene there a yeare already, and be therefore expert and cunning in husbandry, shall be instructed and taught. And they the next yeare shall teach other.

This order is vsed for feare that either scarcenelle of victuals,
or

or some other like incommodity should chance, through lacke of knowledge: if they should be altogether new, and fresh, and vniexpert in husbandry. This manner and fashion, of yearly changing and renewing the occupiers of husbandry, though, it be solemne and customably vsed, to thinke that no man shall be constrained against his will to continue long in that hard and sharp kind of life; yet many of them have such a pleasure and delight in husbandry, that they obtaine a longer space of yeares. These husbandmen, plough and till the ground, and breed vp cattell, and provide and make ready wood, which they carry to the City either by land or water, as they most conveniently. They bring vp a great multitude of pullein, and that by a meruailous policie: for the hens doe not sit vpon the egges; but by keeping them in a certaine equall heat they bring

*The duties
of men
of husbandry.*

*A strange
fashion in
hatching
and bring-
ing vp of
Pullein.*

bring life into them, and hatch them. The chickens, as soone as they become out of the shell, follow men and women in stead of the hennes. They bring vp very few horses : nor none, but very fierce ones : and that for none other vse or purpose, but onely to exercise their youth in riding, and, feares of Armes : For Oxen be put to all the labor of ploughing and drawing : which they grant not to be so good as horses at a sudden brunt, and (as we say) at a dead list ; but yet they hold an opinion, that Oxen will abide and suffer much more labour, paine and hardinesse, then Horses will. And they thinke that Oxen be not in danger and subject unto so many diseases, and that they be kept and maintained with much lesse cost and charge : and finally, that they be good for meat, when they be past labour. They sow corne onely for bread. For their drinke is
either

*The vse.
of Horses
The vse
of Oxen.*

*Bread and
drinke.*

*A great
discretion
in sowing
of Corne.*

either Wine made of grapes, or else of apples, or Peares, or else it is cleare water: and many times Meath made of honey, or Licouresse sodde in water; for thereof they haue great store. And though they know certainly (for they know it perfectly indeed) how much victuals the City with the whole Country or Shire round about it doth spend: yet they sow much more corne, and breed vp much more cattell, then seruethe for their owne vse, parting the overplus among their borderers. Whatsoever necessary things be lacking in the Countrey, all such stuffe they fetch out of the City: where without any exchange, they easily obtaine it of the Magistrates of the City. For every moneth many of them goe into the City on the Holiday. When their harvest day draweth neare, and is at hand, then the *Philarches*, which be the head Officers and Bailiffes of husban-

husbandry , send word to the Magistrates of the City what number of harvest men is needfull to be sent to them out of the City. The which company of harvest men being ready at the day appointed , almost in one faire day dispatcheth all the harvest worke.

*Matwell
helpe
quickly
dispatch-
ed.*

*Of the Cities, and namely
Amaurote.*

AS for the Cities , who so knoweth one of them , knoweth them all : they be all so like one to another , as farre forth as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not greatly which: but which rather then *Amaurote* ? Of them all, this is the worthiest and of most dignity.
For

The de-
scriptiō of
Amaurote
the chiefe
City in
Utopia.

The di-
scription
of *Anyder*.

The very
like in
England
in the Ri-
uer of
Thames.

For the residue knowledge it for
the head City, because there is
the Counsell house. Not to me
any of them all is better beloved,
as wherein I lived five whole
yeares together: the City of *A-*
manrote standeth vpon the side
of a low hill, in fashion almost
foure square. For the breadth of
it beginneth a little beneath the
top of the hill, and still continu-
eth by the space of two miles,
vntill it come to the River of
Anyder. The length of it, which
lyeth by the rivers side, is some-
what more. The River of *Anyder*
riseth foure and twenty miles a-
bove *Amaurote* out of a little
Spring. But being increased by
other small Rivers and Brookes
that runne into it, and among o-
ther, two some what big ones;
before the City it is halfe a mile
beoad, and further broader. And
forty milcs beyond the City it
falleth into the Ocean Sea. By all
that space that lieth betweene
the

the Sea and the City, and certaine miles also above the City the water ebberh and floweth sixe houres together with a swift Tide. When the Sea floweth in, for the length of thirty miles, it filleth all the *Amyden* with salt water, and driveth back the fresh water of the River. And somewhat further, it changeth the sweetnesse of the fresh water with the saltnesse. But a little beyond that, the River waxeth sweet, and runneth fore-by the City fresh and pleasant. And when the Sea ebberh, and goeth backe againe, the fresh water followeth it, almost even to the very fall of the Sea. There goeth a Bridge over the River, made not of piles or of timber, but of stone worke, with gorgious and substantiall Arches, at that part of the City that is farthest from the Sea: to the intent that Ships may passe along fore-by all the side of the City without let. They haue also another

Herein also doth
London agree with
Amazurgete.

another River which indeed is not very great. But it runneth gently and pleasantly : For it riseth even out of the same hill that the City standeth vpon, and runneth downe a slope through the middest of the City into *Amyder*.

And because it riseth a little without the City, the *Amavritians* have inclosed the head spring of it, with strong fences, and Bulwarkes, and so have joyned it to the City. This is done to the intent that the water should not be stopped, nor turned away, or poysoned, if their enemies should chance to come vpon them. From thence the water is derived and conveyed downe in chānells of bricke diuers wayes, into the lower parts of the Citie. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place will not suffer it, there they gather the raine water in great cisternes, which doth them as good service.

*The vse of
fresh wa-
ter.*

service. The City is compassed about with a high and thicke stone wall full of turrets and bulwarkes. A dry ditch, but deep and broad, and over-grown with bushes, briers, and thornes, goeth about three sides or quarters of the City. To the fourth side the riuer it selfe serveth as a ditch. The streets be appointed and set forth very commodious, and handsome, both for cariage and also against the windes. The houses be of faire and gorgious building, and on the streete side they stand joyned together in a long row through the whole streete, without any partition or seperation. The streetes be twenty foote broad. On the backe side of the houses through the whole length of the street, lye large Gardens inclosed round about with the backe part of the streetes. Every house hath two doores, one into the street, and a posterne doore

The defence of the Towne-walls.

Streets, Buildings and Houses

To every dwelling house a garden-place adjoining.

on the backside into the Garden. These doores be made with two leaves, never locked nor bolted, so easie to be opened, that they will follow the least drawing of a finger, and shut againe alone. Who so will, may goe in, for there is nothing within the houses that is private, or any mans owne. And every tenth yeare they change their Houses by let. They set great store by their Gardens.

*This geare.
smetheth of
Plato his
communitie*

In them they have Vine-yards, all manner of Fruit, Hearbes, and Flowers, so pleasant, so well furnished, and so finely kept, that I never saw thing more fruitfull, nor better trimmed in any place. Their study and diligence herein commeth not onely of pleasure, but also of a certaine strife and contention that is betweene street and street, concerning the trimming, husbanding, and furnishing of their Gardens: every man for his owne part. And verily

rily you shall not lightly find in all the City any thing, that is more commodious, either for the profit of the Citizens, or for pleasure. And therefore it may seeme that the first founder of the City minded nothing so much, as these Gardens. For they say that King *Vtopus* himselfe, even at the first beginning, appointed and drew forth the plat-forme of the City into this fashion and figure that it hath now, but the gallant garnishing, and the beautifull setting forth of it, whereunto he saw that one mans age would not suffice, that he left to his posterity. For their **C**hronicles which they keepe written with all diligent circumspection, containing the History of 1760 yeares, even from the first conquest of the Iland, record and witness that the houses in the beginning were very low, and like homely cottages, or poore shepheard houses, made at all

G a adven-

adventures of every rude peece of timber, that came first to hand, with mud walls, & ridged roofes, thatched over with straw. But now the houses be curiously builded after a gorgious and gallant sort, with three stories one over another. The out-sides of y^e walls be made either of hard flint, or of Plaister, or else of brick, and the inner-sides be well strengthened with timberwork. The roofes be plain and flat, covered with a certaine kind of Plaister, that is of no cost, and yet so tempered that no fire can hurt or perish it, & withstandeth the violence of the weather better then any lead. They keepe the wind out of their windowes with glasse, for it is there much vsed, and some here also with fine linnen cloath dipped in oyle or amber, and that for two commodities: For by this means more light commeth in, and the wind is better kept out.

*Glased or
canvased
windowes.*

Of the Magistrates.

EVery thirty Families or Farms, choose them yearely an Officer, which in their old language is called the *Siphogrant*, and by a newer name, the *Philarch*. Every teene *Siphogrants*, with all their thirty families be vnder an Officer, which was once called the *Tranibore*, now the chiefe *Philarch*. Moreover as concerning the election of the Prince, all the *Siphogrants* which be in number two hundred, first be sworne to choose him, whom they thinke most meete and expedient. Then by a secret election, they name Prince one of those foure whom the people before named vnto them. For out of the foure quarters of the City there be foure chosen, out of every quarter 1, to

A Tranibore in the Utopian tongue, signifieth a head or chiefe Peere. A meruilous strange fashion in choosing Magistrates.

*Tyranny in
a well or-
dered
Wcalepub-
like utter-
ly to be ab-
horred.*

*suites and
controver-
sies be-
tween par-
ty & par-
ty forth-
with to be
ended,
which now
a dayes of
a set pur-
pose be un-
reasonably
delayed.*

stand for the election : which be put vp to the Counsell. The Princes Office continueth all his life time, vnlesse he be deposed or put downe for suspition of tyranny. They choose the Tranibores yearely, but lightly they change them not. All the other Officers be but for one yeare. The Tranibores every third day, and sometimes, if need be, oftner come into the Counsell house with the Prince. Their counsell is concerning the Common-wealth. If there be any controversies among the commoners, which be very few, they dispatch and end them by and by. They take ever two Siphogrants to them in counsell, and every day a new couple. And it is provided, that nothing touching the common-wealth shall be confirmed and ratified, vnlesse it haue beene reasoned of and debated, three dayes in the counsell before it be decreed. It is death to haue
any

any consultation, for the common-wealth out of the counsell, or the place of the common election. This statute, they say, was made to the intent, that the Prince and Tranibores, might not easily conspire together to oppresse the people by tyranny, and to change the state of the Weale-publike. Therefore matters of great weight and importance be brought to the election house of the Siphogrants, which, open the matter to their families. And afterward, when they have consulted among themselves, they shew their devise of the counsell. Sometime the matter is brought before the counsell of the whole Iland. Furthermore this custome also the counsell useth, to dispute or reason of no matter the same day that it is first proposed or put forth, but to deferre it to the next sitting of the counsell: Because that no man when he hath rashly there

*Against
hasty and
rash de-
crees or
statutes.*

*A custome
worthy to
be used in
these daies
in our Councels and
Parli-
ments.*

spoken that commeth to his
tongues end, shall then afterward
rather study for reasons where-
with to defend and maintaine his
first foolish sentence, then for the
commodity of the Common-
wealth : as one rather willing
the harme or hinderance of the
Weale publike, then any losse or
diminution of his owne estima-
tion. And as one that would be
ashamed (which is a very fo-
lish shame) to be counted any thing
at the first over-seene in the mat-
ter. Who at the first ought to
have spoken rather wisely, then
hastily, or rashly.

Of Sciences, Crafts, and
Occupations.

Husbandry is a Science common to them all in generall, both men and women, wherein they be all expert and cunning. In this they be all instructed even from their youth: partly in their Schooles with traditions and precepts, and partly in the Country nigh the City, brought vp as it were in playing, not only beholding the vse of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Besides husbandry, which (as I said) is common to them all, every one of them learneth one or other severall and particular science, as his owne proper craft. That is most commonly either Cloath-working, in woll or flaxe, or Masonary, or the Smiths craft, or the Carpenters science: For there is none

Husbandry or tillage practised of all estates, which now adies is rejectt unto a few of the basest sort. Sciences or occupations should be learned for necessities sake, and not for the maintenance of riotous excessive and wanton pleasure.

*similitude
in apper-
rell.*

*No Citi-
zen with-
out a sci-
ence.*

none other occupation that any number to speake of doth vie there.

For their garments, which throughout all the Iland be of one fashion, (saying that there is a difference betweene the mans garment and the womans, betweene the married and the vnmarried) and this one continueth for evermore vchanged, seemely and comely to the eye, no let to the moving and welding of the body, also fit-both for winter and summer: as for these garments (I say) every family maketh their owne. But of the other foresaid crafts every man learneth one. And not onely the men but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, be put to the easier crafts: as to worke wooll and flaxe. The more labor-some sciences be committed to the men. For the most part, every man is brought vp in his fathers craft. For most commonly they

be

be naturally thereto bent and inclined. But if a mans mind stand to any other, he is by adoption put into a family of that occupation, which he doth most fantastic. Whom not onely his father, but also the Magistrate doe diligently looke to, that he be put to a discreet and an honest householder. Yea, and if any person, when he hath learned one craft, be desirous to learne also another, he is likewise suffered and permitted. When he hath learned both, he occupieth whether he will: vnlesse the City hath more need of the one, then the other. The chiefe and almost the onely office of the *Syphogrants* is, to see and take heed, that no man sit idle: but that every one apply his owne craft with earnest diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from carely in the morning, too late in the evening, with continuall worke, like labouring and toyling Beasts.

For

To what
occupation
every one
is natural-
ly inclined
that let
him learne.

Idle per-
sons to be
driven out
of the
Weale
publique.

For this is worse then the miserable and wretched condition of bondmen.

*A mitigation
in the
labour and
toyle of ar-
tifiers.*

Which, neverthelesse is almost every where the life of workmen and artificers, saving in *Vtopia*. For they dividing the day and the night into twenty foure just houres, appoint and assigne only 6 of those hours to worke, before noone vpon the which they goe strait to dinner, and after dinner, when they have rested a houres, then they worke three houres, and vpon that they goe to supper. About eight of the clocke in the evening (counting one of the clocke the first houre After noone) they goe to bed : eight houres they give to sleepe. All the voide time, that is betweene the houres of worke, sleepe, and meate, that they be suffered to bestow every man as he liketh best himselfe. Not to the intent, that they should mispend this time in riot, or sloath.

sloathfulnesse, but being then licensed from the labour of their owne occupations, to bestow the time well & thriftily vpon some other Science, as shall please them: For it is a solemne custome there, to have Lectures daily early in the morning, whereto be present, they only be constrained, that be namely, chosen and appointed to learning. Howbeit a great multitude of every sort of people, both men and women goe to heare Lectures, some one and some another, as every mans nature is inclined. Yet this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestow this time vpon his owne occupation, as it chanceth in many, (whose minds rise not in the contemplation of any Science liberall) he is not letted nor prohibited, but is also praised and commended, as profitable to the Common-wealth. After Supper, they bestow one houre in play: in Summer,
in

*The study
of good li-
terature.*

*Playing
after sup-
per.*

*But now a
daies dice-
play is the
pastime of
Princes.*

*Playes of
games also
profitable.*

in their Gardens : in Winter, in their common Hall, where they dine and sup. There they exercise themselves in Musicke, or else in honest and wholesome communication. Dice-play, and such other foolish and pernicious games, they know not. But they use two games, not much unlike the Chesse. The one is the battaile of numbers, wherein one number stealeth away another. The other is where vices fight with vertues, as it were in battaile array, or a set Field. In the which game is very properly shewed, both the strife and discord, that the vices have among themselves, and againe their vinty and concord against vertues. And also what vices be repugnant to what vertues : with what power and strength they assaile them openly : by what wiles and subtilty they assault them secretly : with what helpe and ayd the vertues resist, and overcome the puissance

the puiffance of the vices : by what craft they frustrate their purposes : and finally by what height or meanes the one getteth the victory. But here leaft you be deceived , one thing you muft looke more narrowly vpon. For feeing they beftow but fixe houres in worke, perchance you may thinke that the lacke of fome neceffary things hereof may enfue. But this is nothing fo; For that fmall time is not onely enough, but alfo too much for the ftore and abundance of all things, that be requifite, either for the neceffity, or commodity of life. The which thing you alfo fhall perceiue, if you weigh and confider with your felues how great a part of the people in other Countries liveth idle. Firft almoft all women, which be the halfe of the whole number : or elfe if the women be fomewhere occupied, there moft commonly in their ftad the men be idle.

*The kinds
of forts of
idle peo-
ple.*

Women.

Be-

*Priests
and religi-
ous men.
Rich men
and landed
men.*

*Serving-
men. Star-
dy and va-
liant beg-
gars.*

*Wonder-
full witts-
ly spoken.*

Besides this, how great and how idle a company is there of Priests, and religious men, as they call them? put thereto all rich men, specially all landed men, which commonly be called Gentlemen, and noblemen. Take into this number also their servants: I meane all that focke of stout bragging rusbucklers. Ioyne to them also sturdy and valiant beggars, cloaking their idle life vnder the colour of some disease or sicknesse.

And truly you shall find them much fewer then you thought, by whose labour all these things are wrought, that in mens affaires are now daily vsed and frequented. Now consider with your selfe, of these few that doe worke, how few be occupied, in necessary workes: For where money beareth all the sving, there many vaine and superfluous occupations, must needs be vsed to serue onely for riotous superfluity.

fluity, and vn honest pleasure: for the same multitude that now is occupiyed in worke, if they were divided into so few occupations, as the necessary vse of nature requireth, in so great plenty of things as then of necessity would ensue, doubtlesse the prices would be too little for the artificers to maintaine their livings.

But if all these, that be now busied about unprofitable occupations, with all the whole flocke of the that live idly & sloathfully, which consume and wast every one of them more of these things that come by other mens labour, then two of the workmen themselves doe: if all these (I say) were set to profitable occupations: you easily perceiue how little time would be enough, yea, and too much to store vs with all things that may be requisite either for necessity or commodity, yea or for pleasure, so

so that the same pleasure be true and naturall. And this in *Vtopia* the thing it selfe maketh manifest and plaine. For there in all the City with the whole Country, or Shire adjoyning to it, scarcely five hundred persons of all the whole number of men and women, that be neither too old nor too weake to worke, be licensed and discharged from labour. Among them be the *Syphogrants* (who though they be by the lawes exempt and privileged from labour) yet they exempt not themselves: to the intent they may the rather by their example to provoke others to worke.

Not as
much as
the Magi-
strates live
ideliy.

The same vocation from labour doe they also enjoy, to whom the people perswaded by the commendation of the Priests, and secret election of the *Syphogrants*, have given a perpetuall licence, from labour to learning. But if any one of them prove

not

not according to the expectation and hope of him conceived, he is forthwith plucked back to the company of artificers. And contrariwise, and often it chanceth that a handiercrafts man doth so earnestly bestow his vacant and spare houres in learning, and through diligence so profiteth therein, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Out of this order of the learned be chosen Ambassadors, Priests, Tranibores, and finally the Prince himselfe. Whom they in their old tongue call *Barzanes*, and by a newer name, *Adamus*.

The residue of the people being neither idle, nor yet occupied about vnprofitable exercises, it may be easily judged in how few houres how much good worke by them may be done and dispatched, towards those things that I have spoken off. This commodity they have also above other,

Only learned men called to Offices.

*How to a-
void exces-
sive cost in
building.*

other, that in the most part of necessary occupations they need not so much worke, as other nations doe. For first of all the building or repairing of houses asketh every where so many mens continuall labour, because that the vnthrifty heire suffereth the houses that his father builded, in continuance of time, to fall in decay. So that which he might haue vpholden with little cost, his successor is constrained to build it againe a new, to his great charge. Yea many times also the house that stood one man in much money: and another is of so nice and so delicate a mind, that he setteth nothing by it. And it being neglected, & therefore shortly falling into ruine, he buildeth vp another in another place with no lesse cost and charge.

But among the *Utopians*, where all things be set in good order, and the Commonwealth in a good stay, it seldome chanceth, that they choose

a new plot to build an house vpon. And they doe not onely find speedy and quicke remedies for present faults : but also prevent them that be like to fall. And by this meanes their houses continue and last very long with little labour and small reparations, insomuch that these kind of workemen sometimes have almost nothing to doe. But that they be commanded to hew timber at home, and to square and trinme vp stones, to the intent that if any worke chance, it may the speedilier rise. Now Sir, in their appareil, marke (I pray you) how few workemen they need. First of all, whiles they be at worke, they be covered homely with leather, or skins, that will last seaven yeares. When they go forth abroad, they cast vpon them a cloake, which hideth the other homely apparell. These cloakes throughout the whole Island, be all of one colour,

and

*How to
lessen the
charge in
apparell.*

and that is the naturall colour of the wooll. They therefore doe not onely spend much wollen cloth, then is spent in other Countries, but also the same standeth them in much lesse cost. But linnen cloath is made with lesse labour, and is therefore had more in vse. But in linnen cloath only whitenesse; in wollen, onely clenlinesse is regarded. As for the smalnesse or finenesse of the thred, that is nothing passed for. And this is the cause wherefore in other places foure or five cloath gownes of diuers colours, and as many silke coates be not enough for one man. Yea, and if he be of the dilicate and nice sort, tenne be too few: where as there one garment will serue a man most commonly two years: For why should he desire more? seeing if he had them, he should not be the better hapt or covered from cold, neither in his apparell any whit the comlier. Where-

Wherefore, seeing they be all exercised in profitable occupations, and that few Artificiers in the same crafts be sufficient: this is the cause that plenty of all things being among them, they doe sometimes bring forth an innumerable company of people to amend the high-wayes, if any be broken. Many times also, when they have no such worke to be occupied about, an open proclamation is made, that they shall bestow fewer houres in worke: For the Magistrates doe not exercise their Citizens against their wills in vneedfull labours. For why, in the institution of the Weale publike, this end is onely and chiefly pretended and minded, that what time may possibly be spared from the necessary occupations and affaires of the Common-wealth, all that the Citizens should withdraw from the bodily service to the free liberty of the mind and garnishing

ing of the same. For herein they suppose the felicity of this life to consist.

Of their living and mutual conversation together.

BUt now will I declare how the Citizens use themselves one to another: what familiar occupying and entertainment, there is among the people, and what fashion they use in the distribution of every thing. First, the City consisteth of families, the families most commonly be made of kinreds. For the women when they be married at a lawfull age, they goe into their husbands houses.

But the male Children, with all the whole male off-spring continue still in their owne family, and be governed of the eldest and ancientest father, unless he

he dote for age: for then the next to him in age, is placed in his roome. But to the intent the pre-
script number of the citizens should neither decrease; nor above measure increase, it is ordained that no family, which in every City be sixe thousand in the whole, besides them of the Countrey, shall at once haue fewer children of the age of fourteene yeares or thereabout, then ten, or more then sixteene; for of children under this age, no number can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or number is easily observed and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be above the number into families of smaller increase. But if chance be that in the whole Citty, the store increase above the just number, wherewith they fill vp the lacke of other Cities. But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole Island, passe and exceed the due number, then they choose

The number of Citizens.

out of e^very City certaine Citizens, and build up a Towne under their owne lawes in the next Land where the inhabitants have much waste and unoccupied ground, receiving also of the same Countrey people to them, if they will joyne and dwell with them. They thus joyning and dwelling together doe easily agree in one fashion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples: For they so bring the matter about by their Lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is now sufficient and fruitfull enough for them both. But if the inhabitants of the land, will not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they drive them out of those bounds which they have limited and appointed out for themselves.

And if they resist and rebell, then they make warre against them.

them. For they count this the most just cause of warre, when any people holdeth a piece of ground voyd and vacant to no good nor profitable use, keeping other from the use and possession of it, which notwithstanding by the law of Nature ought thereof to be nourished and relieved. If any chance doe so much diminish the number of any of their Cities, that it cannot bee filled up againe, without the diminishing of the just number of the other Cities (which they say chanced but twice since the beginning of the Land, through a great pestilent Plague) then they fulfill and make up the number with Citizens fetched out of their owne forraigne Townes, for they had rather suffer their forraigne townes to decay and perish, then any City of their owne Iland to be diminished. But now againe to the conversation of the Citizens among themselves.

*so might
we well be
discharged
and eased
of the idle
company
of serving-
men.*

The eldest (as I said) ru-
leth the family. The wiues be
Ministers to their husbands, the
children to their parents, and to
be short the younger to their el-
ders. Every City is divided into
foure equall parts or quarters. In
the midit of every quarter, there
is a market place of all manner
of things. Thither the workes
of every family be brought into
certaine houses. And every kind
of thing is laid vp severall in
barnes or store houses. From
hence the father of every family
or every householder fetcheth
whatsoever he and his have need
off, and carrieth it away with
him without money, without ex-
change, without any gage,
pawne, or pledge. For why
should any thing be denied unto
him? seeing there is abundance
of all things, and that it is not to
be feared, least any man will
aske more then he needeth. For
why should it be thought that
that

that man would aske more then enough, which is sure never to lacke? Certainly in all kinds of living creatures, either feare of lacke doth cause covetousnesse and ravine, or in man onely pride which counteth it a glorious thing to passe and excell other in the superfluous and vaine ostentation of things. The which kind of vice among the *Vtapians* can have no place. Next to the market places that I speake off, stand meat markets: whether be brought not onely all sorts of hearbes, and the fruits of trees, with bread, but also fish, and all manner of foure-footed Beasts, and wild Fowle that be mans meate. But first the filthinesse and ordure thereof, is cleane washed away in the running River without the City in places appointed meete for the same purpose. From thence the Beasts be brought in killed, and cleane washed by the

*The cause
of covetousnesse
and extortion.*

*Of the
Slaughter
of Beasts,
we have
learned
manslaugh-
ter.*

*Filth and
ordure
bring the
infection of
Pestilence
into Cities*

hands of their Bondmen : for they permit not their free Citizens to accustome themselves to the killing of beasts, through the use whereof they thinke, clemencie the gentlest affection of our nature by little and little, to decay and perish. Neither they suffer any thing that is filthy, loathsome, or uncleanly, to be brought into the City, lest the ayre by stench thereof infected and corrupt, should cause Pestilent diseases. Moreover, every Street hath certaine great large hals set in equall distance one from another, every one knowne by a severall name. In these hals dwell the Syphogrants. And to every one of the same halles, be appointed thirty families, on either side fiftene. The stewards of every hall, at a certaine houre come into the meat markets, where they receiue meate according to the number of their hals.

But

But first and chiefly of all, respect is had to the sicke, that be cured in the hospitals. For in the circuit of the City, a little without the walls, they have foure Hospitals, so big, so wide, so ample, and so large, that they may seeme foure little Townes, which were devised of that bignesse, partly to the intent the sick be they never so many in number, should not lye too throng or strait, and therefore uneasily, and incommodiously: and partly that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, such as be wont by infection to creepe from one to another, might be laid a farre from the company of the residue.

These Hospitals be so well appointed, and with all things necessary to health so furnished, and moreover so diligent attendance through the continuall presence of cunning Physitians is given, that though no man be sent thi-

Care, diligence and attendance about the sicke,

ther against his will, yet notwithstanding there is no sicke person in all the City, that had not rather lye there then at home at his owne house. When the steward of the sicke hath received such meates as the Physitians haue prescribed, then the best is equally divided among the halls according to the company of every one, saving there is had a respect to the Prince, the Bishop, the Tranibores, and to Ambassadors and all strangers, if there be any, which be very few and seldome. But they also when they be there, have certaine severall houses appointed and prepared for them. To these halls at the set houres of dinner and supper, commeth all the whole Syphograntie or Ward, warned by the noise of a brazen Trumpet: except such as be sicke in the Hospitals, or else in their owne houses.

How-

Howbeit, no man is prohibited or forbid, or after the halls be served to fetch home meate out of the Market to his owne house; for they know that no man will doe it without a cause reasonable. For though no man be prohibited to dine at home, yet no man doth it willingly: because it is counted a point of small honesty. And also it were a folly to take the paine to dresse a bad dinner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fine fare so nigh hand at the hall.

In this hall, all vile service, and all slavery, with all laboursome toyle, and drudgery, and base businesse, is done by bondmen. But the women of every family by course have the office and charge of cookery for seething and dressing the meate, and ordering all things thereto belonging. They sit at three tables or more, according to the

*Everyman
is at his li-
berty, so
that no-
thing is
done by
compulsio.*

*Women
both dresse
and serve
the meate.*

number of their company. The men sit vpon the Bench next the wall, and the women against them on the other side of the table, and if any sudden evill should chance to them, as many times happeneth to women with child, they may rise without trouble or disturbance of any body, and goe thence into the nursery. The Nurses sit severall alone with their young sucklings, in a certaine parlour appointed and deputed to the same purpose, never without fire and cleane water, nor yet without cradles, that when they will they may lay downe the young Infants, and at their pleasure take them out of their swathing cloathes, and hold them to the fire, and refresh them with play. Every mother is nurse to her owne child, vnlesse either death, or sicknesse be the let. When that chanceth, the wiues of the *Siphogrants* quickly provide a Nurse. And that is not hard to
be

Nurses.

be done. For they that can doe it, proffer themselves to no service so gladly as to that. Because that there this kind of peece is much praised: and the child that is nourished, ever after, taketh his nurse for his owne naturall mother. Also among the nurses, sit all the children that be under the age of five yeares. All the other children of both kinds, as well boyes as girles, that be under the age of marriage, doe either serve at the tables, or else if they be too young thereto, yet they stand by with marvailous silence. That which is given to them from the table they eate, and other severall dinner time they have none. The *Syphogrant* and his wife sit in the midst of the high Table, for as much as that is counted the honourablest place, and because from thence all the whole company is in their sight. For that table standeth over thwart the over end of the Hall. To them be joyned

*Nothing sooner pro-
voketh
men to well
doing then
praise and
commen-
dation.*

*The edu-
cation of
yong chil-
dren.*

joyned two of the ancientest and eldest. For at every table they sit foure at a messe. But if there be a Church standing in that Syphogranty, or Ward, then the Priest and his wife sitteth with the Syphogrant, as chiefe in the company. On both sides of them sit young men, and next unto them againe, old men. And thus throughout all the house, equall of age be set together, and yet be mixt and matched with unequall ages.

*The young
mixed
with their
elders.*

This they say, was ordeined, to the intent that the sage gravity and reverence of the elders should keepe the yongers from wanton licence of words and behaviour. For as much as nothing can be so secretly spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other, must needs perceive it. The dishes be not set downe in order from the first place, but all the old men (whose places

*Old men
regarded
and reve-
renced.*

ces be marked with some speciall token to be knowne) be first served of their meate , and then the residue equally. The old men, divide their dainties as they thinke best to the younger on each side of them. Thus the elders be not defrauded of their due honour, and nevertheless equall commodity commeth to every one. They begin every dinner and supper of reading something that pertaineth to good manners and vertue. But it is short, because no man shall be grieved therewith. Hereof the elders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sad nor unpleasent. Howbeit they doe not spend all the whole dinner time themselves, with long and tedious talke , but they gladly heare also the young men : yea , and purposely provoke them to talke , to the intent that they may have a prooffe of every mans wit , and towardnesse.

*This new
adaies is
observed
in our U-
niversity.
Talke at
Table.*

*This is
repugnant
to the opi-
nion of our
Physiti-
ans. Mu-
sicke at the
Table.*

*Pleasure
without
harme,
commen-
dable.*

nesse, or disposition to vertue, which commonly in the liberty of feasting doth shew and vtter it selfe. Their dinners be very short: but their suppers be somewhat longer, because that after dinner followeth labour, after supper, sleepe and naturall rest, which they thinke to be of more strength and efficacy to wholesome and healthfull digestion. No supper is passed without Musicke. Nor their banquets want no conceits, nor junkets. They burne sweet gummes and spices or perfumes, and pleasant sinels, and sprinkle about sweet ointments and waters, yea, they have nothing undone that maketh for the cherishing of the company. For they be much enclined to this opinion: to thinke no kind of pleasure forbidden, whereof commeth no harme. Thus therefore, and after this sort they live together in the City, but in the Countrey they that dwell alone
farre

farre from any neighbours, doe dine at home in their owne houses : For no family there lacketh any victuals, as from whom cometh all that the Citizens eat and liue by.

Of their journeying or travelling abroad, with diuers other matters cunningly reasoned, and wittily discussed.

BVt if any be desirous to visite either their friends dwelling in another City, or to see the place it selfe, they easily obtaine licence of the *Syphogrants* and *Tranibores*, vnlesse there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a company is sent forth together with their Princes letters, who doe testifie that they have licence to go that journey, and prescribeth also the day of their returne.

They

They haue a Waine given them, with a common bond-man, which driveth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But vlesse they haue Women in their Company, they send home the waine againe, as an impediment and let. And though they carry nothing forth with them, yet in all their journey they lacke nothing. For where-soeuer they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one day, then there every one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gently entertained of the workemen and companies of the same crafts. If any man of his owne head and without leaue, walke out of his precinct and bounds, takē without the Princes letters, he is brought againe for a fugitive, or a run-away with great shame and rebuke, and is sharply punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If any be desirous to

walke abroad into the fields, or into the Countrey that belongeth to the same City that hee dwelleth in, obtaining the good will of his Father, and the consent of his Wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of the Countrey soever he commeth, he hath no meat given him untill he have wrought out his forenoones task, or dispatched so much worke, as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Observing this law and condition, he may goe whither he will within the bounds of his owne City. For hee shall be no lesse profitable to the City, then if he were within it. Now you see how little liberty they have to loyter: how they can haue no cloake or pretence to Idleness. There be neither wine tauerns, nor alehouses, nor stewes, nor any occasion of vice or wickedness, no lurking corners, no places of wicked counsailes
or

*O holy
common-
wealth
and of
Christians
to be fol-
lowed.*

ar vnlawfull assemblies, but they be in the present sight, and vnder the eyes of every man. So that of necessity they must either apply their accustomed labours, or else recreate themselves with honest and laudable pastimes.

This fashion and trade of life, being vsed among the people, it cannot be chosen, but that they must of necessity have store and plenty of all things. And seeing they be all thereof partners equally, therefore can no man there be poore or needy. In the counsell of *Amaurote*, whether as I said, every City sendeth three men a peece yearely, as soon as it is perfectly knowne of what things there is in every place plenty, and againe what things be scant in any place, incontinent the lacke of the one, is performed and filled vp with the abundance of the other. And thus they doe freely without any benefit, talking nothing againe

Equality
is the
cause that
every man
hath e-
nough.

of them, to whom the things is given, but those Cities that have given of their store to any other City, that lacketh, requiring nothing againe of the same City, doe take such things as they lack of another City, to the which they gaue nothing. So the whole Iland is as it were one family or household. But when they have made sufficient provision of store for themselves (which they thinke not done, vntill they haue provided for two yeares following, because of the vncertainty of the next years prooffe) then of those things, whereof they have abundance, they carry forth into other Countries great plenty : as Grayne, honey, wooll, flaxe, wood, madder, purple died felles, waxe, tallow, leather, and living Beasts. And the seaventh part of all these things they giue franckly and freely to the poore of that Country. The residue they

*A common
wealth is
nothing
else but a
great hou-
sho'd.*

they sell at a reasonable and meane price. By this meanes of traffique or marchandise, they bring into their owne countrey ; not onely great plenty of gold and silver, but also all such things as they lacke at home , which is almost nothing but Iron. And by reason they haue long vsed this trade, now they haue more abundance of these things , then any man will beleue.

Now therefore they care not whether they sell for ready money, or else upon trust to be paid at a day , and to have the most part in debts. But in so doing they never follow the credence of private men : but the assurance or warrantise , of the whole City, by instruments and writings made in that behalfe accordingly. When the day of payment is come and expired, the City gathereth up the debt of the private debtors, and putteth it

In all things and about all things, to the community they haue an eye.

into

into the common boxe, and so long hath the use and profit of it, untill the *Vtopians* their creditors demand it. The most part of it, they never aske. For that thing which is to them is no profit to take it from other, to whom it is profitable, they think it no right nor conscience. But if the case so stand, that they must lend part of that money to another people, then they require their debt: or when they have warre. For the which purpose onely, they keepe at home all the treasure which they have, to be holpen and succoured by it either in extreame jeopardies, or in suddaine dangers. But especially and chiefly to hire therewith, and that for unreasonable great wages, strange Soldiers. For they had rather put Strangers in jeopardy, then their owne Country-men: knowing that for money enough, their enemies themselves many times
may

By what policy money may be in lesse estimation. It is better either with money or by policy to avoid warre then with much losse of mans blood to fight.

may be bought and sold, or else through treason be set together by the eares, among themselves. For this cause they keepe an inestimable treasure. But yet not as a treasure : But so they haue it, and vse it, as in good faith I am ashamed to shew : fearing that mywordes shall not bee beleued. And this I haue more cause to feare, for that I know how difficulty and hardly I my selfe would haue beleued another man telling the same, if I had not presently seene it with mine eyes.

O fine wit.

For it must needes be, that how far a thing is dissonant and disagreeing, from the guise & trade of the hearers, so farre shall it be out of their beleeve. Howbeit, a wise and indifferent esteemer of things, will not greatly meruaile perchance, seeing all their other lawes and customes doe so much differ from ours, if the vse also of gold and silver among them be
 applied,

applied, rather to their owne fashions, then to ours. I meane in that they occupy not money themselves, but keepe it for that chance, which as it may happen, so it may be, that it shall never come to passe. In the mean time, gold and silver, whereof money is made, they doe so vse, as none of them doth more esteeme it, then the very nature of the thing deserveth.

And then who doth not plainly see, how farre it is vnder Iron: as without the which men can no better liue then without fire and water. Whereas to gold and silver, nature hath given no vse, that we may not well lacke: if that the folly of men had not set it in higher estimation for the rareness sake. But of the contrary part, nature as a most tender and louing mother, hath placéd the best and necessary things open abroad: as the ayre, the water, and the earth it selfe. And hath

*Gold worse
then Iron
as touching
the necessary
vse thereof.*

hath remooved and hid farthest from vs vaine and vnprofitable things. Therefore if these metals, among them should be fast locked vp in some Tower, it might be suspected, that the Prince and the Counsell (as the people is ever foolishly imagining) intended by some subtilty to deceiue the Commons, and to take some profit of it to themselves. Furthermore if they should make thereof plate, and such other finely & cunningly wrought stufte, if at any time they should have occasion to breake it, and melt it againe, therewith to pay their souldiours wages, they see and perceiue very well, that men would be loth to part from those things, that they once began to have pleasure and delight in. To remedy all this they have found out a means, w^{ch} as it is agreeable to all their other lawes and customes, so it is from ours, where gold is so much set by, and so diligently

ligerly kept, very faire discripant and repugnant : and therefore incredible, but only to them that be wise. For whereas they eate and drinke in earthen and glasse vessels, which indeed be curiously and properly made, and yet be of very small value : of gold and silver, they make chamber-pots, and other vessels that serve for most vile vses, not only in their common hals, but in every mans private house. Furthermore of the same mettals they make great chaines, fetters, and gyues, wherein they tie their bond-men.

Finally, whosoever for any offence be infamed, by their eares, hang rings of gold : vpon their fingers they weare rings of gold : and about their necke chaines of gold : & in conclusion their heads be tied with gold. Thus by all meanes possible they procure to have gold and silver among them in reproach and infamie.

I

And

*O wonderfull
con-
tumely of
gold.*

*Gold the
reproach-
full badge
of infamed
persons.*

And these mettals, which other Nations doe as grievously and sorrowfully foregoe, as in a manner their owne lives : if they should altogether at once be taken from the *Vtopians*, no man there would thinke that he had lost the worth of one farthing. They gather also pearles by the sea side, and Diamonds and Carbuncles upon certaine Rockes, and yet they seeke not for them: but by chance finding them, they cut and polish them. And therewith they deck their young Infants. Which like as in the first yeares of their childe hood, they make much, and be fond and proud of such ornaments, so when they be a little more growne in yeares and discretion, perceiue that none but children doe weare such toyes and trifles : they lay them away even of their owne shamefastnesse, without any bidding of their parents : even as our children, when they

Gemmes
and preci-
ous stones,
toyos for
yong chil-
dren to
play with-
all.

they waxe bigge, doe cast away nuttes, brouches, and puppers. Therefore these lawes and customs, which be so far different from all other nations, how divers fantasies also and minds they doe cause, did I never so plainly perceiue in the Ambassadors of the *Anemolians*.

These Ambassadors came to *Amaurote*, whiles I was there. And because they came to intreate of great and weighty matters, those three Citizens a piece out of every City, were come thither before them. But all the Ambassadors of the next Countries, which had beene there before, and knew the fashions and manners of the *Vtepians*, among whom they perceived no honour given to sumptuous Apparell, silkes to be contemned, gold also to be infamed and reproachfull, were wont to come thither in very homely and simple array. But the *Anemolians*

A very pleasant tale.

molians because they dwell farre thence, and had very little acquaintance with them, hearing that they were all apparelled alike, and that very rudely and homely, thinking them not to have the things which they did not weare: being therefore more proud, then wise, determined in the gorgiousnelle of their appa-
rell to present very Gods, and with the bright shining and glittering of their gay cloathing to dazell the eyes of the silly poore *Vtopians*.

So there came in foure Ambassadors with one hundred servants, all apparelled in changeable colours: the most of them in silkes: the Ambassadors themselves (for at home in their owne Country they were noble men) in cloath of gold, with great chaines of gold, with gold hanging at their eares, with gold rings vpon their fingers, with brouches and aglets of gold vpon their caps, which

which glistered full of pearles and precious stones : to be short trimmed and adorned with all those things, which among the *Vtopians* were either the punishment of bondmen , or the reproach of infamed persons , or else trifles for young children to play withall. Therefore it would have done a man good at his heart, to have seene how proudly they displayed their Peacocks feathers, how much they made of their painted sheathes , and how loftily they set forth and advanced themselves, when they compared their gallant apparell, with the poore raiment of the *Vtopians*. For all the people were swarmed forth into the streets.

And on the other side, it was no lesse pleasure to consider how much they were deceived, and how farre they missed of their purpose being contrary wayes taken, then they thought they

should have beene. For so the eyes of all the *Vtopians*, except very few, which had beene in other Countries, for some reasonable cause, all that gorgiounesse of apparell, seemed shamefull and reproachfull. In somuch that they most reverently saluted the vilest and most abject of them for Lords : judged them by their wearing of Golden chaines to be Bondmen. Yea you should have fine Children also, that had cast away their Pearles and precious stones, when they saw the like sticking upon the Ambassadors caps : digge and push their mothers under the sides, saying thus to them. Looke mother how great a lubber doth yet weare pearles and precious stones, as though he were a little child againe.

*O witty
bead.*

But the Mother, yea, and that also in good earnest : Peace sonne, saith shee : I thinke he be some of the Ambassadors fooles.

fooles. Some found fault at their Golden chaynes, as to no use nor purpose, being so small and weake, that a bondman might easily breake them, and againe so wide and large, that when it pleased him, he might cast them off, and runne away at liberty whither he would.

But when the Ambassadors had been there a day or two, and saw so-great abundance of Gold so lightly esteemed, yea in no lesse reproach, then it was with them in honour: and besides that, more gold in the Chaynes and gyves of one fugitive bondman, then all the costly ornaments of them three was worth: they began to abate their courage, and for very shame laid away all that gorgious array, whereof they were so proud. And specially when they had talked familiarly with the *Vtapians*, and had learned all their fashions and opinions. For they marvell

*Doubtfull
he calleth
it, either
in conside-
ration and
respect of
counterfet
stones, or
else he cal-
leth doubt-
full every
little
wealth.*

that any men be so foolish, as to have delight and pleasure in the doubtfull glistering of a little trifling stone, which may behold any of the starres, or else the sunne it selfe.

Or that any man is so mad, as to count himselfe the nobler for the smaller or finer thred of wool, which selfe-same wool (be it now never so fine spunne threed) a sheepe did once weare : and yet was she all that time no other thing then a sheepe. They meruaile also that gold, which of the owne nature, is a thing so unprofitable, is now among all people in so high estimation ; that man himselfe, by whom yea and for the vse of whom it is so much set by, is in much lesse estimation, then the gold it selfe. In so much that a lumpish block-head churle, and which hath no more wit then an Ass, yea and as full of naughtinesse, as of folly, shall have nevertheless many wise and

*A true say-
ing and a
witty.*

and good men in subjection and bondage, onely for this, because he hath a great heape of gold.

Which if it should be taken from him by any fortune, or by some subtill wile and cautle of the Law, (which no lesse then fortune doth both raise vp the low, and plucke down the high) and be given to the most vile slave and abject drivell of all his household, then shortly after he shall goe into the service of his servant, as an augmentation, or overplus beside his money.

But they much more meruaile at and detest the madnesse of them, which to those rich men, in whose debt and danger they be not, doe give almost divine honours, for none other consideration, but because they be rich: and yet knowing them to be such, niggish penny-fathers, that they be sure as long as they live, not the worth of

How much more wit is in the heads of the Utopians, then of the common sort of Christians.

one farthing of that heape of Gold, shall come to them. These and such like opinions have they conceived, partly by education, being brought vp in that Common-wealth, whose lawes and customes be farre different from those kinds of folly, and partly by good literature and learning. For though there be not many in every City, which be exempt and discharged of all other labours, and appointed onely to learning, that is to say: such in whom even from their very child-hood they have perceived a singuler towardnesse, a fine wit, and a mind apt to good learning: yet all in their child-hood be instructed in learning. And the better part of the people, both men and women throughout all their whole life, doe bestow in learning those spare houres, which we said they have vacant from bodily labours. They be taught learning in their own native tongue.

For

For it is both copious in words, and also pleasant to the eare : and for the vtterance of a mans mind very perfect and sure. The most part of all that side of the world, vseth the same language, saving that among the *Utopians* it is finest and purest, and according to the diversity of the Countries, it is diversly altered. Of all these Phylosophers, whose names be here famous in this part of the world to vs knowne, before our comming thither, not as much as the fame of any of them was come among them. And yet in Musique, Logique, Arythmetique, and Geometrie, they have found out in a manner all that our ancient Philosophers have taught. But as they in all things be almost equall to our old and ancient Clarkes; so our new Logicians in subtill inventions, have farre passed and gone beyond them.

The Studies among the Utopians.

*Musique,
Logique,
Arythme-
tique, Ge-
ometrie.*

For

*In this
place it
seemeth to
be a nip-
ping text.*

For they have not devised one of all those rules, of restrictions, amplifications, very wittily invented in the small Logicals, which heere our Children in every place doe learne. Furthermore, they were never yet able to finde out the second inventions: Insomuch that none of them could ever see man himselfe in common, as they call him, though he be (as you know) bigger then ever was any Giant, yea, and pointed to of us even with our finger. But they be in the course of the Starres, and the movings of the heavenly spheares very expert and cunning. They have also wittily excogitated and devised Instruments of divers fashions: wherein is exactly comprehended and contained the movings and scituations of the Sunne, the Moone, and of all the other Starres, which appeare in their Horizon. But as for the amities and dissentions of the

Astronomy

*Yet among
Christians
this geere
is highly
esteemed in
these daies.*

Planets, and all that deceitfull divination of the Starres, they never as much as dreamed thereof. Raines, windes, and other courses of tempests, they know before by certaine tokens, which they have learned by long use and observation. But of the causes of all these things, and of the Ebbing and flowing, and salt-nesse of the Sea, and finally of the originall beginning, and nature of heaven and of the world, they hold partly the same opinions that our old Philosophers hold, and partly as our Philosophers vary among themselves, so they also, whiles they bring new reasons of things, doe disagree from all them, and yet among themselves in all points they doe not accord.

In that Philosophy, which which intreateth of manners and vertue, their reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualities of the Soule,
of

*Natural
Philosophy is a
knowledge,
most un-
certaine.*

*Moral phi-
losophie.*

of the body, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnesse may be applied to all these, or onely to the endowments and gifts of the soule. They reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is in what thing be it one or more the felicity of man consisteth. But in this point they seeme almost too much given and inclined to the opinion of them, which defend pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefest part of mans felicity to rest. And (which is more to be marvailed at) the defence of this so dainty and delicate an opinion they fetch even from their graue, sharpe, bitter, and rigorous religion. For they never dispute of felicity or blellednesse, but they joyne unto the reasons of Philosophy certaine principles taken out of religion : without the which, to the investigation of true felicity, they thinke reason
of

*The ends
of good
things.
The Uro-
pians hold
opinion
that feli-
city con-
sisteth in
honest
pleasure.*

*The theo-
logie of
the Uro-
pians.*

of it selfe weake and unperfect. Those principles be these and suchlike. That the soule is immortal : and by the bountifull goodnesse of GOD ordained to felicity. That to our vertues and good deeds, rewards be appointed after this life, and to our evill deeds punishments. Though these be pertaining to religion, yet they thinke it meet that they should be beleevd and granted by proves of reason. But if these principles were condemned and disanulled, then without any delay, they pronounce no man to be so foolish, which would not doe all his diligence and endeavor to obtaine pleasure be it right or wrong, only avoiding this inconvenience, that the lesse pleasure should not be a let or hinderance to the bigger : or that he laboured not for that pleasure, which would bring after it displeasure, griefe, and sorrow.

For they judge it extreame
mad-

The immortality of the soule, whereof these daies certaine christians be doubtfull.

As every pleasure ought to be embraced, so griefe is not to be pursued but for vertues sake.

In this definition of vertue they agree with the Stoycians.

The worke and effect of reason in man.

madnesse to follow sharpe and painfull vertue, and not onely to banish the pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer griefe, without any hope of profit thereof ensuing. For what profit can there be, if a man, when he hath passed over all his life unpleasantly, that is to say, miserably, shall have no reward after his death? But now sir, they thinke not felicity to rest in all pleasure, but onely in that pleasure that is good and honest, and that hereto, as to perfect blessednesse our nature is allured and drawne even of vertue, whereto onely they that be of the contrary opinion doe attribute felicity. For they define vertue to be life ordered according to Nature, and that we be hereunto ordained of God. And that he doth follow the course of nature, which in desiring and refusing things is ruled by reason. Furthermore, the reason doth chiefly and principally kinde in men the love

and veneration of the divine Majesty. Of whose goodnelle it is that we be, and that wee be in possibility to attaine felicity. And that secondarily it both stirreth and provoketh us to lead our life out of care in joy and mirth; and also moveth us to helpe and further all other in respect of the society of nature to obtaine and enjoy the same. For there was never man so earnest and painfull a follower of vertue and hater of pleasure, that would so enjoyne your labours, watchings, and fastings, but hee would also exhort you to ease, lighten, relieve to your power, the lacke and misery of others, praising the same as a deed of humanity and pittie. Then if it be a point of humanity, for man to bring health and comfort to man, and specially (which is a vertue most peculiarly belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the griefe of others, and by taking
from

But now a daies some there be that willingly procure unto themselves painefull grieffe, as though therein rested some high point of religion. whereas rather the religiously disposed person, if they happen to him either by chance or else by naturall necessity ought pa.

from them the sorrow and heavinesse of life to restore them to joy, that is to say to pleasure: which may it not then be said, that nature doth provoke every man to doe the same to himselfe? For a joyfull life, that is to say, a pleasant life is either evill: and if it be so, then thou shouldest not onely helpe no man thereto, but rather as much as in thee lyeth, withdraw all men from it, as noysome and hurtfull, or else if thou not onely must, but also of duty art bound to procure it to others? why not chiefly to thy selfe? To whom thou art bound to shew as much favour and gentleness as to other. For when nature biddeth thee to be good and gentle to other, she commandeth thee not to be cruell and ungentle to thy selfe. Therefore even very nature (say they) prescribeth vs to a joyfull life, that is to say, pleasure as the end of all our operations. And they

define

define vertue to be life ordered according to the prescript of nature. But in that, that nature doth allure and provoke men one to helpe another to live merrily (which surely she doth not without a good cause: for no man is farre above the lot of mans state, or condition, that nature doth carke and care for him onely, which equally favoureth all, that he comprehended vnder the communion of one shape, forme and fashion) verily she commandeth them to vse diligent circumspection, that thou doe not seeke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore their opinion is, that not onely covenants and bargaines made among private men, ought to be well and faithfully followed, observed, and kept but also common lawes, which either a good Prince hath justly published, or else the people neither oppressed with tyrannie, nei-

ther

tiently to receive and suffer them.

Bargaines and lawes.

ther deceived by fraud and guile, hath by their common consent constituted and ratified, concerning the petition of the commodity of life, that is to say, the matter of pleasure.

These lawes not offended, it is wisdom, that thou looke to thine owne wealth. And doe the same for the common wealth is no lesse then thy duty, if thou bearest any reverent love, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy native Country. But to goe about to let another man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrariwise, to with-draw something from thy selfe to giue to other, that is a point of humanity, and gentleness: which never taketh away so much commodity, as it bringeth againe. For it is recompenced with the returne of benefits, and the conscience of the good deed, with the remembrance of the thank-

thankfull love, and benevolence of them, to whom thou hast done it, doth bring more pleasure to thy mind, then that which thou hast with-holden from thy selfe could have brought to thy body. Finally (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easie to be perswaded) God recompenseth the gift of a short and small pleasure with great and everlasting joy.

Therefore the matter diligently weighed, and considered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themselves, be referred at the last to pleasure, as their end and felicity. Pleasure they call every motion, and state of the body or mind, wherein man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they joyne to nature, and that not without a good cause. For like as, not onely the senses, but also right reason coveteth whatsoever is naturally pleasant, so that

The mutual recourse of kindnessesse.

The definition of pleasure.

*False and
counterfeit
pleasures.*

that it may be gotten without wrong or injury, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure, nor causing painfull labour, even so those things that men, by vaine imagination doe faine against nature to be pleasant (as though it lay in their power to change the things, as they doe the names of things) all such pleasures they beleve to be of so small helpe and furtherance to felicity, that they count them a great let and hinderance. Because that in whom they have once taken place, all his mind they possesse with a false opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and naturall delectations.

For there be many things, which of their owne nature containe no pleasantnesse: yea the most part of them much grieffe and sorrow. And yet through the perverse and malicious flickering inticements of lewd and honest desires, be taken not onely for speciall

speciall and soveraign pleasures, but also be counted among the chiefe causes of life. In this counterfeit kind of pleasure, they put them that I spake of before. Which the better gownes they have on, the better men they thinke themselves. In the which thing, they doe twise erre. For they be no lesse deceived, in that they thinke their gowne the better then they be, in that they thinke themselves the better.

For if you consider the profitable use of the garment, why should wooll of a finer spunne threed, be thought better, then the wooll of a course spunne threed? Yet they, as though the one did passe the other by nature, and not by their mistaking, advance themselves, and thinke the price of their owne persons thereby greatly increased. And therefore the honor, which in a course gowne they durst not have looked for, they require, as it were of duty,

*The errour
o' them
that esteeme
themselves
the more
for appa-
rels sake.*

*Foolish
honour.*

duty, for their finer gowns sake. And if they be palled without reverence, they take it displeasantly and disdainfully. And againe, is it not alike madnesse to take a pride in vaine and unprofitable honours? For what naturall or true pleasure doest thou take of another mans bare head, or bowed knees; Will this ease the paine of thy knees, or remedy the phrensic of thy head? In this image of counterfeit pleasure, they be of marvailous madnesse, which for the opinion of Nobility, rejoyce much in their owne conceit. Because it was their fortune to come of such ancestors, whose stocke of long time had beene counted rich (for now nobility is nothing else) specially rich in lands. And though their Ancestors left them not one foot of land, or else they themselves have pilled it against the walls, yet they thinke themselves not the lesse noble therefore

fore of one haire. In this number also they count them that take pleasure and delight (as I said) in gemmes and precious stones, and thinke themselves almost gods, if they chance to get an excellent one specially of that kind, w^{ch} in that time of their own Countrey-men, is had in highest estimation.

For one kind of stone keepeth not his price still in all countries, and at all times. Nor they buy them not, but taken out of the gold, and bare, no nor so neither, untill they have made the seller to sweare, that hee will warrant and assure it to be a true stone, and no counterfeit gemme. Such care they take least a counterfeit stone should deceiue their eyes in stead of a right stone. But why shouldst thou not take euen as much pleasure in beholding a counterfeit stone, which thine eye cannot discern from a right stone? They should both

*Pleasure
in precious
stones most
foolish.*

*The opini-
on and fan-
cie of
people doth
augment
and dimi-
nish the
price and
estimation
of precious
stones.*

be of like value to thee, even as to the blind man.

What shall I say of them, that keepe superfluous riches, to take delectation onely in the beholding, and not in the vse or occupying thereof? Doe they take true pleasure, or else be they deceived with false pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrary vice, hiding the gold which they shall neither occupy, nor peradventure never see him more: And whiles they take care lest they shall leese, doe leese it indeede. For what is it else, when they hide it in the ground taking it both from their owne vse, and perchance from all other mens also? And yet thou, when thou hast hid thy treasure, as one out of all care, hopest for joy. The which treasure, if it should chance to bee stollen, and thou ignorant of the theft, shouldest dye tenne yeares after: all that ten yeares thou liuedst after thy mo-

*Hiders of
Treasure.*

money was stollen, what matter was it to thee, whether it had beene taken away or else safe as thou lesteft it? Truly both wayes like profit came to thee. To these so foolish pleasures they joyne Dicers, whose madnesse they know by heare-say, and not by use. Hunters also, & Hawkers.

For what pleasure is there (say they) in casting the Dice upon a table. Which thou hast done so often, that if there were any pleasure in it; yet the oft use might make thee weary thereof? Or what delight can there be, and not rather displeasure in hearing the barking & howling of dogs? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felt, when a Dog followeth an Hare, then when a Dog followeth a dogge? For one thing is done in both, that is to say, running, if thou hast pleasure therein. But if the hope of slaughter, and the expectation of tearing in peeces the Beast

Dice-play

*Hunting
and Ham-
king.*

*Hunting
the basest
part of
butchery
among the
Utopians,
yet this is
now in the
exercise of
most noble
men.*

doth please thee : thou shouldest rather be moved with pittie to see a silly innocent Hare murdered of a dogge : the weake of the stronger, the fearefull of the fierce, the innocent of the cruell and unmercifull. Therefore all this exercise of hunting, as a thing unworthy to be vsed of Freemen, the *Utopians* have rejected to their butchers, to the which craft (as we said before) they appoint their bondmen. For they count hunting the lowest, the vilest, and most abject part of butchery, and the other parts of it, more profitable, and more honest , as bringing much more commodity, in that they kill Beasts onely for necessity.

Whereas the hunter seeketh nothing but pleasure of the silly and wofull beasts slaughter and murder. The which pleasure in beholding death , they thinke doth rise in the very

very Beasts , either of a cruell affection or mind , or else to be changed in continuance of time into cruelty, by long vse of so cruell a pleasure. These therefore and all such like , which be innumerable, though the common sort of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they seeing there is no naturall pleasantnesse in them , doe plainly determine them to haue no affinity with true and right pleasure. For as touching that they doe commonly moue the sence with delectation (which seemeth to be a worke of pleasure) this doth nothing diminish their opinion. For not the nature of the thing but their perverse and lewd custome is the cause hereof. Which causeth them to accept bitter or sower things for sweet things. Even as women with child in their viciat and corrupt tast , thinke pitch and tallow sweeter then honey. Howbeit no mans judge-

*The kind-
nesse of
true plea-
sure*

ment depraved and corrupt, eyther by licknesse, or by custome, can change the nature of pleasure, more then it can doe the nature of other things. They make divers ktnds of pleasures. For some they attribute to the Soule; and some to the body. To the soule they give intelligence, and that delication, that cometh of the contemplation of truth.

Hereunto is joynd the pleasant remembrance of the good life past. The pleasure of the body they divide into two parts. The first is, when delectation is sensible felt and perceived, which many times chanceth by the remaining and refreshing of those parts, which our naturall heate dryeth up. This cometh by meate and drinke. And sometimes whiles those things be expulsed, and voyded, whereof is in the body over great abundance. This pleasure is felt, when we
doe

doe our naturall easement, or when we be doing the act of generation, or when the itching of any part is eased with rubbing or scratching. Sometimes pleasure riseth exhibiting to any member nothing that it desireth, nor taking from it any paine that it feeleth, which neverthelesse tickleth and moveth our senses with a certaine secret efficacie, but with a manifest motion turneth them to it. As is that which commeth of Maficke. The second part of bodily pleasure they say, is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiet and upright state of the body. And that truly is every mans owne proper health, intermingled and disturbed with no grieffe. For this, if they be not letted nor assaulted with no grieffe, is delectable of it selfe, though it be moved with no externall or outward pleasure. For though it be not so plaine and manifest to the sence, as the

*Bodily
health.*

greedy lust of eating & drinking yet neverthelesse, many take it for the chiefest pleasure. All the *Vtopians* grant it to be a right soveraigne pleasure, and as you would say the foundation and ground of all pleasures, as which even alone is able to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasant. And it being once taken away, there is no place left for any pleasure. For to be without griefe not having health, that they call unsensibility, and not pleasure.

The *Vtopians* have long agoe rejected and condemned the opinion of them, which said, that stedfast and quiet health, (for this question also hath beene diligently debated among them) ought not therefore to be counted a pleasure, because they say it cannot be presently and sensibly perceived and felt by some outward motion. But of the contrary part, now they agree almost all

all in this, that health is a most soveraigne pleasure. For seeing that in sicknesse (say they) is griefe, which is a mortall enemy to pleasure, even as sicknesse is to health, why should not then pleasure be in the quietnes of health? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you say that sicknesse is a griefe, or that in sicknesse is griefe for all cometh to one purpose.

For whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fire is of heat, truly both wayes it followeth, that they cannot be without pleasure, that be in perfect health. Furthermore whiles we eate (say they) then health, which began to be appaired, fighteth by the helpe of food against hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by little and little getteth the vpper hand, that same proceeding, and (as we would say) that onwardnesse to
the

the wonted strength, ministreth that pleasure, whereby we be so refreshed. Health therefore, which in the conflict is joyfull, shall it not be merry, when it hath gotten the victory? But as soone as it hath recovered the pristine strength, which thing only in all the light it coveted, shall it incontinent be astonied? Nor shall it not know nor imbrace the owne wealth and goodnesse? For where it is said, health cannot be felt, this they thinke is nothing true. For what man walking, say they, feeleth not himselfe in health, but he that is not? Is there any man so possessed with stonish insensibility, or with lethargie, that is to say, the sleeping sicknesse, that he will not grant health to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other things is delectation, then that which, by another name is called pleasure. They imbrace chiefly the pleasures of the mind. For them

Delectations. The pleasures of the mind.

them they count the chiefeſt and moſt principall of all. The chiefeſt part of them they thinke doth come of the exerciſe of vertue, and conſcience of good life. Of theſe pleaſures that the body miniſtreth, they give the preheminance to health. For the delight of eating and drinking, and whatſoever hath any like pleaſantneſſe, they determine to be pleaſures much to be deſired, but no otherwayes then for healths ſake. For ſuch things of their owne proper nature be not ſo pleaſant, but in that they reſiſt ſickneſſe privily ſtealing on: Therefore, like as it is a wiſemans part, rather to avoid ſickneſſe, then to wiſh for medicines, and rather to drive away and put to flight carefull grietes, then to call for comfort: ſo it is much better not to need this kind of pleaſure, then thereby to be eaſed of the contrary griete. The which kind of pleaſure, if any

man take for his felicity, that man must needs grant, that then he shall be in most felicity, if he live that life, which is lead in continuall hunger, thirst, itching, eating, drinking, scratching, and rubbing. The which life, how not onely foule and unhoneest, but also how miserable and wretched it is, who perceiveth not? These doubtlesse be the basest pleasures of all, as unpure and unperfect. For they never come but accompanied with their contrary griefes. As with the pleasure of eating, is joynd hunger, and that after no very equall sort. For of these two, the griefe is both the more vehement and also of longer continuance. For it beginneth before the pleasure, and endeth not untill the pleasure die with it. Wherefore such pleasures they thinke not greatly to be set by, but in that they be necessary. Howbeit they have delight also in these, and think-

thankfully knowledge the tender love of mother Nature, which with most pleasant delectation allureth her children to that, to the necessary use whereof, they must from time to time continually be forced and driven. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these daily griefes of hunger and thirst could not be driven away, but with bitter potions, and sowre medicines, as the other diseases be, wherewith we be seldomer troubled? But beauty, strength, nimblenelle, these as peculiar and pleasant gifts of nature, they make much off. But those pleasures that be received by the eares, the eyes, and the nose, which nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other living creature doth behold the fairenelle & the beauty of the world, or is moved with any respect of favors, but only for y diversity of meats, neither perceveth
the,

*The gifts
of nature.*

the concordant & discordant distances of sounds and tunes) these pleasures. I say, they accept and allow as certaine pleasant rejoycings of life. But in all things this cautell they vse, that a litle pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, which they thinke to foillow of necessity, if the pleasure be unhoneest. But yet to despise the comelineisse of beauty, to wast the bodily strength, to turne nimblenesse unto sloathishnessse: to consume and make feeble the body with fasting: to doe injury to health, and to reject the pleasant motions of nature, unlesse a man neglect these commodities, whiles he doth with a fervent zeale procure the wealth of others, or the common profit, for the which pleasure forborne, he is in hope of a greater pleasure at Gods hand: else for a vaine shadow of vertue, for the wealth and profit

of no man, to punish himselfe, or to the intent he may be able courageously to suffer adversity, which perchance shall never come to him : this to doe, they thinke it a point of extreame madnesse, and a token of a man cruelly minded towards himselfe, and unkind towards nature, as one so disdainning to be in her danger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefits. This is their sentence and opinion of vertue and pleasure. And they beleeve that by mans reason none can be found truer then this, unlesse any godlier be inspired into man from heaven. Wherein whether they beleeve well or no, neither the time doth suffer us to discusse, neither it is now necessary. For we have taken vpon vs to shew and declare their lores and ordinancies, and not to defend them. But this thing I beleeve verily, howsoever these decrees be, that there is
in

*Markethis
well.*

in no place of the world, neither a more excellent people, neither a more flourishing Commonwealth. They be light and quicke of body, full of activity and nimblenesse, and of more strength then a man would judge them by their stature, which for al that is not too low. And though their soyle be not very fruitfull, nor their ayre very wholesome, yet against the ayre they so defend them with temperate diet, and so order and husband their ground with diligent travaile, that in no Countrey is greater increase and plenty of Corne and Cattle, nor mens bodies of longer life, and subject or apt to fewer diseases. There therefore a man may see well, and diligently exploited and furnished, not onely those things which husbandmen doe commonly in other Countries, as, by craft and cunning to remedy the barrennesse of the ground, but also a whole Wood

by

*The wealth
and de-
scription
of the U-
topians.*

by the hands of the people plucked vp by the rootes in one place, and set againe in another place. Wherein was had regard and consideration, not of plenty, but of commodious carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the Sea, or the Rivers, or the Cities. For it is lesse labour and businesse to carry graine farre by land then wood. The people be gentle, merry, quicke and fine witted, delighting in quietnesse, and when need requireth, able to abide and suffer much bodily labour. Else they be not greatly desirous and fond of it : but in the exercise and study of the mind they be never weary. When they had heard me speake of the-Greeke literature or learning (for in Latine there was nothing that I thought they would greatly allow, besides Histories and Poets) they made wonderfull earnest and importunate sute unto me

*A wonder-
full apt-
nesse to
learning in
the Vtopi-
ans.*

*But now
most block-
headed
Asse, be
set to lear-
ning, and
most prog-
nant wits
corrupt
with plea-
sures.*

me that I would teach and instruct them in that tongue and learning. I began therefore to read unto them, at the first truly, more because I would not seeme to refuse the labour, then that I hoped that they would any thing profit therein. But when I had gone forward a little, I perceived incontinent by their diligence, that my labour should not be bestowed in vaine. For they began so easily to fashion their letters, so plainly to pronounce the words, so quickly to learne by heart, and so surely to rehearse the same, that I mervaile at it, saving that the most part of them were fine, and chosen wits, and of ripe age, picked out of the company of the learned men, which not onely of their owne free and voluntary will, but also by the commandement of the Councell, undertooke to learne this language. Therefore in lesse then three yeares space, there
was

was nothing in the Greeke tongue that they lacked. They were able to read good Authors without any stay, if the booke were not false. This kind of learning, as I suppose, they tooke so much the sooner, because, it is somewhat alliant to them: For I thinke that this Nation tooke their beginning of the Greekes, because their speech, which in all other points is not much unlike the Persian tongue, keeping divers signes and token of the Greeke language in the names of their Cities, and of their Magistrates. They have of me (for when I was determined to enter into my fourth voyage, I cast into the Ship in the stead of merchandise a prety fardle of bookes, because I intended to come againe rather never, then shortly) they have, I say of me, the most part of *Platoes* workes, more of *Aristotles*, also *Theophrastus* of plants, but in divers places (which

I

I am fory for) vnperfect. For whiles they were a Ship-boord, a Marmoset chanced vpon the booke, as it was negligently laid by, which wantonly playing therewith, plucked out certaine leaves and tore them in peeces. Of them that have written the Grammer, they have only *Lasçaris*. For *Theodorus* I carried not with me, nor never a Dictionarie, but *Hesichius*, and *Dioscorides*. They set great store by *Plutarches* bookes. And they be delighted with *Lucianes* merry conceits and jeasts. Of the Poets they have *Aristophanes*, *Homer*, *Euripides*, and *Sophocles* in *Aldus* small print. Of the Historians they have *Thucidides*, *Herodotus*, and *Herodian*. Also my companion *Tricius Apinatus* carried with him Physicke bookes, certaine small workes of *Hippocrates*, and *Gaiens*, *Microtechnæ*. The which booke they have in great estimation :

tion: For though there be almost no natiō under heaven that hath lesse need of Phylicke then they, yet this notwithstanding, Phylicke is no where in greater honour. Because they count the knowledge of it among the godliest, and most profitable parts of Philosophie. For whiles they by the helpe of this Philosophy search out the secret mysteries of nature, they thinke themselves to receiue thereby not onely wonderfull great pleasure, but also to obtaine great thanks and favour of the Author and maker thereof. Whom they thinke according to the fashion of other Artificers, to have set forth the marvailous and gorgious frame of the world for man, with great affection, intentiuely to behold. Whom onely he hath made of wit, and capacity to consider and understand the excellency of so great a worke. And therefore he beareth (say they)

more

*Phisicke
highly re-
garded.*

*The con-
templation
of nature.*

more good will and love to the curious and diligent beholder, and viewer of his worke and marveilour at the same, then he doth to him, which like a very bruit Beast without wit and reason, or as one without sense or mooving, hath no regard to so great and so wondertull a spectacle. The wits therefore of the *Vtopians* inured and exercised in learning, be marvailous quicke in the invention of feats, helping any thing to the advantage and wealth of life. Howbeit two feats they may thanke vs for. That is, the science of Imprinting, and the craft of making Paper. And yet not onely vs, but chiefly and principally themselves. For when we shewed to them *Aldus* his print in bookes of paper, & told them of the stuffe whereof paper is made, and of the feat of graving letters, speaking so newhat more, then we could plainly declare (for there was none of vs, that

that knew perfectly eyther the one or the other) they forthwith very wittily conjectured the thing. And whereas before, they wrote onely in skins, in barkes of Trees, and in reedes, now they have attempted to make Paper, and to imprint Letters. And though at the first it proved not all of the best, yet by often assaying the same, they shortly got the feate of both. And have so brought the matter about, that if they had copies of Greeke authors, they could lack no Bookes. But now they have no more, then I rehearsed before, saving that by printing of bookes, they have multiplied and increased the same into many thousands of Copies. Whosoever cometh thither to see the Land, being excellent in any gift of wit, or through much and long journeying, well experienced and seene in the knowledge of many Countries (for the which cause wee were very welcome

come to them) him they receive
and entertaine wondrous gently
and lovingly. For they have de-
light to heare what is done in e-
very Land, nowbeit very few
Marchant men come thither.

For what should they bring
thither, vnlesse it were yron, or
else Gold and silver, which they
had rather carry home againe?
Also such things as are to be car-
ried out of their land, they thinke
it more wisdome to carry that
geere forth themselves, then that
other should come thither to
fetch it, to the intent they may
the better know the out lands
on every side of them, and keepe
in ure the feate and knowledge
of sailing.

*Of Bond-men, Sicke persons,
Wedlocke, and divers
other masters.*

They neither make Bondmen of prisoners taken in Battaille, unlesse it be in battaile that they fought themselves, nor of bondmens children; nor to be short, of any such as they can get out of forraigne Countries, though he were yet there a bondman. But cyther such, as among themselves for heynous offences be punished bondage, or else such, as in the Cities of other Lands for great trespasses be cōdemned to death. And of this sort of bondmen they have most store.

For many of them they bring home sometimes, paying very little for them, yea most commonly getting them for gramer-cy. These sorts of bondmen they keep not only in continuall work and labour, but also in bands.

L

But

*A miraci-
lous equity
of this na-
tion.*

But their owne men they handle hardest, whom they judge more desperate, and to haue deserved greater punishment, because they being so godly brought vp to vertue in so excellent a common wealth, could not for all that be refrained from mis-doing. Another kind of bondmen they haue, when a vile drudge being a poore laborer in another Countrey, doth choose of his owne free will to be a bondman among them. These they intreat and order honestly, and entertaine almost as gently, as their owne free citizens, saving that they put them to a little more labour, as thereto accustomed. If any such, bee disposed to depart thence (which seldome is seene) they neither hold him against his will, neither send him away with empty hands. The sicke (as I said) they see to with great affection, and let nothing at all passe, concerning either Phisicke or good

*Of them
that be
sicke.*

good diet, whereby they may be restored againe to their health. Such as be sicke of incurable diseases, they comfort with sitting by them, and to be short, with all manner of helpes that may be. But if the disease bee not onely vncureable, but also full of continuall paine and anguish the the Priests and the Magistrates exhort the man, seeing hee is not able to doe any duty of life and by overliving; his owne death is noysome and irkesome to other and grievous to himselfe: that he will determine with himselfe no longer to cherish that pestilent and painfull disease. And seeing his life is to him but a torment, that he will not be vnwilling to dy, but rather take a good hope to him, and either dispatch himselfe out of that painfull life, as out of a prison, or a racke of torment, or else suffer himselfe willingly to be ridde out of it by other. And in so doing, they

*Voluntary
death.*

tell him he shall doe wisely, seeing by his death he shall loose no commodity, but end his paine. And because in that act he shall follow the counsel of the Priests, that is to say, of the Interpreters of Gods will and pleasure, they shew him that he shall doe like a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus perswaded, finish their lives willingly, either with hunger, or else dye in their sleepe without any feeling of death. But they cause none such to dye against his will, nor they vse no lesse diligence and attendance about him: beleeuing this to be an honourable death. Else he that killeth himselfe before that the Priests & the Counsell haue allowed the cause of his death, him as vnworthy either to be buried, or with fire to be consumed, they cast vnburied into some stinking marrish. The woman is not married before she be eighteene yeares old.

*Of Wed-
lo. &c.*

The

The man is foure yeares elder before he marry. If eyther the man or the woman be proued to haue actually offended before their mariage, with another, the party that so hath trespassed, is sharpely punished. And both the offenders, be forbidden ever after in all their life to marry: vnlesse the fault be forgiven by the Princes pardon. Both the good man and good wife of the house, where that offence was committed, as being slacke and negligent in looking to their charge, be in danger of great reproach, and infamy. That offence is so sharpely punished, because they perceiue that vnlesse they be diligently kept from the liberty of this vice, few will joyne together in the loue of marriage, wherein all the life must be led with one, and also all the grieues and displeasures coming therewith patiently be taken and born. Further-

more in choosing wiues and husbands, they obserue earnestly and straightly a custome, which seemed to us very fond and foolish. For a sad and honest patron sheweth the woman be *the* Maid or widdow, naked to the wooer. And likewise a sage and discreet man, exhibiteth the wooer naked to the woman. At this custome we laughed, and disallowed it as foolish. But they on the other part doe greatly wonder at the folly of all other Nations, which in buying a Colt, whereas a little money is in hazard, be so chary and circumspect, that though he be almost all bare, yet they will not buy him, unless the saddle and all the harness be taken off, least under those coverings be hid some gall or sore. And yet in chusing a Wife, which shall be either pleasure or displeasure to them all their life after, they be so rechlesse, that all the residue of the womans body being

being covered with cloathes, they esteeme her scarcely by one hand breadth (for they can see no more but her face) and so to joyne her to them not without great jeopardy of evill agreeing together, if any thing in her body afterward should chance to offend, and mislike them.

For all men be not so wise, as to have respect to the vertuous condition of the party. And the endowments of the body, cause the vertues of the mind more to be esteemed and regarded : yea, even the marriages of wise men. Verily so foule deformity may be hid under those coverings, that it may quite alienate and take away the mans mind from his wife, when it shall not be lawfull for their bodies to be separate againe. If such deformity happen by any chance after the Marriage is consummate and finished, well, therein no remedy but patience.

Every man must take his fortune well in worth. But it were well done that a law were made whereby all such deceits might be eschewed, and avoided before hand.

And this were they constrained more earnestly to looke upon; because they onely of the nations in that part of the world be content every man with one wife a piece. And matrimony is there never broken, but by death: except adultery breake the bond, or else the intollerable wayward manners of either party. For if cyther of them find themselves for any such cause grieved, they may by the licence of the Counsell, change and take another. But the other party liveth ever after in infamy, and out of wedlocke. Howbeit the husband to put away his wife for no other fault, but for that some mishap is fallen to her body, this by no meanes they will suffer? for they
judge

*Divorfe-
ment.*

judge it a great point of cruelty, that any body in their most need of helpe and comfort, should be cast off and forsaken, and that old age, which both bringeth sicknesse with it, and is a sicknesse it selfe, should unkindly, and unfaithfully be delt withall. But now and then it chanceth, whereas the man and woman cannot well agree betweene themselves both of them finding other, with whom they hope to live more quietly and merrily, that they by the full consent of them both, be divorced asunder and married againe to other. But that not without the authority of the Councell. Which agreeth to no divorces, before they and their wives have diligently tryed and examined the matter. Yea, and then also they be loath to consent to it, because they know this to be the next way to breake love betweene man and wife, to be in
ealie.

easie hope of a new marriage. Breakers of wedlocke be punished with most grievous bondage. And if both the offenders were married, then the parties which in that behalfe have suffered wrong, being divorced from the adulterers, be married together, if they will, or else to whom they lust. But if either of them both doe still continue in love toward so unkind a bed-fellow, the vse of wedlock is not to them forbidden, if the party faultlesse be disposed to follow in toying and drudgery, the person, which for that offence is condemned to bondage. And very oft it chaunceth, that the repentance of the one, and the earnest diligence of the other, doth so moue the Prince with pittie and compassion, that he restoreth the bond person from seruitude, to liberty and freedome againe. But if the same party be taken euen in that fault, there is no other way
 but

but death. To other trespasses no prescript punishment is appointed by any law. But according to the hainousnesse of the offence, or contrary, so the punishment is moderated by the discretion of the Councell. The husbands chastice their wives, and the parents their children, unlesse they have done any so horrible an offence, that the open punishment thereof maketh much for the advancement of honest manners.

But most commonly the most hainous faults be punished with the incommodity of bondage. For that they suppose to be to the offenders no lesse grieffe, and to the Common-wealth more profit, then if they should hastily put them to death, and so make them quite out of the way. For their commeth more profit of their labour, thē of their death, and by their example they feare other the longer from like offences. But if they being thus vsed,
doe

*The deser-
ving of pu-
nishment
put to the
discretion
of the Ma-
gistrates.*

rebell and kicke againe, then forsooth they be slaine as desperate and wild beasts, whom neither prison nor chaine could restraine and keepe vnder. But they, which take their bondage patiently, be not left al hopelesse. For after they haue beene broken and tamed with long miseries, if then they shew such repentance, as thereby it may be perceived that they be sorer for their offence then for their punishment: sometimes by the Princes prerogatiue, and sometimes by the voice or else consent of the people, their bondage either is mittigated, or cleane released and forgiven. He that mooveth to adultery is in no lesse danger and jeopardy, then if he had committed adultery in deed. For in all offences they count the intent and pretended purpose as evill, as the act or deed it selfe, thinking that no let ought to excuse him, that did his best to haue no let.

They

*Motion to
Adultery
punished.*

*Pleasure
of fooles.*

They haue singuler delight and pleasure in Fooles. And as it is a great reproach to doe to any of them hurt or injury, so they prohibite not to take pleasure of foolishnesse. For that they think, doth much good to the fooles. And if any man be so sad and sterne, that he cannot laugh neither at their words, nor at their deeds, none of them be committed to his tuition: for feare least he would not intreat them gently and favourably enough: to whom they should bring no delectation (for other goodnesse in them is none) much lesse any profit should they yeeld him. To mocke a man for his deformity, or that he lacketh one part or limme of his body is counted great dishonesty and reproach, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which vnwisely doth imbraid any man of that as a vice, that was not in his power to eschew, also as they count

*Counterfet
beauty.*

*Sinne pu-
nished and
vertue re-
warded.*

count and reckon very little wit to be in him, that regardeth not naturall beauty and comelinesse; so to helpe the same with paintings, is taken for a vaine and a wanton pride, not without great infamy. For they know even by very experience, that no comelinesse of beauty doth so highly commend and advance the wiues in the conceits of their husbands, as honest conditions and lowliness: For as love is oftentimes wonne with beauty, so it is not kept, preserved and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They doe not onely feare their people from doing evill, by punishments, but also allure them to vertue with rewards of honour. Therefore they set vp in the Market place the Images of notable men, and of such as have bene bountifull benefactors to the Common-wealth, for the perpetuall memory of their good acts: and also that the glory and renowne

renowne of the ancestors may stirre and provoke their posterity to vertue. He that inordinatly and ambitiously desireth promotions, is left all hopelesse for ever attaining any promotion as long as he liveth. They live together lovingly : For no Magistrate is either haughty or fearefull. Fathers they be called, and like fathers they use themselves. The Citizens (as it is their duty) willingly exhibit unto them due honour without any compulsion. Nor the Prince himselfe is not knowne from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of state, nor by a crowne or diademe royall, or cap of maintenance, but by a little sheafe of Corne carried before him. And so a taper of waxe is borne before the Bishop, whereby onely he is knowne. They have but few lawes. For to people to instruct and institute, very few doe suffice. Yea, this thing they chiefly re-

The inordinate desire of honors condemned.

Magistrats honoured.

Few Lawes.

reproue among other actions, that innumerable books of laws & expositions vpon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and justice, that men should be bound to these laws, which either be in number more then be able to be read, or else blinder and darker, then that any man can well vnderstand them. Furthermore they vtterly exclude and banish all Attornies, Proctors, and Sergeants at the Law, which craftily handle matters, and subtilly dispute of the lawes. For they thinke it most meet, that every man should plead his owne matter, and tell the same tale to the Iudge, that he would tell to his man of law. So shall there be lesse circumstance of words, & the truth shall sooner come to light, whiles the Iudge with a discret judgement doth away the words of him, who no lawyer hath instruct with deceit, and whiles he beareth out simple.

The multitude of Lawyers superfluous.

simple wits against the false and malicious circumventions of crafty children. This is hard to be observed in other Countries, in so infinit a number of blind and intricate lawes. But in *Vtopia* every man is a cunning Lawyer. For as (I said) they have very few lawes : and the plainer and grosser that any interpretation is : that they allow as most just. For all lawes (say they) be made and published only to the intent, that by them every man shall be put in remembrance of his duty. But the crafty and subtill interpretation of them (forasmuch as few can attaine thereto) can put very few in that remembrance, whereas the simple, the plaine, and grosse meaning of the lawes is open to every man. Else as touching the vulgar sort of the people, which be both most in number, and have most need to know their duties, were it not as good for them, that
no

*The intent
of Lawes.*

no Law were made at all, as when it is made to bring so blind an interpretation vpon it, that without great wit and long arguing no man can discusse it? To the finding out whereof, neither the grosse judgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in working for their livings, can suffice thereto. These vertues of the *Vtopians* have caused their next neighbours and borderers, which live free and under no subjection (for the *Vtopians* long agoe, have delivered many of them from Tyrannie) to make Magistrates of them, some for a yeare, and some for five yeares space. Which when the time of their office is expired, they bring home againe with honour and praise, and take new againe with them into their Country.

These nations haue undoubtedly very well and holisomly provided

vided for their Common-wealths. For seeing that both the making and the marring of the Weale publique, doth depend and hang vpon the manners of the Rulers and Magistrates, what officers could they more wisely have chosen, then those which cannot be lead from honesty by bribes (for to thē that shortly after shall depart thence into their owne Country, money should be unprofitable) nor yet be moved either with favour, or malice towards any man, as being strangers, and unacquainted with the people? The which two vices of affection and avarice, where they take place in judgements, incontinent they breake justice, the strongest and surest bond of a Common-wealth. These people which fetch their officers and rulers from them, the *Vtopians* call their fellowes. And other to whom they have beene benefici- all, they call their friends. As touching

touching leagues, which in other places betweene Country and Country, be so often concluded broken and renewed, they never make none with any nation. For to what purpose serve leagues, say they? As though nature had not set sufficient love betweene man and man. And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for words? They be brought into this opinion chiefly, because that in those parts of the world, leagues betweene Princes be wont to be kept and observed very slenderly. For here in *Europa*, and especially in these parts where the faith and religion of Christ reigneth, the majesty of leagues is every where esteemed holy and inviolable: partly through the justice and goodnesse of Princes, and partly at the reverence and motion of the head Bishops. Which like as they make no promise themselves, but they doe
very

very religiously performe the same; so they exhort all Princes in any wise to abide by their promises, and them that refuse or deny so to doe, by their Pontificall power and authority, they compell thereto. And surely they thinke well that it might seeme a very reproachfull thing, if in the leagues of them which by a peculiar name be called faithfull, faith should have no place. But in that new found part of the world, which is scarcely so farre from vs beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and manners be dissident from theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the more and holier ceremony the league is knit vp with, the sooner it is broken by some cavillation found in the words, which many times of purpose be so craftily put in and placed, that the bands can never be so sure nor so strong, but they will find some hole open to creepe out, and

and to breake both leagne and truth. The which crafty dealing, yea the which fraud and deceit, if they should know it to be practised among private men in their bargaines and contracts, they would incontinent cry out at it with an open mouth, and a fowre countenance, as an offence most detestable, and worthy to be punished with a shamefull death: yea even very they that advance themselves Authors of like counsaile, is given to Princes. Wherefore it may well be thought, either that all justice is but a base and a low vertue, and which availeth it selfe farre under the high dignity of Kings : Or, at the least-wise, that there be two Iustices, the one meet for the inferior sort of the people, going a foot and creeping low by the ground, and bound downe on every side with many bands, because it shall not run at rovers. The other a princely vertue, which

which like as it is of much higher Majesty, then the other poore justice, so also it is of much more liberty, as to the which nothing is unlawfull that it lusteth after. These manners of Princes (as I said) which be there so evill keepers of leagues, cause the *V-topians*, as I suppose, to make no leagues at all, which perchance would change their mind if they lived here. Howbeit they thinke that though leagues be never so faithfully observed and kept, yet the custome of making leagues was very evill begun. For this causeth men (as though nations which be separate a sunder, by the space of a little hill, or River, were coupled together by no society or bond of nature) to thinke themselves borne adversaries and enemies one to another, and that it were lawfull for the one to seeke the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not : yea, and that after the leagues

Leagues be accorded, friendship doth not grow and increase: But the licence of robbing and stealing doth still remaine, as faire forth as for lacke of fore-sight and advisement in writing the words of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrary is not therein sufficiently comprehended. But they be of a contrary opinion. That is, that no man ought to be counted an enemy which hath done no injury. And that the fellowship of nature is a strong league, and that men be better and more surely knit together by love and benevolence, then by covenants of leagues: by hearty affection of mind, then by words

Of War-fare.

WArre or Battaile as a thing very beastly, and yet no kind of beasts in so much use as to man, they doe detest and abhorre. And contrary to the custome almost of all other nations, they count nothing so much against glory, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore though they doe daily practice and exercise themselves in the discipline of warre, not only the men, but also the women vpon certaine appointed dayes, least they should be to seeke in the feat of armes, if need should require, yet they never goe to battaile, but either in the defence of their owne Country, or to drive out of their friends Land the enemies that have invaded it, or by the power to deliver from the yoake and bondage of Tyrannie some people, that be

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therewith oppressed. Which thing they doe of meere pittie and compassion. Howbeit they send helpe to their friends, not ever in their defence, but sometimes also to requite and revenge injuries before to them done. But this they doe not vnlesse their counsell and advise in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet new and fresh, For if they find the cause probable, and if the contrary part will not restore againe such things as be of them justly demanded, then they be the chiefe authors and makers of the warre. Which they doe not onely as oft as by inrodes and invasions of souldiers preyes and booties be driven, but then also much more mortally, when their friends marchants in any land, either vnder the pretence of vnjust lawes, or else by the wresting and wrong vnderstanding of good lawes, doe sustaine an vnjust accusation vnder the colour

colour of justice. Neither the battaile which the *Vtopians* fought for the *Nepheletes* against the *Alaopolitans* a little before our time, was made for any other cause, but that the *Nephelete* marchant men, as the *Vtopians* thought, suffered wrong of the *Alaopolitans*, vnder the pretence of right. But whether it were right or wrong, it was with so cruell and mortall warre reuenged, the Countries round about joyning their helpe and power to the puissance and malice of both parties, that most flourishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewdly shaken, and some of them sharply beaten, the mischiefes were not finished nor ended, vntill the *Alaopolitans*, at the last were yeilded vp as bondmen into the iurisdiction of the *Nepheletes*. For the *Vtopians* fought not this warre for themselves. And yet the *Nephe-*

Logetes before the warre, when the *Alaopolitanes* flourished in wealth, were nothing to be compared with them. So eagerly the *Vtopians* prosecute the injuries done to their friends: yea, in money matters and not their owne likewise. For if they by covine or guile be wiped beside their goods, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they ease their anger by abstaining from occupying with that nation, untill they have made satisfaction. Not for because they set lesse store by their owne Citizens, then by their friends: but that they take the losse of their friends money more heavily then the losse of their owne. Because that their friends Merchant men, for as much as that the losse is their owne private goods, sustaine great damage by the losse. But their own Citizens lose nothing but of the common goods, and of that which was at home plentiful

risfull and almost superfluous, else had it not beene sent forth. Therefore no man feeleth the losse. And for this cause they thinke it too cruell an act, to revenge the losse with the death of man, the incommodity of the which losse no man feeleth neither in his life, nor yet in his living. But if it chance that any of their men be in any other Country be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a common or a private Councell, knowing and trying out the truth of the matter by their Ambassadors, unlesse the offenders be rendered unto them in recompence of the injury, they will not be appeased: but incontinent they proclaime Warre against them. The offenders yeelded, they punish either with death, or with bondage. They be not onely sory, but also ashamed to atchieve the victory with bloodshed, counting it great folly.

Victory
deere
bought.

to buy precious wares too deare. They rejoyce and avant themselves, if they vanquish and oppresse their enemy by craft and deceit. And for that act they make a generall triumph, and as if the matter were manfully handled, they set vp a pillar of stone in the place, where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of their victory. For then they glory, then they boast and crack, that they haue plaid the men indeed, when they haue so overcome, as no other living creature, but only man could: that is to say, by the might and puissance of wit. For with bodily strength (say they) Beares, Lions, Boares, wolves, dogs, and other wild beasts doe fight. And as the most part of them doe passe vs in strength and fierce courage, so in wit & reason we be much stronger then they all. Their chiefe & principall purpose in war, is to obtaine that thing,
which

which if they had before obtained, they would not haue mooued battaile. But if that be not possible, they take such cruell vengeance of them which be in the fault, that ever after they be affraid to doe the like.

This is their chiefe and principall intent, which they immediatly and first of all prosecute, and set forward. But yet so, that they be more circumspect in auoyding and eschewing jeopardies, then they be desirous of praise and renowne. Therefore immediatly after that warre is once solemnly denounced, they procure many Proclamations signed with their owne common seale, to be set vp privily at one time in their enemies land in places most frequented. In these proclamations they promise great rewards to him that will kill their enemies Prince, and somewhat lesse gifts, but them very great also, for every head of

M. 4 them,

thē, whose names be in the said proclamations contained. They be those whom they count their chiefe aduersaries, next unto the Prince whom there is prescribed, unto him that killeth any of the proclaimed persons, that is doubled to him that bringeth any of the same to them alive : yea, and to the proclaimed persons themselves, if they will change their minds, and come into them, taking their parts, they proffer the same great rewards with pardon and safety of their lives. Therefore it quickly commeth to passe, that their enemies have all other men in suspicion, and be unthankfull, and mistrusting among themselves one to another living in great feare, and in no lesse jeopardy. For it is well knowne, that divers times the most part of them (and specially the Prince himselfe) hath beene betrayed of them, in whom they put their most hope and trust.

trust. So there is no manner of act nor deed that gifts and rewards doe not inforce men unto. And in rewards they keepe no measure. But remembering and considering into how great hazard and jeopardy they call them, endeavour themselves to recompence the greatnesse of the danger with like great benefits. And therefore they promise not onely wonderfull great abundance of gold, but also lands of great revenues lying in most safe places among their friends. And their promises they performe faithfully without any fraud or covine.

This custome of buying and selling adversaries, among other people is disallowed, as a cruel act of a base and a cowardish mind. But they in this behalfe thinke themselves much praise worthy, as who likewise, men by this meanes dispatch great Warres without Battaille or
M: 5 skir-

skirmish. Yea, they count it also a deed of pittie and mercy, because that by the death of a few offenders, the lives of a great number of Innocents, as well of their owne men, as also of their enemies, be ransomed and saved, which in fighting should have beene slaine. For they doe no lesse pittie the base and common sort of their enemies people, then they doe their owne: knowing that they be driven and forced to warre against their wills, by the furious madnesse of their Princes and heads. If by none of these meanes the matter goe forward, as they would have it, then they procure occasions of debate, and dissention to be spread among their enemies. As by bringing the Princes brother, or some of the noble men in hope to obtaine the Kingdome. If this way prevaile not, then they raise vp the people that be next neighbours and borderers to their enemies,

mies, and them they set in their necks under the colour of some old title of right, such as Kings doe never lacke. To them they promise their helpe and ayd in their Warre. And as for money they giue them abundance. But of their owne Citizens they send to them few or none : whom they make so much of, and love so intirely, that they would not be willing to change any of them for their aduersaries Prince. But their gold and silver, because they keepe it all for this onely purpose, they lay it out franckly and freely : as who should live even as wealthily, if they had bestowed it every penny. Yea and besides their riches, which they keepe at home, they have also an infinite treasure abroad, by reason that (as I said before) many Nations be in their debt. Therefore they hire souldiours out of all Countries and send them to Battaile, but chiefly of
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the *Zapolets*. This people, is five hundred miles from *Vtopia* Eastward. They be hidious, savage, and fierce, dwelling in wild Woods, and high mountaines, where they were bred and brought vp. They be of an hard nature, able to abide and sustaine heate, cold, and labour, abhorring from all dilicate dainties, occupying no husbandry nor tillage of the ground, homely and rude both in building of their houses, and in their apparell, given unto no goodnesse, but onely to the breeding and bringing vp of Cattle. The most part of their living is by hunting and stealing. They be borne onely to warre, which they diligently and earnestly seek for. And when they have gotten it, they be wondrous glad thereof. They goe forth of their Country in great companies together, and whosoever lacketh souldiours, there they proffer their service for smal wages.

wages. This is onely the craft that they have to get their living by. They maintaine their lives, by seeking their death. For them with whom they be in wages, they fight hardly, fiercely, and faithfully. But they bind themselves for no certaine time. But vpon this condition they enter into bonds, that the next day they will take part with the other side for greater wages, and the next day after that, they will be ready to come back againe for a little more money. There be few warrs there away, wherein is not a great number of them in both parties. Therefore it daily chanceth, that nigh kinsfolke which were hired together on one part, and there very friendly and familiarly vsed themselves one with another, shortly after being separate into contrary parts, run one against another enviously and fiercely: and forgetting both kindred and friendship thrust

thrust their swords one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hired for contrary Princes for a little money. Which they doe so highly regard and esteeme, that they will easily be provoked to change parts for a halfe-penny more wages by the day. So quickly they have taken a sinacke in covetousnesse. Which for all that, is to them no profit. For that they get by fighting, immediately they spend needlesse, unthriftyly, and wretchedly in ryot.

This people fighteth for the *Vtapians* against all Nations, because they give them greater wages, then any other nation will. For the *Vtapians* like as they seeke good men to vse well, so they seeke these evill and vicious men to abuse. Whom, when need requireth, with promises of great rewards, they put forth into great jeopardies. From whence the most part of them never cometh

commeth againe to aske their rewards. But to them that remaine alive, they pay that which they promised faithfully, that they may be the more willing to put themselves in like danger another time. Nor the *Vtopians* passe not how many of them they bring to destruction. For they beleeve that they should doe a very good deed for all mankind, if they could rid out of that world all that foule stincking denne of that most wicked and cursed people. Next unto these, they vse the souldiours of them for whom they fight: and then the helpe of their other friends. And last of all, they joyne to their owne Citizens. Among whom they give to one of tried vertue and powers, the rule, governance and conduction of the whole Army. Vnder him they appoint two other, which whiles he is safe, be both private and out of office. But if he be taken or slaine,

slaine the one of the other succedeth him, as it were by inheritance. And if the second miscarry, then the third taketh his roome, least that (as the chance of Battaile is uncertaine and doubtfull) the jeopardy of death of the Captaine should bring the whole army in hazard. They choose souldiours out of every City, those, which put forth themselves willingly. For they thrust no man forth into warre against his will: because they beleeve, if any man be fearefull and faint-hearted of nature, he will not onely doe no manfull and hardy act himselfe, but also be occasion of cowardnesse to his fellowes. But if any Battaile be made against their owne Country, then they put these cowards (so that they be strong bodied) in Ships among other bold harted men. Or else they dispose them vpon the wals, frō whence they may not flie. Thus what for
shame

shame that their enemies be at hand, and what for because they be without hope of running away, they forget all feare. And many times. extreame necessity turneth cowardnesse into prowesse and manlinesse. But as none of them is thrust forth of his Country into warre against his will, so women that be willing to accompany their husbands in time of warre, be not prohibited or letted. Yea they provoke and exhort them to it with praises. And in set field the wives doe stand every one by their owne husbands side. Also every man is compassed next about with his owne children, kinsfolkes, and alliance, That they whom nature chiefly mooveth to mutuall succour, thus standeth together, may helpe one another. It is a great reproach and dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wife, or the wife without her husband.

husband, or the sonne without his father. And therefore if the other part sticke so hard by it, that the battaile come to their hands, it is fought with great slaughter and blood-shed, even to the utter destruction of both parties. For as they make all the meanes and shifts that may be, to keepe themselves from the necessity of fighting, or that they may dispatch the battaile by their hired souldiers, so when there is no remedy, but that they must needs fight themselves, then they doe as couragiously fall to it, as before, whiles they might, they did wisely avoid and refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first brunt. But in continuance by little and little their fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne and obstinate minds, that they will rather die then give backe an inch. For that surety of living, which every man hath at home, being joyned with no care-
full

full anxiety or remembrance how their posterity shall live after them. (for this pensivenesse oftentimes breaketh and abateth couragious stomackes) making them stout and hardy , and disdainfull to be conquered. Moreover, their knowledge in chivalry and feates of armes, putteth them in a good hope. Finally the wholesome and vertuous opinions wherein they were brought vp even from their childhood, partly through learning, and partly through the good ordinance and lawes of their Weale publique, augment and encrease their manfull courage. By reason whereof, they neither set so little store by their lives, that they will rashly and vnadvisedly cast them away: nor they be not so farre in lewd and fond love therewith, that they will shamefully covet to keepe them, when honesty biddeth leave them. When the battaile is hottest, and
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in all places most fierce and fer-
vent, a band of chosen and
picked yong men, which be
sworne to liue and dye together,
take vpon them to destroy their
adversaries captaine. Whom they
invade now with privy wiles,
now by open strength. At him
they strike both neare and farre
off. He is assailed with a long and
a continuall assault, fresh men
still comming in the wearied
mens places. And seldome it
chanceth (vnlesse he saue him-
selfe by flying): that he is not
either slain or else taken prisoner,
and yeelded to his enemies aliue.
If they win the field, they perse-
cute not their enemies with the
violent rage of slaughter. For
they had rather take them aliue,
then kill them. Neither doe they
follow the chase, and pursuit of
their enemies, but they leaue be-
hinde them one part of their
hoast in battaile aray, vnder their
standards. Insomuch, that if all
their

their whole army be discomfited and over-come, saving the reward, and that they therewith atchieue the victory, then they had rather let all their enemies scape, then to follow them out of array. For they remember it hath chanced vnto themselves more then once: the whole power and strength of their hoast being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies rejoycing in the victory haue persecuted them, flying some one away and some another, a small company of their men lying in ambush, there ready at all occasions, haue suddenly risen vpon them thus dispersed and scattered out of array, and through presumption of safety vnadvisedly pursuing the chase and haue incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battaile, and spite of their teethes wresting out of their hands the sure and vndoubted victory, being a little before

before conquered, have for their part conquered the conquerers. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in laying an ambush, or wittier in avoiding the same. You would thinke they intend to flie, when they meane nothing lesse. And contrariwise, when they goe about that purpose, you would beleevè it were the least part of their thought. For if they perceive themselves overmatched in number, or closed in too narrow a place, then they remove their campe either in the night season with silence, or by some policy they deceive their enemies, or in the day time they retire backe so softly, that it is no lesse jeopardy to meddle with them when they give backe, then when they presse on. They fence and fortifie their campe surely with a deepe and a broad trench. The earth thereof is cast inward. Nor they doe not set drudges and slaves a worke about it. It is done by the hands

hands of the souldiours themselves. All the whole Army worketh upon it, except them that keepe watch and ward in armor before the trench for suddaine adventures. Therefore by the labour of so many, a large trench closing in a great compasse of ground, is made in lesse time then any man would beleeve. Their Armour or harnesse which they weare, is sure and strong to receive stroakes, and handsome for all moovings and gestures of the body, inso-much that it is not unweldy to swimme in. For in the discipline of their war-fare, among other feats they learne to swimme in harnesse. Their weapons be arrowes aloofe, which they shoot both strongly and surely, not on-ly footmen, but also horsemen. At hand stroakes they vse not swords, but Pollaxes, which be mortall, as well in sharpenesse as in weight, both for foynes and
downe

*Their Ar-
mour.*

Of Truces

downe stroakes. Engines for war they devise and invent wondrous wittily. Which when they be made they keepe very secret, least if they should be knowne before neede require, they should be but laughed at, and serue to no purpose. But in making them, hereunto they haue chiefe respect, that they be both easie to be carried, aed handscme to be moved, and turned about. Truce taken with their enemies for a short time, they doe so firmly and faithfully keepe, that they will not breake it, no, not though they be thereunto provoked. They doe not waste nor destroy their enemies land with forragings, nor they burne not vp their Corne. Yea they saue it as much as may be from being overrunne, and trodden downe, either with men or horses, thinking that it groweth for their owne vse & profit. They hurt no man that is vnarmed, vnlesse he
be

be an Espyall. All Cities that be yeelded unto them, they defend. And such as they winne by force of assault, they neither dispoyle nor sacke, but them that withstood and disswaded the yeelding vp of the same, they put to death, the other souldiers they punish with bondage. All the weake multitude they leave untouched. If they know that any Citizens counselled to yeeld and render vp the City, to them they give part of the condemned mens goods. The residue they distribute and give freely among them, whose helpe they had in the same warre. For none of themselves taketh any portion of the prey. But when the battaile is finished and ended, they put their friends to never a penny cost of all the charge; that they were at, but lay it vpon their neckes that be conquered. Then they burthen with the whole charge of their expenses,

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which

which they demand of them partly in money, to be kept for like use of battaile, and partly in lands of great reuenues to be paid unto them yearely for ever. Such reuenues they have now in many Countries. Which by little and little rising of diuers and sundry causes, be increased aboue seven hundred thousand ducates by the yeare. Thither they send forth some of their Citizens as Lieftenants, to live there sumptuously, like men of honour and renowne. And yet this notwithstanding, much money is saved, which cometh to the common treasury: unlesse it so chance, that they had rather trust the Country with the money. Which many times they doe so long, untill they have need to occupy it. And it seldome happeneth that they demand all. Of these lands they assigne part unto them, which at their rebuest and exhortation,
put

put themselves in such jeopardies, as I spoke of before. If any Prince stirre up warre, against them, intending to invade their land, they meet him incontinent out of their owne borderers, with great power and strength. For they never lightly make warre in their owne Country. Nor they be never brought into so extreame necessity, as to take helpe out of forraine lands into their owne Iland.

Of the Religions in Vtopia.

THERE be divers kinds of Religion, not onely in sundry parts of the Iland but also in divers places of every City. Some worship for God, the Sun: some the Moone: some other of the Planets. There be that give worship to a man that was

once of excellent vertue or of famous glory, not only as GOD, but also as the chiefest and highest GOD. But the most and the wisest part (rejecting all these) beleeve, that there is a certaine godly power unknowne, everlasting, incomprehensible, inexplicable, farre above the capacity & reach of mans wit, dispersed throughout all the whole world, not in bignesse, but in vertue and power. Him they call the father of all. To him alone they attribute the beginnings, the increasings, the proceedings, the changes, and the ends of all things. Neither they give any divine honours to any other then to him. Yea all the other also, though they be in divers opinions, yet in this point they agree all together with the wisest sort, in beleeving that there is one principall GOD, the maker and ruler of the whole world: whom they all commonly in their Country language call

Mythra

Mythra. But in this they disagree that among some he is counted one, and among some another. For every one of them, whatsoever that is which he taketh for the chiefe God, thinketh it to be the very same nature, to whose only divine might and majesty the summe and soveraignty of all things by the consent of all people is attributed and given. Howbeit they all begin by little and little to forsake and fall from this variety of superstitions, and to agree together in that religion which seemeth by reason to passe and excell the residue. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long agoe have been abolished, but that whatsoever unprosperous thing happened to any of them, as he was minded to change his religion, the fearfulnesse of people did take it, not as a thing comming by chance but as sent from GOD out of Heaven. As though the

the God, whose honour he was forsaking, would haue revenged that wicked purpose against him. But after they heard vs speake of the name of Christ, of his doctrin, lawes, myracles, and of the no lesse wonderfull constancy of so many martyrs, whose blood willingly shed, brought a great number of nations throughout all parts of the world into their sect: you will not beleewe with how glad minds, they agreed vnto the same: whether it were by the secret inspiration of God, or else for that they thought it nighest vnto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I thinke this was no small helpe and furtherance in the matter, that they heard vs say, that Christ instituted among his, all things common: and that the same community doth yet remaine amongst y^e rightest Christian companies. Verily howsoever it came

*Religious
houses.*

to passe, many of them consented together in our religion, and were washed in the holy water of Baptisme. But because among vs foure (for no moe of vs was left aliue, two of our company being dead) there was no Priest, which I am right sory for: they being entred and instructed in all other points of our religion, lacke onely those sacraments, which none but Priests doe minister. Howbeit they vnderstand & perceiue them, and be very desirous of the same. Yea they reason and dispute the matter earnestly among themselves, whither without the sending of a Christian Bishop, one chosen out of their owne people, may receiue the order of Priesthood. And truely they were minded to choose one. But at my departure thence they had chosen none.

They also which doe not agree to Christs religion, ferre no man from it, nor speake against any

man that hath received it. Saving that one of our company in my presence was sharply punished. He as soone as he was baptised began against our wils with more earnest affection, then wisdom to reason of Christs Religion : and began to waxe so hot in this matter, that he did not onely preferre our Religion before all other, but also did vtterly despise and condemne all other, calling them prophane, and the followers of them wicked and devilish, and the children of everlasting damnation. When he had thus long reasoned the matter, they laid hold on him, accused him, and condemned him into exile, not as a dispiser of religion, but as a sedicious person, and a rayser vp of dissention among the people. For this is one of the ancientest lawes among them : that no man shall be blamed for reasoning in the maintenance of his owne religion. For King.

Vtopus, even at the first beginning, hearing that the inhabitants of the land were before his coming thither, at continuall dissention and strife among themselves for their religions: perceiving also that this common dissention (whiles every severall Sect tooke severall parts in fighting for their Country) was the onely occasion of his Conquest over them all, as soone as he had gotten the victory. First of all, he made a decree, that it should be lawfull for every man to favour and follow what religion he would, and that he might doe the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly, and soberly, without hasty and contentious rebuking and inveying against other. If he could not by faire and gentle speech induce them vnto his opinion, yet he should vse

*Seditious
reasoners
punished.*

no kind of violence, and refraine from displeasent and sedicious words. To him that would vehemently and fervently in this cause strife and contend, was decreed, banishment, or bondage. This law did King *Vropus* make not onely for the maintenance of peace, which hee saw through continual contentation and mortall hatred vtterly extinguished: but also because he thought this decree should make for the furtherance of religion. Whereof he durst define and determine nothing vnadvisedly, as doubting whither God desiring manifold and diuers sorts of honour, would inspire sundry men with sundry kinds of religion. And this surely he thought a very vnmeet and foolish thing, & a point of arrogant presumption, to compell all other by violence and threatnings to agree to the same, that thou beleevest to be true. Furthermore, though there
be

be one religion, which alone is true, and all other vaine and superstitions, yet did he well foresee (so that the matter were handled with reason and sober modesty) that the truth of the owne power would at the last issue out and come to light. But if contention and debate in that behalfe should continually be vsed, as the worst men be most obstinate and stubborne, and in their euill opinion inost constant: he perceived that then the best and holiest religion would be troden vnder foote and destroyed by most vaine superstitions, even as good corne is by thornes and weeds over-grown and choaked. Therefore all this matter he left vndiscussed, and gaue to every man free liberty and choice to beleue what he would. Saving that he earnestly and straitly charged them, that no man should conceiue so vile and base an opinion of the dignity

*No vile opinion
to be conceived
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nature.*

of mans nature, as to thinke that the soules doe die and perish with the body : or that the world runneth at all adventures, governed by no divine providence. And therefore they beleue that after this life vices be extreamely punished, and vertues bountifully rewarded. He that is of a contrary opinion, they count not in the number of men, as one that hath availed the high nature of his soule, to the vilenesse of brute beasts bodies : much lesse in the number of the Citizens. whose lawes and ordinances, if it were not for feare, he would nothing at all esteeme. For you may be sure that he will study either with craft privily to mocke, or else violently to breake the common lawes of his countrey, in whom remaineth no further feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of the body. Wherefore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honors, excluded

excluded from all offices, and reject from all common administrations in the weale-publique.

And thus he is of all sorts despised, as of an vnprofitable, and of a base and vile nature. Howbeit, they put him to no punishment, because they be perswaded, that it is in no mans power to believe what he list. No, nor they constrain him not-with threatenings to dissemble his mind, and shew countenance contrary to his thought. For deceit and falshood, and all manner of lies, as next vnto fraud, they doe marveilously deject and abhorre. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that onely among the common people. For else apart among the Priests and men of grauity they doe not onely suffer, but also exhort him to dispute and argue hoping that at the last, that madnesse will giue place to reason. There bee also other,
and

*Irreligious
people se-
cluded
from all
honours.*

*A very
strange
saying.*

*Deceit and
falshood
detested.*

*A maruei-
lous
strange o-
pinion tox-
ching the
soules of
brute
beasts.*

*To die un-
willingly
an euill
toke.*

and of them no small number, which be not biddea to speake their minds, as grounding their opinion vpon some reason, being in their living neither euill nor vicious. Their heresie is much contrary to the other. For they belecue that the soules of the brute beasts be immortal and everlasting. But nothing to be compared with others in dignity, neither ordained and predestinate to like felicity. For all they belecue certainly and surely that mans blisse shall be so great, that they doe mourne and lament euery mans sicknesse, but no mans death, vnlesse it be on whom they see depart from his life carefully, and against his will. For this they take for a very euill token, as though the soule being in dispaire, and vexed in conscience, through some privy and secret forefeeling of the punishment now at hand, were affraid to depart. And they
thinke

they thinke he shall not be welcome to GOD, which when he is called, runneth not to him gladly, but is drawne by force, and sore against his will. They therefore that see this kind of death, doe abhorre it, and them that so die, they bury with sorrow and silence. And when they haue prayed to GOD to be mercifull to the soule, and mercifull to pardon the infirmitie thereof, they cover the dead corse with earth. Contrariwise, all that depart merily and full of good hope, for then no man mourneth; but followeth the hearse with joyfull singing, commending the soules to GOD with great affection. And at the last, not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reverence they burne the bodies. And in the same place they set vp a pillar of stone, with the dead mens titles therein graved. When they be come home, they rehearse his vertuous manners

*A willing
and merry
death not
to be la-
mented.*

ners and his good deeds. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of, as his mery death. They thinke that this remembrance of the vertue and goodnesse of the dead, doth vehemently provoke and enforce the liuing to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleasant and acceptable to the dead. Whom they suppose to be present among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull and feeble eye-sight of mortall men they be inuilibile. For it were an inconvenient thing, that the blessed should not be at liberty to goe whither they would. And it were a point of great vnkindnesse in them, to haue vtterly cast away the desire of visiting & seeing their friends, to whom they were in their life time joynd by mutuall loue and amity. Which in good men after their death, they count to be rather increased then diminished. They beleue therefore that the
dead

dead be presently conversant among the quicke, as beholders and witnesses of all their words and deeds. Therefore they goe more couragiously to their businesse, as having a trust and a fiance in such overseers. And this beleefe of the present conversation of their forefathers and ancestors among them, feareth them from all secret dishonesty. They vtterly dispise and mocke south-sayings and divinations of things to come, by the flight and voyces of birds, and all other diuination of vaine superstition, which in other countries be in great observation. But they highly esteeme and worship miracles that come by no helpe of nature, as workes and witnesses of the present power of GOD. And such they say doe chance there very often. And sometimes in great and doubtfull matters, by common intercession and prayers, they procure and obtaine them with

South-sayers not regarded nor credited. Miracles.

22

*The life
contem-
plation.*

*The life
active.*

a sure hope and confidence, and a stedfast beleefe.

They thinke that the contem-
plation of nature, and the praise
thereof comming, is to GOD a
very acceptable honour, Yet there
be many so earnestly bent and
affected to religion, that they
passe nothing for learning, nor
give their minds to any know-
ledge of things. But idlenesse
they utterly forsake and eschew,
thinking felicity after this life to
be gotten and obtained by busie
labour and good exercises. Some
therefore of thē attend vpon the
sicke, some amend high-wayes,
cleanse ditches, repara Bridges,
digge turfes, gravell, and stone,
fell and cleaue wood, bring wood
corne, and other things, into the
Cities in carts, and serue not
onely in common workes, but al-
so in private labours, as seruants:
yea, more then bondmen. For
whatsoever unpleasent, hard and
vile worke is any where, from the
which

which labour, loathfomnesse, and desperation doth fray other, all that they take upon thē willingly and gladly, procuring rest and quiet to other, remaining in continuall worke and labour themselves, not embraiding others therewith. They neither reprove other mens lives, nor glory in their owne. These men the more serviceable they behave themselves, the more they be honored of all men. Yet they be divided into two sects. The one of them that live single and chaste, abstaining not only from the company of women, but also from eating of flesh, and some of them from all manner of beasts. Which vterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtfull, be all wholly set vpon the desire of the life to come, by watching, waiting, and sweating, hoping shortly to obtaine it, being in the meane season merry and lusty. The other sect is no lesse desirous

desirous of Labour, but they imbrace Matrimony, (not despising the solace thereof, thinking that they cannot be discharged of their bounden duties toward nature, without labour and toyle, nor towards their native Country, without procreation of children. They abstaine from no pleasure that doth nothing hinder them from labour. They love the flesh of foure-footed beasts, because they beleve that by the meat they be made hardy and stronger to worke. The *Vtopians* count this Sect the wiser, but the other the holier. Which in that they preferre single life before matrimony, and that sharpe life before the easier life, if herein they grounded upon reason, they would mocke them. But now forasmuch as they say they be lead to it by religion, they honour and worship them. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they call

*It is not
all one to
be wise
and good.*

call *Bruthers*, the which word by interpretation, signifieth to vs, Men of religion, or religious men. They have Priests of exceeding holinesse, and therefore very few. For there be but thirteen in every City according to the number of their Churches, saving when they goe forth to battaile. For then seaven of them goe forth with the army : in whose steads so many now be made at home. But the other at their returne home againe, reenter every one in his owne place: they that be above the number, untill such time as they succeed into the places of the other at their dying, be in the meane season continually in company with the Bishop. For he is the chiefe head of them all. They be chosen of the people, as the other Magistrates be by secret voices, for the avoiding of strife.

Priests.

After their election, they be consecrate of their own cōpany.

They

They be Overseers of all divine matters, orderers of religions, and as it were Judges and Masters of manners. And it is a great dishonour and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them, for dissolute and incontinent living. But as it is their office to give good exhortations and counsell, so it is the duty of the Prince and the other Magistrates, to correct and punish offenders, saving that the Priests, whom they find exceeding vicious livers, them they excommunicate from having any interest in divine matters. And there is almost no punishment among them more feared. For they run in very great infamy, and be inwardly tormented with a secret feare of religion, and shall not long escape free with their bodies. For unlesse they by quicke repentance approve the amendment of their lives to the Priests, they be taken and punished of
the

*Excom-
municate.*

the Councell, as wicked and irreligious. Both child-hood and youth is instructed and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligent to instruct them in learning, then in vertue and good manners. For they vse with very great endeavour and diligence to put into the heads of their children, whiles they be yet tender, and plyant, good opinions and profitable for the conservation of the Weale publike. Which when they be once rooted in children doe remaine with them all their life after, and be wondrous profitable for their defence and maintenance of the state of the Common-wealth: which never decayeth but through vices rising of evill opinions.

The Priests, unlesse they be women (for that kind is not excluded from Priest-hood, howbeit few be chosen and none but widdowes and old women) the men Priests, I say, take to their
wiues

*The Majesty and
preheminance of
Priests.*

wiues the chiefeſt women in all their Countrey. For to no office among the *Vtopians* is there more honour and preheminance giuen. Inſomuch that if they commit any offence, they be vnder no common judgement, but be left onely to GOD and themſelves. For they thinke it not lawfull to touch him with mans hand, be he neuer ſo vicious, which after ſo ſinguler a ſort was dedicate and conſecrate to GOD; as a holy offering.

This manner may they eaſily obſerue, becauſe they haue ſo few Priests, and doe chooſe them with ſuch circumſpection. For it ſcarcely euer chanceth, that the moſt vertuous among vertuous, which in reſpect only of his vertue is advanced to ſo high a dignity, can fall to vice & wickedneſſe. And if it ſhould chance indeed (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reaſon they be ſo few, and promoted to no might nor pow-

power, but onely to honour, it were not to be feared that any great dammage by them should happen & ensue to the commonwealth. They haue so rare and few Priests, least if the honour were communicated to many, the dignity of the order, which among them now is so highly esteemed, should run in contempt. Specially because they thinke it hard, to find many so good, as to be meete for that dignity, to the execution and discharge wherof, it is not sufficient to be indued with meane vertues.

Furthermore, these Priests be not more esteemed of their owne Countrey men, then they be of forreigne and strange Countries. Which thing may hereby plainly appeare. And I thinke also that this is the cause of it. For whiles the armies be fighting together in open field, they a little beside not farre off kneele vpon their knees in their
O hallowed

many benefits received at his hand. But namely that through the favour of God he hath chanced into that publike weale, which is most happy and wealthy, and hath chosen that religion which he hopeth to be most true. In the which thing if he doe any thing erre, or if there be any other better then either of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desireth him that he will of his goodnes let him have knowledge thereof, as one that is ready to follow what way soever he will lead him. But if this forme and fashion of a Commonwealth be best, and his owne religion most true and perfect, then he desireth GOD to give him a constant stedfastnesse in the same, and to bring all other people to the same order of living, and to the same opinion of God, unlesse there be any thing that in this diversity of Religions doth delight his unsearchable

able pleasure. To be short, he prayeth him that after his death he may come to him. But how soone or late that he dare not assigne nor determine. Howbeit, if it might stand with his Majesties pleasure, he would be much gladder to die a painfull death and so to goe to GOD, then by long living in worldly prosperity to be away from him. When this prayer is said, they fall down to the ground againe and a little after they rise vp and goe to dinner. And the residue of the day they passe over in playes, and exercise of chivalry.

Now I haue declared and prescribed unto you as truely as I could, the forme and order of that Common-wealth, which verily in my judgement is not onely the best, but also that which alone of good right may claime and take vpon it the name of a Common-welth or publike weal. For in other places they
speake

speake still of the Common wealth. But every man procurereth his owne private gaine. Here where nothing is private, the common affaires be earnestly looked vpon. And truly on both parts they have good cause so to doe as they doe. For in other Countries who knoweth not that he shall starve for hunger, unlesse he make some severall provision for himselfe, though the Common wealth flourish never so much in riches? And therefore he is compelled even of very necessity to haue regard to himselfe, rather then to the people, that is to say, to others.

Contrariwise, there where all things be common to every man, it is not to be doubted that any man shall lacke any thing necessary for his private vses, so that the common store houses and barnes be sufficiently stored. For there nothing is distributed
after

after a niggish sort; neither there is any poore man or begger. And though no man have any thing, yet every man is rich. For what can be more rich, then to live joyfull and merrily, without all grieffe and pensivenesse: Not caring for his owne living, nor vexed or troubled with his wifes importunate complaints, nor dreading poverty to his sonne, nor sorrowfull for his daughters dowry. Yea they take no care at all for the living and wealth of themselves and all theirs, and their wives, their children, their nephewes, their childrens children, and all the succession that ever shall follow in their posterity. And yet besides this, there is no lesse provision for them that were once labourers, and be now weake and impotent, then for them that doe now labour and take paine. Here now would I see,
if

If any man dare be so bold as to compare with the equity, the justice of other Nations. Among whom, I forsake GOD, if I can find any signe or token of equity and justice. For what justice is this, that a rich Gold-smith, or an Usurer, or to be short, any of them, which either doe nothing at all, or else that which they do is such, that it is not very necessary to the Common-wealth, should have a pleasant and a wealthy living, either by idleness, or by unnecessary businesse: When in the meane time poore labourers, Carters, yron smiths, Carpenters, and ploughmen, by so great and continuall toyle, as drawing and bearing beasts bescant able to sustaine, and again so necessary toyle, that without it no Common-wealth were able to continue and endure one yeare, should yet get so hard and poore a living, and live so wretched and miserable a life,

that

that the state and condition of the labouring beast may seeme much better and wealthier? For they be not put to so continuall labour, nor their living is not much worse: yea, to them much pleasanter, taking no thought in the meane season for the time to come. But these silly poore wretches be presently tormented with barraine and unfruitfull labour. And the remembrance of their poore indigent and beggerly old age killeth them vp. For their daily wages is so little, that it will not suffice for the same day, much lesse it yeeldeth any over-plus, that may daily be laid vp for the reliefe of old age.

Is not this an unjust, and an unkind Publique weale, which giveth great fees and rewards to Gentlemen, as they call them, and to Goldsmiths, and to such other, which

which be either idle persons, or else onely flatterers, and devi-
fers of vaine pleasures: And
of the contrary part, maketh
no gentle provition for poore
Plowmen, Colliers, Labourers,
Yron-smiths, and Carpenters,
without whom no Common-
wealth can continuē. But af-
ter it hath abused the Labourers
of their lusty and flowring age,
at the last when they be oppres-
sed with old age and sicknesse
being needy, poore, and indi-
gent of all things, then so get-
ting their so many painfull wat-
chings, not remembering their
so many and so great benefits,
recompenceth and acquainteth
them most unkindly, with mi-
serable death. And yet besides
this, the rich men not onely by
private fraud, but also by com-
mon lawes, doe every day
plucke and snatch away from
the poore, some part of their
daily

daily living. So whereas it seemed before unjust to repentance with unkindnesse their paines, that they have beene beneficiall to the Commonweale, now they have to their wrong and unjust dealing (which is yet a much worse point) given the name of justice, yea, and that by force of a Law. Therefore when I consider and weigh in my mind all these Common-wealths, which now a dayes any where do flourish, so GOD helpe me, I can perceive nothing but a certaine conspiracy of rich men procuring their owne commodities, under the name and title of the Common-wealth. They invent and devise all meanes and crafts, first how to keepe safely without feare of loosing, that they have unjustly gathered together: and next how to hire and abuse the worke and labour of the poore for as little money as may

may be. These devises when the rich men have decreed to be kept and observed under colour of the communitie, that is to say, also of the poore people, then they be made lawes. But these most vicious and wicked men, when they have by their insatiable covetousnesse, divided among themselves all those things which would have sufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the wealth and felicity of the *Vtapien* Common-wealth? Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the vse thereof is vtterly secluded and banished, how great a heape of cares is cut away? How great an occasion of wickednesse and mischief is pulled vp by the root? For who knoweth not that fraud, theft, ravine, brawling, quarrelling, brabbling, strife, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punishments are rather revenged then refrai-

*Contempt
of money.*

refrained, doe die when money
dyeth? And also that feare, grieffe,
care, labours, and watching, doe
perish even the very same mo-
ment that money perisheth? Yet
poverty it selfe, which onely see-
med to lacke money, if money
were gone, it also would decrease
and vanish away. And that you
may perceiue this more plainly,
consider with your selves some
barraine and unfruitfull yeare,
wherein many thousands of peo-
ple have starved for hunger: I
dare be bold to say, that in the
end of that penury, so much
Corne or graine might have
beene found in rich mens barnes,
if they had beene searched, as
being divided among them who
famine and pestilence then con-
sumed, no man at all should have
felt that plague and penury. So
easily might men get their living
if that same worthy Princeesse
Lady money did not alone
stop

stoppe vpthe way betweene vs
and our living, which a
Gods name was very excel-
lently devised and invented,
that by her the way thereto
should be opened. I am sure
the rich men perceiue this, nor
they be not ignorant how much
better it were to lacke no ne-
cessary thing, then to abound
with overmuch superfluity: to
berid out of innumerable cares
and troubles, then to be be-
sieged and encombred with
great riches.

And I doubt not that either
the respect of every mans pri-
uate commodity, or else the
authority of our Saviour *Christ*
(which for his great wisdom
could not but know what were
best, and for his inestimable
goodnesse could not but coun-
sell to that which he knew to
the best) would have brought
all the World long agoe into
the

*Amaruai-
lous say-
ing.*

the lawes of this Weale publike if it were not the one onely best, the Princesse and mother of all mischiefe Pride, doth withstand and let it. She measureth not wealth and prosperity by her owne commodities, but by the misery and incommodities of other: she would not by her good will be made a Goddesse, if there were no wretches left, over whom she might like a scornfull Lady rule and triumph, over whose miseries her felicities might shine, whose poverty she might vex, torment and increase, by rigorously setting forth her riches. This hel-hound creepeth into mens hearts, and pulleth them backe from entering the right path of life, and is so deeply rooted in mens breasts, that she cannot be pulled out.

This forme and fashion of a Weale publike, which I would gladly wish unto all Nations,

I am glad yet that it chanced to the *Vtopians*, which have followed those institutions of life, whereby they have laid such foundations of their Commonwealth, as shall continue and last not onely wealthy, but also as farre as mans wit may judge and conjecture, shall endure for ever. For seeing the chiefe causes of Ambition and sedition, with other vices, be plucked vp by the roots, and abandoned at home there, can be no jeopardy of domesticall dissention, which alone hath cast underfoot and brought to naught the wel-fortified and strongly defenced wealth and riches of many Cities. But for as much as perfect concord remaineth, and wholesome lawes be executed at home, the envie of all forreigne Princes be not able to shake or moove the Empire, though they have many times long agoe gone about to
doe

dōe it, being evermore driven
backe.

Thus when R A P H A E L
had made an end of his tale,
though many things came to
my mind, which in the man-
ners and lawes of that people,
seemed to be instituted and
founded of no good reason,
but onely in the fashion of their
chivalry, and in their Sacrifices,
and Religions, and in other of
their Lawes; but also, yea and
chiefly, in that which is the
principall foundation of all their
ordīnances: that is to say, in
the communalty of their life
and living, without any occu-
pying of money, by the which
thing onely all nobility, magni-
fience, worship, honour, and
majesty, the true ornaments and
honours, as the common opinion
is, of a Common-wealth, vtterly
be overthrowne and destroyed:
yet because I knew that he was
weary of talking, and was not

sure whether he could abide that any thing should be said against his mind : specially remembering that he had reprehended this fault in other, which be affraid least they should sceme not to be wise enough, unlesse they could find some fault in other mens inventions : therefore I praising both their institutions and his communication, tooke him by the hand, and lead him into supper, saying that we would choose another time to weigh and examine the same matters, and to talke with him more at large therein. Which would GOD it might once come to passe.

In the meane time, as I cannot agree and consent to all things that he said, being else without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all wordly matter exactly and profoundly experienced : so must I needs confesse and grant, that many things

things be in the *Utopian* Weale-
publique, which in our Ci-
ties I may rather wish
for, then hope
after.

FINIS

FINIS.



1785

U III

RECEIVED



John Smith



Know all men by these presents
that I Robert

of the County of York
in the County of York
do hereby certify
that the within
is a true and
correct copy
of the original
as the same
now lies in
the office of
the Clerk of
the Peace
for the County
of York
in witness
whereof I have
hereunto set
my hand and
seal this
15th day of
April 1852

