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B. Hooley Esq
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John. A. Hooley
1877

Looking up James Chattin, the careful Isaiah Thomas informs us that Chattin was a Philadelphia printer in 1752, and that his "Printing House was in Church Alley, next to the Pipes." Chattin does not seem to have been successful, for in 1755 he offers his books at reduced prices. Of course, the great authority on early American primers is Mr. Paul Leicester Ford, whose work on this interesting subject was fully noticed in THE NEW YORK TIMES of Dec. 14, 1897.

This "Royal Primer" just described has always been in the possession of a family in Brooklyn, who trace their lineage direct from the small boy who once owned the book, and that accounts for its perfect condition.

T H E
C O M M O N - W E A L T H
O F
U T O P I A.

Containing a learned and pleasant Dis-
course of the best State of a *Pub-
lick Weal*, as it is found in the new
Island called U T O P I A.

Written by the Right Honourable Sir T H O M A S
M O O R E, Lord Chancellor of *England*.

L O N D O N: Printed.

P H I L A D E L P H I A: Reprinted and Sold
by J A M E S C H A T T I N, in *Church-Alley*. 1753.

Handwritten text at the top of the page, possibly a title or header, which is mostly illegible due to fading.

Second line of handwritten text, appearing to be a date or a specific reference.

Third line of handwritten text, continuing the narrative or list.

Fourth line of handwritten text, possibly a section separator.

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Eighth line of handwritten text, appearing to be a signature or a name.

Ninth line of handwritten text, possibly a date or a location.

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Benjamin Moorey
— " — " —



The Common-Wealth of U T O P I A.

B O O K I.

THE most victorious King of *England*, HENRY the Eighth of that Name, in all royal Virtues a Prince most peerless, had of late in Controversy with CHARLES, the right high and mighty King of *Castile*, weighty Matters, and of great Importance; for the Debatement and final Determination whereof, the King's Majesty sent me Ambassador into *Flanders*, joined in Commission with CUTHBERT TUNSTALL, a Man doubtless out of Comparison, and whom the King's Majesty of late, to the great Rejoicing of all Men, did prefer to the Office of Master of the Rolls.

But of this Man's Praises I will say nothing, not because I do fear that small Credence shall be given to the Testimony that cometh out of a Friend's Mouth; but because his Virtue and Learning be greater, and of more Excellency, than that I am able to praise them; and also in all Places so famous and so perfectly well known, that they need not, nor ought not of me to be praised, unless I would seem to shew and set forth the Brightness of the Sun with a Candle, as the Proverb saith. There met us at *Bruges* (for thus it was before agreed) they whom their Prince had for that Matter appointed Commissioners: Excellent Men all. The Chief and Head of them was the Margrave (as they call him) of *Bruges*, a right honourable Man; but the wisest and best spoken of them was GEORGE TEMSIE, Provost of *Casselsee*, a Man, not only by Learning, but also by Nature of singular Eloquence,

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and in the Laws profoundly learned ; but in reasoning and debating of Matters, what by his natural Wit, and what by daily Exercise, surely he had few Fellows. After that we had once or twice met, and upon certain Points or Articles could not fully and thoroughly agree, they for a certain Space took their Leave of us, and departed to *Brussels*, there to know their Prince's Pleasure. I in the mean Time (for so my Business lay) went straight thence to *Antwerp*. While I was there abiding, oftentimes among other, but which to me was more welcome than any others, did visit me one PETER GILES, a Citizen of *Antwerp*, a Man there in his Country of honest Reputation, and also preferred to high Promotions, worthy truly of the highest. For it is hard to say, whether the young Man be in Learning or in Honesty more excellent. For he is both of wonderful virtuous Conditions, and also singularly well learned, and towards all Sorts of People exceeding genteel : But towards his Friends so kind-hearted, so loving, so faithful, so trusty, and of so earnest Affection, that it were very hard in any Place to find a Man, that with him in all Points of Friendship may be compared, nor can be more lowly or courteous ; no Man useth less Simulation or Dissimulation ; in no Man is more prudent Simplicity ; besides this, he is in his Talk and Communication so merry and pleasant, yea, and that without Harm, that thro' his genteel Entertainment, and his sweet and delectable Communication, in me was greatly abated and diminished the fervent Desire that I had to see my native Country, my Wife and my Children, whom then I did much long and covet to see ; because that at that Time I had been more than four Months from them. Upon a certain Day, when I had heard the Divine Service in our Lady's Church, which is the fairest, the most gorgeous and curious Church or Building in all the City, and also most frequented of People, and the Service being done, was ready to go home to my Lodging, I chanced to spy this foresaid PETER talking with a Captain Stranger, a Man well stricken in Age, with a black Sun-burned Face,

Face, a long Beard, and a Cloak cast homely about his Shoulders, whom by his Appearance and Apparel forthwith 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 streight home to you. He should have been very welcome to me, said I, for your sake. Nay, quoth he, for his own sake, if you knew him: For there is no Man this Day living, that can tell you of so many strange and unknown Peoples and Countries, as this Man can; and I know well that you are very desirous of hearing such News. Then I conjectured not far amiss, quoth I, for even at the first Sight, I judged him to be a Marriner. Nay, quoth he, there you were greatly deceived: He hath sailed indeed, not as the Marriner *Palinure*, but as the expert and prudent Prince *Ulysses*: 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 *Latin* Tongue; but profound and excellent in the *Greek* Language. Wherein he ever bestowed more Study than in the *Latin*, because he had given himself wholly to the Study of Philosophy. Whereof he knew there is nothing certain in *Latin*, that is to any Purpose, saving a few of *Seneca's* and *Cicero's* Doings. His Patrimony that he was born unto, he left to his Brethren (for he is a *Portuguese* born) and for the Desire he had to see and know the far Countries of the World, he joined himself in Company with *Americus Vesputius*; and in the three last Voyages of those four that are in Print, and abroad in every Man's Hands, he continued still in his Company, saving that in the last Voyage he came not home again with him. For he made such Means and Shift, what by Intreaty, and what by importunate Suit, that he got Licence of Master *Americus* (tho' it was fore against his Will) to be one of the Twenty-four, which in the End of the last Voyage were left at *New-Castile*. He was therefore left behind for his Mind sake, as one
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 that took more Thought and Care for travelling, than dying, having customarily in his Mouth these Sayings : *He that hath no Grave is covered with the Sky ; and, The Way to Heaven, out of all Places, is of like Length and Distance.* Which Opinion of his (if God had not been his better Friend) he had surely bought full dear. But after the Departure of Master *Vesputius*, when he had travelled thro' and about many Countries with five of his Companions *Castilians*, at the last by marvellous Chance he arrived in *Taprobane*, from whence he went to *Calicut*, where he chanced to find certain of his own Country Ships, wherein he returned again into his Country, nothing less than looked for. All this when *Peter* had told me, I thanked him for his genteel Kindness ; that he had vouchsafed to bring me to the Speech of that Man, whose Communication he thought would be to me pleasant and acceptable. And therewith I turned me to *Raphael* : And when we had embraced each other, and had spoke those commune Words that are customarily spoke at the first Meeting and Acquaintance of Strangers, we went thence to my House, and there in my Garden, upon a Bench covered with green Turfs, we sat down talking together. There he told us, how that after the departing of *Vesputius*, he and his Fellows, that tarried behind in *New Castile*, began by little and little, thro' fair and gentle Speech, to win the Love and Favour of the People of that Country ; in-somuch, that within short Space they did dwell among them, not only harmless, but also occupying with them familiarly. He told us also that they were in high Reputation and Favour with a certain great Man (whose Name and Country is now quite out of my Remembrance) which of his meer Liberality, did bear the Costs and Charges of him and his five Companions. And besides that, gave them a trusty Guide to conduct them in their Journey (which by Water was in Boats, and by Land in Waggons) and to bring them to other Princes with very friendly Commendations.

Thus after many Days Journies, he said, they found Towns, and Cities, and Weal-Publicks, full of People, governed

governed by good and wholsom Laws ; for under the Line Equinoctial, and on both Sides of the same, as far as the Sun doth extend his Course, lieth (~~quoth he~~) great *several* and wide Defarts, and Wilderuesses, parched, burned, and dried up with continual and intollerable heat. All Things ~~be~~ hideous, terrible, loathsome, and unpleasent to behold : ~~All Things~~ out of Fashion and Comeliness, inhabited with wild Beasts, and Serpents ; or at the least-~~wife~~ with People, that be no less savage, wild, and noisome, than the very Beasts themselves, ~~be~~ But a little farther, beyond ~~that~~, all Things begin by little and little to wax pleasant, the Air soft, temperate, and gentle ; the Ground covered with green Grasse ; less Wildness in the Beasts. ~~At the last shall come~~ to People, Cities and Towns, wherein is continual Entercourse and Occupying of Merchandize and Chaffair, not only among themselves, and with their Borderers ; but also with Merchants of far Countries, both by Land and Water. There I had Occasion (~~said he~~) to go to many Countries on every Side. For there was no Ship ready to any Voyage or Journey, but I and my Fellows were into it very gladly received. The Ships that they found first, were made plain, flat, and broad in the Bottom, trough-wise. The Sails were made of great Rushes, or of Wickers, and in some Places of Leather. Afterward they found Ships with ridged Keels, and Sails of Canvass ; yea, and shortly after, having all Things like ours. The Shipmen 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 Feat and Use of the Load-stone, which to them before that Time was unknown ; and therefore they were wont to be very timorous on the Sea, and not to venture upon it but in the Summer Time. But now they have such a Confidence in that Stone, that they fear not stormy Winter (in so doing, farther from Care than Danger) in-
somuch, that it is greatly to be doubted, least that Thing, through their own foolish Hardiness, shall turn them to Evil and Harm, which at the first was supposed should
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be to them good and commodious. But what he told us that he saw in every Country where he came, it is very long to declare ; neither is it my Purpose at this Time to make Rehearsal thereof. But (peradventure in another Place will I speak of it) chiefly such Things as shall be profitable to be known, as in special be those Decrees and Ordinances that he marked to be well and wittily provided and enacted among such People as do live together in a Civil Policy and good Order. For of such Things did we busily enquire, and demand of him, and he likewise very willingly told us of the same. But as for Monsters, because they were no News, of them we were not inquisitive : For nothing is more easy to be found than be barking Dogs, ravening Wolves and cruel Man-eaters, and such like great and incredible Monsters. But to find Citizens ruled by good and wholsom Laws, that is an exceeding rare and hard Thing. But as he marked many fond and foolish Laws, in those new-found Lands ; so he rehearsed divers Acts and Constitutions whereby these our Cities, Nations, Countries and Kingdoms may take Example to amend their Faults, Enormities and Errors. Whereof in another Place, as I said, I will treat. Now at this Time I am determin'd to rehearse only what he told us of the Manners, Customs, Laws and Ordinances of the *Utopians*. 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 Publick Weal : For when *Raphael* had very prudently touched divers Things that be amiss, some here, and some there ; yea, very many on both Parts, and again had spoken of such wise Laws and prudent Decrees, as be established and used, both here among us, and also among them, as a Man so perfect and expert in the Laws and Customs of every severall Country, as though into what Place soever he came Guest-wise, there he had led all his Life : Then *Peter*, much marvelling at the Man, Surely Master *Raphael*, quoth he, I wonder greatly why you get you not into some King's Court : For I am sure there is no Prince

Prince living that would not be glad of you, as a Man not only able highly to delight him with your profound Learning, and this your Knowledge of Countries, and Peoples, but also meet to instruct him with Examples, and help him with Counsel. And thus doing, you shall bring yourself in a very good Case, and also be of Ability to help all your Friends and Kinsfolk. As concerning my Friends and Kinsfolk (quoth he) I pass not greatly for them: For I think I have sufficiently done my Part towards them already. For these Things, that other Men do not depart from, until they be old and sick; yea, which they be then very loath to leave, when they can no longer keep, those very same Things did I, being not only lusty, and in good Health, but also in the Flower of my Youth, divide among my Friends and Kinsfolk. Which I think with this my Liberality ought to hold them contented, and not to require nor to look that besides this, I should for their sakes give myself in Bondage 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 think is the nighest Way that you can devise how to bestow your Time fruitfully, not only for the private Commodity of your Friends, and for the general Profit of all Sorts of People, but also for the Advancement of your self to a much wealthier State and Condition than you be now in. To a wealthier Condition (quoth *Raphael*) by that Means, that my Mind standeth clean against. Now I live at Liberty after mine own Mind and Pleasure, which I think very few of these great States, and Peers of Realms can say. Yea, and there be enough of them that sue for great Means and Friendship: and therefore think it no great Hurt, if they have not me, nor Third or Fourth such other as I am. Well, I perceive plainly, Friend *Raphael* (quoth I) that you be desirous neither of Riches, nor of Power. And truly I have in no less Reverence and Estimation a Man of your Mind, than any of them all that be so high in Power and Authority: But you shall do 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 yourself, that you may apply your Wit and Diligence to the Profit of the Weal Publick, though it be somewhat to your own Pain and Hindrance. And this shall you never so well do nor with so great Profit perform, as if you be of some great Princes Counsel, and put into his Head (as I doubt not but you will) honest Opinions, and virtuous Perswasions: For from the Prince, as from a perpetual Well-spring, cometh among the People the Flood of all that is Good or Evil. But in you is so perfect Learning, that without any Experience, and again, so great Experience, that without any Learning, you may well be any King's Councillor. You are twice deceived, Master *Moore* (quoth he) first in me, and again in the Thing itself: For neither is in me the Ability that you force upon me, and if it were never so much, yet in disquieting mine own Quietness I should nothing further the Weal Publick. For first of all the most Part of all Princes have more Delight in warlike Matters, and Feats of Chivalry) the Knowledge whereof I neither have nor desire) than in the good Feats of Peace: and imploy much more Study, how by Right or by Wrong to enlarge their Dominions than how well and peaceable to rule, and govern that they have already. Moreover, they that be Counsellors to Kings, every one of them either is of himself so wise indeed that he needeth or else he thinketh himself so wise that he will not allow another Man's Counsel, saving that they do shamefully, and flatteringly, give assent to fond and foolish Sayings of certain great Men; whose Favours, because they be in high Authority with their Prince, by Assentation and Flattery they labour to obtain. And verily it is naturally given to all Men to esteem their own Inventions best: So both the Raven and the Ape think their own young Ones fairest. Then if a Man in such a Company, where some disdain and have Despise at other Men's Inventions, and some count their own best; if among such Men (I say) a Man should bring fourth any Thing, that he hath read done in Times past, or that he hath seen done in
other

other Places ; there the Hearers, fare as tho' the whole Existimation of their Wisdom were in Jeopardy to be overthrown, and that ever after they should be counted for ever Defarts, unless they could in other Mens Inventions pick out Matter to reprehend, and find a Fault at. If all other poor Helps fail, then this is their extream Refuge. These Things (say they) pleased our Fore-fathers and Ancestors ; would God we could be so wise as they were ; and as though they had wittily concluded the Matter, and with this Answer stopped every Man's Mouth they sit down again. As, who should say, it were a very dangerous Matter, if a Man in any Point should be found wiser than his Fore-fathers were? And yet be we content to suffer the best and wittiest of their Decrees to lie unexecuted : But if in any Thing a better Order might have been taken, than by them was, there we take fast hold, finding there many Faults. Many Times have I chanced upon such proud, lewd, overthwart, and way-ward Judgments ; yea, and once in *England* : I pray you Sir (quoth I) have you been in our Country ; Yea forsooth (quoth he) and there I tarried for the Space of four or five Months together, not long after the Insurrection the Western *English* Men made against their King, which by their own miserable and pitiful Slaughter, was suppressed and ended. In the mean Season, I was much bound and beholden to the right reverend Father, JOHN MORTON, Arch-bishop and Cardinal of *Canterbury*, and at that Time also Lord Chancellor of *England* ; a Man, Master *Peter* (for Master *Moore* knoweth already that I will say) not more honourable for his Authority, than for his Prudence and Virtue. He was of a mean Stature, and though stricken in Age, yet bore 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 prove, but without Harm, what prompt Wit, and what bold spirit were in every Man. In the which as in Virtue

much agreeing with his Nature, so that therewith were not joined Impudency, he took great Delectation. And the same Person as apt and meet to have an Administration in the Weal Publick, he did lovingly embrace. In his Speech he was fine, eloquent and pithy; in the Law he had profound Knowledge; in Wit he was incomparable, and in Memory, wonderful excellent. These Qualities, which in him were by Nature singular, he by Learning and Use had made perfect. The King put much Trust in his Counsel, the Weal Publick also in a manner leaned unto him, when I was there: For even in the Chief of his Youth he was taken from School into the Court, and there passed all his Time in much Trouble and Business, being continually tumbled and tossed in the Waves of divers Misfortunes and Adversities. And so by many and great Dangers, he learned the Experience of the World, which so being learned, cannot easily be forgotten. It chanced on a certain Day, when I sat at his Table, there was also a certain Layman, cunning in the Laws of your Realm: 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 Felons; who as he said, were for the most Part Twenty hanged together upon one Gallows. And, seeing so few escaped Punishment, he said he could not choose, but greatly wonder and marvel, how and by what evil Luck it should so come to pass, that Thieves nevertheless were in every Place so rife and so rank. Nay, quoth I (for I durst boldly speak my Mind, before the Cardinal) marvel nothing hereat, for this Punishment of Thieves passeth the Limits of Justice, and is also very hurtful to the Weal Publick: For it is too extream and cruel a Punishment for Theft, and yet not sufficient to refrain and withhold Men from Theft: for simple Theft is not so great an Offence, that it ought to be punished with Death; neither is there any Punishment so horrible, that it can keep 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

of the World be like evil Schoolmasters, which be readier to beat, than to teach their Scholars. For great and horrible Punishments be appointed for Thieves, whereas, much rather, Provision should have been made, that there were some Means, whereby they might get their Living, so that no Man should be driven to this extream Necessity; first to steal, and then to die. Yes (quoth he) this Mater is well enough provided for already. There be Handicrafts, there is Husbandry to get their Living, if they would not willingly be naught. Nay, quoth I, you shall not scape so; for first of all, I will speak nothing of them, that come Home out of the Wars maimed and lame, as not long ago out of *Black-heath* Field, and a little before that, out of the Wars in *France*; such I say as put their Lives in Jeopardy for the Weal Publick's, or the King's sake, and by Reason of Weakness, and Lameness are not able to occupy their old Crafts, and be too aged to learn new; of them I will say nothing, forasmuch as Wars have their ordinary Recourse.

But let us consider those Things that chance daily before our Eyes. First, there is a great Number of Gentlemen, who cannot be content to live idle themselves, like *Dorrers* of what others have laboured for, their Tenants I mean, whom they poll and shave to the Quick, by raising their Rents [for this only Point of Frugality do they use, Men else thro' their prodigal Spending able to bring themselves to very Beggary] these Gentlemen, I say, do not only live in Idleness themselves, but also carry about with them at their Tails, a great Train of idle and loitering Servingmen, who never learned any Craft whereby to get their Livings. These Men, so soon as their Master is dead, or are sick themselves, be incontinent thrust out of Doors: For Gentlemen had rather keep idle Persons than sick Men, and many Times the dead Man's Heir is not able to maintain so great an House, and keep so many serving Men as his Father did. Then, in the mean Season, they that be thus destitute of Service, either starve for Hunger, or manfully play the Thief.

Thief. And what would you have them do, when they have wandered abroad so long, until they have worn thread-bare their Apparel, and also impaired their Health? Then Gentlemen, because of their pale and sickly Faces, and patched Coats, will not take them into Service; and Husbandmen dare not set them to work, knowing well enough, that he is not fit to do true and faithful Service to a poor Man with a Spade and a Mattock for small Wages and hard Fare, who being daintily and tenderly pampered up in Idleness and Pleasure, was wont with a Sword and a Buckler by his Side, to jet thro' the Streets with a bragging Look, and to think himself too good to be any Man's Mate. Nay, by St. *Mary*, Sir (quoth the Lawyer) not so: For this Kind of Men must we make most of; for in them, as Men of stouter Stomachs, bolder Spirits, and manlier Courages than Handicrafts-men and Plough-men be, consists the whole Power, Strength and Puissance of our Army, when we must fight in Battle. Forsooth Sir, you might as well say (quoth I) that for War's sake you must cherish Thieves: For surely you shall never lack them whilst you have Wars; and Thieves are not the most false and faint-hearted Soldiers, nor Soldiers are not the most cowardly Thieves; so well these two Crafts agree together. But this Fault, tho' it is in much Use among you, yet it is not peculiar to you only, but common also almost to all Nations. Yet *France*, besides this, is troubled and infected with a much sorer Plague. The whole Realm is filled and besieged with hired Soldiers in Time of Peace (if that be Peace) which are brought in under the same Colour and Pretence that hath perswaded you to keep these idle Serving-men. For these Wise-fools, and very Arch-dolts, tho't the Wealth of the whole Country herein to consist, if there was constantly in Readiness a strong and a sure Garrison, especially of old practised Soldiers; for they put no Trust at all in Men unexercised: And therefore they must be forced to seek for War, to the End they may ever have practised Soldiers, and cunning Men-slayers, least that (as it is prettily said by *Salust*) their

Hands

Hands and their Minds, thro' Idleness or Lack of Exercise, should wax dull.

But how pernicious and pestilent a Thing it is, to maintain such Beasts, the *Frenchmen*, by their own Harms, have learned, and the Examples of the *Romans*, *Cartaginians*, *Syrians*, and of many other Countries, do manifestly declare: For not only the Empire, but also the Fields and Cities of all these, by divers Occasions, have been overrunned and destroyed of their own Armies, beforehand had in a Readiness. Now, how unnecessary a Thing this is, hereby it may appear, that the *French* Soldiers, which from their Youth have been practised and inured in Feats of Arms, do not crack or advance themselves to have very often got the upper Hand and Mastery of your new-made and unpractised Soldiers. But in this Point I will not use many Words, lest perchance I may seem to flatter you. No, nor those same Handicraft-men of yours in Cities, nor yet the rude and uplandish Plough-men of the Country, are not supposed to be greatly afraid of your Gentlemen's idle-serving Men, unless it be such as be not of Body or Stature correspondent to their Strength and Courage; or else whose bold Stomachs be discouraged thro' Poverty. Thus you may see, that it is not to be feared lest they should be effeminated, if they were brought up in good Crafts and laboursome Works, whereby to get their Livings, whose stout and sturdy Bodies (for Gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupt and spill none but picked and chosen Men) now either by reason of Rest and Idleness be brought to Weakness; or else by too easy and womanly Exercises be made feeble, and unable to endure Hardness. Truly, howsoever the Case standeth, this, methinketh, is nothing available to the Weal Publick, for War's sake, which you never have, but when you will yourselves, to keep and maintain an innumerable Flock of that Sort of Men, that be so troublesome and noxious in Peace, whereof you ought to have a thousand times more Regard than of War. But yet this is not only the necessary Cause of Stealing. There is another, which,

as I suppose, is proper and peculiar to you *Englishmen* alone. What is that, quoth the Cardinal? Forsooth, my Lord, quoth I, your Sheep, that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small Eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great Devourers, and so wild, that they eat up and swallow down the very Men themselves. They consume, destroy and devour whole Fields, Houses, and Cities: For look in what Parts of the Realm doth grow the finest, and therefore dearest Wool, there Noblemen and Gentlemen, yea, and certain Abbots, holy Men, no doubt, not contenting themselves with the yearly Revenues and Profits that were wont to grow to their Forefathers and Predecessors of their Lands, nor being content that they live in Rest and Pleasure, nothing profiting, yea, much noying the Weal Publick, leave no Ground for Tillage; they inclose all into Pastures, they throw down Houses, they pluck down Towns, and leave nothing standing but only the Church to be made a Sheep-House. And as though you lost no small Quantity of Ground by Forests, Chases, Lands, and Parks, those good holy Men turn all Dwelling-Places and Glebe-land into Desolation and Wilderness.

Therefore, that one covetous and unsatiabable Cormorant, and very Plague of his native Country, may compass about and inclose many thousand Acres of Ground together within one Pale or Hedge, the Husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else either by Covin and Fraud, or violent Oppression they be put beside it, or by Wrongs and Injuries they be so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all; by one Means, therefore, or by other, either by Hook or by Crook, they must needs depart away, poor, silly, wretched Souls, Men, Women, Husbands, Wives, fatherless Children, Widows, woful Mothers with their young Babes, and the whole Household, small in Substance, and much in Number, as Husbandry requireth many Hands.

Away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed Houses, finding no Place to rest in. All their Household-

Houſhold-Stuff, which is very little worth, tho' it might well abide the Sale: yet being ſuddenly thruſt out, they be conſtrained to ſell it for a Thing of nought. And when they have wandered abroad till that be ſpent, what can they then do but ſteal, and then juſtly be hanged, or elſe go about begging? And yet then alſo they be caſt into Priſon as Vagabonds, becauſe they go about and work not; whom no Man will ſet at Work, though they never ſo willingly proffer themſelves there-to. For one Shepherd or Herdman is enough to eat up that Ground with Cattle, 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 Wool is ſo riſen, that poor Folks, which were wont to work it, and make Cloth thereof, be now able to buy none at all. And by this Means very many be forced to forſake Work, and to give themſelves to Idleneſs.

For after that ſo much Ground was incloſed for Paſture, an infinite Multitude of Sheep died of the Rot; ſuch Vengeance God took of their inordinate and unſatiable Covetouſneſs, ſending among the Sheep that peſtiferous Murrain, which much more juſtly ſhould have fallen on the Sheep-maſters Heads. And tho' the Number of Sheep increaſe never ſo faſt, yet the Price falleth not one Mite, becauſe there be ſo few Sellers: For they be almoſt all come into a few rich Mens Hands, whom no Need forceth to ſell before they liſt, and they liſt not before they may ſell as dear they liſt. Now the ſame Cauſe bringeth in like Dearth of the other Kinds of Cattle, yea, and that ſo much the more, becauſe that after Farms plucked down, and Husbandry decayed, there is no Man that careth for the Breeding of young Store: For theſe rich Men bring not up the young Ones of great Cattle as they do Lambs.

But firſt they buy them abroad very cheap, and afterward when they be fatted in their Paſtures, they ſell them again exceeding dear. And therefore, as I ſuppoſe, the whole Incommodity hereof is not yet felt: For yet they
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make Dearth only in those Places where they fell. But when they shall fetch them away from thence where they be bred faster than they can be bought up, then shall there also be felt great Dearth, Store beginning there to fail, where the Ware is bought. Thus the unreasonable Covetousness of a Few hath turned the Thing to the utter Undoing of your Land, in which Thing the chief Felicity of your Realm did consist: For this great Dearth of Victuals causeth Men to keep as little Houses, and as small Hospitality as they possibly may, and to put away their Servants: Whither, I pray you, but a Begging, or else (which these gentle Bloods and stout Stomachs) will sooner set their Minds unto Stealing? Now, to amend the Matter, to this wretched Beggary and miserable Poverty, is joined great Wantonness, importunate Superfluity, and excessive Riot: For not only Gentlemens Servants, but also Handicraft-men, yea, and almost the Plough-men of the Country, with all other Sorts of People, use much strange and proud new Fangles in their Apparel, and too much prodigal Riot, and sumptuous Fare at their Tables.

Now, Bawds, Queans, Whores, Harlots, Strumpets, Brothel-Houses, Stews; and yet other Stews, Wine-Taverns, Ale-houses, and Tipling-houses, with so many naughty, lewd, and unlawful Games, as Dice, Cards, Tables, Tennis, Bowls, Coits; do not all these send the Haunters of them strait a Stealing, when their Money is gone? Cast out these pernicious Abominations; make a Law, that they which plucked down Farms, and Towns of Husbandry, shall re-edify them, or else yield and uprender the Possession thereof to such as will go to the Cost of building them a-new.

Suffer not these rich Men to buy up all, to engross and forestal, and with their Monopoly to keep the Market alone as they please. Let not so many be brought up in Idleness; let Husbandry and Tillage be restored; let Cloth-working be renewed, that there may be honest Labours for this idle Sort, to pass their Time in profitably, which hitherto either Poverty hath caused to be
Thieves,

Thieves, or else now be either Vagabonds, or idle Serving-men, and shortly will be Thieves. Doubtless, unless you find a Remedy for these Enormities, you shall in vain advance yourselves of executing Justice upon Felons: For this Justice is more beautiful in Appearance, and more flourishing to the Shew, than either just or profitable: For you suffer your Youth wantonly and viciously to be brought up, and to be infected, even from their tender Age, by little and little with Vice, and after being come to Man's State you punish them for committing the same Faults which from their Youth they were ever used to. In this Point, I pray you, what other Thing do you, than make Thieves, and then punish them? Now, as I was thus speaking, the Lawyer began to make himself ready to answer, and was determined with himself, to use the common Fashion, and Trade of Disputers, which be more diligent in rehearsing than answering, as thinking the Memory worthy of the chief Praise. Indeed, Sir (quoth he) you have said well, being but a stranger, and one that might rather hear something of these Matters, than have any exact or perfect Knowledge of the same, as I will incontinently by open Proof make manifest and plain. For first I will rehearse in Order all that you have said: then I will declare wherein you be deceived, through Lack of Knowledge, in all our Fashions, Manners, and Customs; and lastly of all, I will answer your Arguments, and confute them every one. First, therefore, I will begin where I promised: Four Things, you seemed to me.---Hold your Peace, quoth the Cardinal; for it appeareth that you will make no short Answer, which make such a Beginning: Wherefore, at this Time, you shall not take the Pains to make your Answer, but keep it to your next Meeting, which I would be right glad, that it might be To-morrow, unless either you or Mr. *Raphael* have earnest Let. But now, Mr. *Raphael*, I would very gladly hear of you, why you think Theft not worthy to be punished with Death, or what Punishment you can devise more expedient to the Weal Publick?

lick? For I am sure that you are not of that Mind, that you would have Theft escape unpunished. For if now the extream Punishment of Death cannot cause them to leave Stealing, then if Russians and Robbers should be sure of their Lives, what Violence, what Fear, were able to hold their Hands from Robbing, which would take the Mitigation of the Punishment, as a very Provocation to the Mischief? Surely, my Lord, I think it not right nor Justice, that the Loss of Money should cause the Loss of Man's Life: For mine Opinion is, that all the Goods in the World are not able to countervail Man's Life.

But if they would thus say, that the Breaking of Justice, and the Transgression of Laws is recompenced with this Punishment, and not the Loss of Money, then why may not this extream and rigorous Justice well be called plain Injury? For so cruel Governance, so strait Rules, and unmerciful Laws be not allowable, that if a small Offence be committed, by and by the Sword should be drawn: Nor so stoical Ordinances are to be borne withal, as to count all Offences of such Equality, that the Killing of a Man, or the Taking of his Money from him, were both a Matter, and the one no more heinous Offence than the other: Between the which Two, if we have any Respect to Equity, no Similitude or Equality consisteth. God commandeth us that we should 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 Commandment of God, to be forbidden after no larger wise than Man's Constitutions define Killing to be lawful; then why may it not likewise by Man's Constitutions be determined after what Manner Whoredom, Fornication and Perjury may be lawful? For whereas, by the Permission of God, no Man hath Power neither to kill himself nor yet any other Man; then, if a Law made by the Consent of Men, concerning Slaughter of Men, ought to be of such Strength, Force, and Virtue, that they, which, contrary to the Commandment of God, have killed those, whom this Constitution of Man com-
manded

manded to be killed, be clean quit, and exempt out of the Bonds and Danger of God's Commandment? shall it not then by this Reason follow, that the Power of God's Commandment shall extend no further than Man's Law doth define and permit? And so shall it come to pass, that in like Manner Man's Constitutions in all Things shall determine how far the Observation of God's Commandments shall extend. To be short, *Moses's Law*, tho' it were ungentle and sharp, as a Law that was given to Bondmen, yea, and them very obstinate, stubborn, and stiff-necked; yet it punished Theft by the Purse, and not with Death. And let us not think that God in the new Law of Clemency and Mercy, under the which he ruleth us with fatherly Gentleness, as his dear Children, hath given us greater Scope and Licence to the Execution of Cruelty, one upon another. Now you have heard the Reasons, whereby, I am perswaded, that this Punishment is unlawful. Furthermore, I think that there is nobody that knoweth not, how unreasonable, yea; how pernicious a Thing it is to the Weal Publick, that a Thief and an Homicide or Murtherer should suffer equal and like Punishment? For the Thief seeing that Man that is condemned for Theft, in no less Jeopardy, nor judged to no less Punishment, than him that is convicted of Manlaughter; through this Cogitation only he is strongly and forcibly provoked, and in a manner constrained to kill him whom else he would have but robbed: For the Murder being once done, he is in less Fear and in more Hope that the Deed shall not be bewrayed or known, seeing the Party is now dead, and rid out of the Way, which only might have uttered and disclosed it.

But if he chance to be taken and descried, yet he is in no more Danger and Jeopardy than if he had committed but single Felony. Therefore, while we go about with such Cruelty to make Thieves afraid, we provoke them to kill good Men. Now, as touching this Question, what Punishment were more commodious and better; that, truly, in my Judgment, is easier to be found.

found than 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 *Romans*, Men in the Administration of a Weal Publick most expert, politick and cunning? Such as among them were convict of great and heinous Trespases, them they condemned into Stone-Quarries and into Mines to dig Metal, there to be kept in Chains all the Days of their Life. But as concerning this Matter, I allow the Ordinance of Nation 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 own Laws, saving that they pay a yearly Tribute to the great King of *Persia*.

But because they be far from the Sea, compassed and inclosed, almost round about with high Mountains, and do content themselves with the Fruits of their own Land, which is of itself very fertile and fruitful: For this Cause they neither go to other Countries, nor do others come to them. And, according to the old Custom of the Land, they desire not to enlarge the Bounds of their Dominions; and those that they have, by reason of the high Hills, be easily defended; and the Tribute which they pay to their chief Lord and King, setteth them quit and free from Warfare. Thus their Life is commodious rather than gallant, and may better be called happy or wealthy, than notable and famous: For they be not known, as much as by Name I suppose, saving only to their next Neighbours and Borderers. They that in this Land be attainted and convict of Felony, make Restitution of that which they stole, to the right Owner: and not (as they do in other Lands) to the King; whom they think to have no more Right to the Thief-stolen Thing than the Thief himself hath. But if the Thing be lost or made away, then the Value of it is paid of the Goods of such Offenders, which else remaineth

maineth all whole to their Wives and Children. And they themselves be condemned to be common Labourers; and unless the Theft be heinous, they be neither locked in Prison, nor fettered in Gives, but be united and go at large, labouring in the common Works. They that refuse Labour, or go slowly or slack to their Work, be not only tied in Chains, but also pricked forward with Stripes. But being diligent about their Work, they live without Check 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 Weal Publick, because they be common Servants 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 upon them is gathered of Alms. And though that Way be uncertain, yet the People be so full of Mercy and Pity, that none is found more profitable or plentiful. In some Places certain Ladies be appointed hereunto; of the Revenues whereof they be maintained. And in some Places every Man giveth a certain Tribute for the same Use and Purpose.

Again, in some Part of the Land these serving Men (for so be these damned Persons called) do not common Work, but as every private Man needeth Labourers, so he cometh into the Market-place, and there hireth some of them for Meat and Drink, and certain limited Wages by the Day, somewhat cheaper than he should hire a free Man. It is also lawful for them to chastise the Sloth of these serving Men with Stripes. By this Means they never lack Work, 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. Their Heads be not poled or shaven, but rounded a little above the Ears. And the Tip of the one Ear is cut off. Every one of them may take Meat and Drink of their Friends, and also a Coat of their own Colour; but to receive Money is Death, as well to the Giver as to the Receiver. And no less

less Jeopardy it is for a free Man to receive Money of a serving Man, for any Manner of Cause; and likewise for serving Men to touch Weapons. The serving Men of every severall Shire be distinct and known from one another by their severall and distinct Badges; which to cast away is Death; as it is also to be seen out of the Precinct of their own Shire; or to talk with a serving Man of another Shire. And it is no less Danger to them for to intend to run away, than to do it indeed. Yea, and to conceal such an Enterprize in a serving Man, it is Death; in a free Man Servitude. Of the contrary Part, to him that openeth and uttereth such Counsels, be decreed large Gifts: To a free Man a great Sum of Money; to a serving Man Freedom; and to them both Forgiveness and Pardon of that they were of Counsel in that Pretence. So that it can never be so good for them to go forward in their evil Purpose, as by Repentance to turn back. This is the Law and Order in this Behalf, as I have shewed you: Wherein what Humanity is used, how far it is from Cruelty, and how commodious it is, you do plainly perceive: Forasmuch as the End of their Wrath and Punishment intendeth nothing else but the Destruction of Vices and saving of Men, with so using and ordering them that they cannot chuse but be good; and what Harm soever they did before, in the Residue of their Lives to make amends for the same.

Moreover, it is so little feared that they should turn again to their vicious Conditions, that way-faring Men will for their Safeguard chuse them to their Guides before any other, in every Shire changing and taking new: For if they would commit Robbery, they have nothing about them meet for that Purpose. They may touch no Weapons; Money found about them, should betray the Robbery. They should be no sooner taken with the Manner, but forthwith they should be punished. Neither can they have any Hope at all to scape away by flying: For how should a Man, that in no Part of his Apparel is like other Men, fly privily and unknown,
unless

unless he would run away naked? Howbeit, so also flying he should be descried by the rounding of his Head, and his Ear-Mark. But it is a Thing to be doubted, that they will lay their Heads together, and conspire against the Weal Publick. No, no, I warrant you: For the serving Men of one Shire alone could never hope to bring to pass such an Enterprize, without soliciting, enticing, and alluring the serving Men of many other Shires, to take their Parts. Which Thing is to them so impossible, that they may not as much as speak or talk together, or salute one another. No, it is not to be thought that they would make their own Countrymen the Companions of their Counsel in such a Matter which they know well should be Jeopardy to the Concealer thereof, and great Commodity and Goodness to the Opener and Detector of the same. Whereas, on the other Part, there is none of them all hopeles or in Despair to recover again his former Estate of Freedom, by humble Obedience, by patient Suffering, and by giving good Tokens and Likelihood of himself that he will ever after that live like a true and an honest Man.

For every Year divers of them be restored to their Freedom, thro' 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, than the Justice which the Lawyer so highly praised. Nay, quoth the Lawyer, this could never be so established in *England*, but that it must needs bring the Weal Publick 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 Cardinal, yet it were hard to judge, without a Proof, whether this Order would do well here or no. But when the Sentence of Death is given, if then the King should command Execution to be referred and spared, and would prove this Order and Fashion, taking away the Privilege of Sanctuaries; if then the Proof should declare the Thing to be good and profitable, then

it were well done that it were established: Else condemned and reprieved Persons may as well be put to Death after this Proof, as when they were first cast. Neither any Jeopardy can in the mean Space grow hereof. Yea, and me thinketh that these Vagabonds may very well be ordered after the same Fashion, against whom we have hitherto made so many Laws, and so little prevailed. When the Cardinal had thus said, then every Man gave great Praise to my Sayings, which a little before they had disallowed. But most of all was esteemed that which was spoken of Vagabonds, because it was the Cardinal's Addition. I cannot tell whether it were best to rehearse the Communication that followed; for it was not very sad. But yet you shall hear it, for there was no Evil in it, and partly it pertained to the Matter before-said. There chanced to stand by a certain jesting Parasite, or Scoffer, which would seem to resemble and counterfeit the Fool. But he did in such wise counterfeit, 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 himself was oft'ner laughed at than his Jestings were. Yet the foolish Fellow brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable Stuff, that he made the Proverb true, which saith: He that shooteth oft, at the last shall hit the Mark: So that when one of the Company said, that thro' my Communication a good Order was found for Thieves, and that the Cardinal had also well provided for Vagabonds, so that only remained some good Provision to be made for them that through Sickness and Age were fallen into Poverty, and were become so impotent and unwieldy, that they were not able to work for their Living; Tush (quoth he) let me alone with them; you shall see me do well enough with them. For I had rather than any Good, that this Kind of People were driven somewhere out of my Sight, they have so fore troubled me many times, and oft when they have with their lamentable Tears begged Money of me; and yet they could never, to my Mind, so tune their Song, that
thereby

thereby they ever got of me one Farthing. For evermore the one of these chanced, either that I would not, or else that I could not, because I had it not. Therefore now they be waxed wise: For when they see me go by, because they will not loose their Labour, they let me pass, and say not one Word to me. So they look for nothing of me; no, in good Sooth, no more than if I were a Priest or a Monk. But I will make a Law, that all these Beggars shall be distributed, and bestowed into Houses of Religion. The Men shall be made Lay-Brethren, as they call them; and the Women Nuns. Hereat the Cardinal smiled, and allowed it in Jest, yea, and all the Residue in good Earnest.

But a certain Friar graduate in Divinity, took such Pleasure and Delight in this Jest of Priests and Monks, that he also (being else a Man of grisly and stern Gravity) began merrily and wantonly to jest and taunt. Nay (quoth he) you should not be so rid and dispatched of Beggars, unless you make some Provision also for us Friars.

Why, quoth the Jester, that is done already, for my Lord himself set a very good Order for you, when he decreed, that Vagabonds should be kept strait, and set to work: For you be the greatest and veriest Vagabonds that be. This Jest also, when they saw the Cardinal not disprove it, every Man took it gladly, saving only the Friar: For he (and that no Marvel) being thus touched on the Quick, and hit on the Gall, so fretted, so fumed, and chafed at it, and was in such a Rage, that he could not refrain himself from chiding, scolding, railing and reviling. He called the Fellow Ribald, Villain, Javel, Backbiter, Slanderer, and the Child of Perdition; citing therewith terrible Threatnings out of holy Scripture. Then the jesting 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 yourself, good Master Friar (quoth he) and be not angry; for Scripture saith, *In your Patience you shall save your souls.* Then the Friar (for I will rehearse his own
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very Words) No, Gallows-Wretch, I am not angry (quoth he) or, at the least-wise, I do not sin: For the *Psalmist* saith, *Be you angry, and sin not.* Then the Cardinal spake gently to the Friar, and desired him to quiet himself. No, my Lord (quoth he) I speak not but of a good Zeal, as I ought; for holy Men had a good Zeal: Wherefore it is said, *The Zeal of thy House hath eaten me.* And it is sung in the Church, *The Scorners of Helizeus, whiles he went up into the House of God, felt the Zeal of the Bald,* as peradventure this scorning villainous Ribald shall feel. You do it (quoth the Cardinal) perchance of a good Mind and Affection; but me thinketh you should do, I cannot tell whether more holy, but for certain more wisely, if you would not set your Wit to a Fool's Wit, and with a Fool take in Hand a foolish Contention. No, forsooth, my Lord (quoth he) I should not do more wisely: For *Solomon* the wise saith, *Answer a Fool according to his Folly,* like as I do now, *and do shew him the Pit that he shall fall into, if he take not heed:* For if many Scorners of *Helizeus*, which was but one bald Man, felt the Zeal of the Bald, how much more shall one Scorne of many Friars feel, among whom be many bald Men? And we have also the Pope's Bulls, whereby all that mock and scorn us, be excommunicated, suspended and accursed. The Cardinal seeing no End would be made, sent away the Jester by a privy Beck, and turned the Communication to another Matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the Table, he went to hear his Suiters, and so dismissed us. Look, Master *Moore*, with how long and tedious a Tale I have kept you, which surely I would have been ashamed to have done, but that you so earnestly desired me, and did after such a Sort give Ear unto it, as though you would not that any Parcel of that Communication should be left out. Which though I have done somewhat briefly, yet could I not chuse but rehearse it, for the Judgment of them, which, when they had improved and disallowed my Sayings, yet incontinently hearing the Cardinal allow them, did themselves also approve the same;

same ; so impudently flattering him, that they were nothing ashamed to admit, yea, almost in good Earnest, those Jestes and foolish Inventions, because that he himself, by smiling at them, did seem not to disprove them. So that hereby you may right well perceive how little the Courtiers would regard and esteem me and my Sayings. I assure you, Master *Raphael*, quoth I, I took great Delectation in hearing you ; all Things that you said, were spoken so wittily and so pleasantly. And I thought myself to be in the mean time not only at home in my Country, but also, thro' the pleasant Remembrance of the Cardinal, in whose House I was brought up of a Child, to wax a Child again. And, Friend *Raphael*, tho' I did bear very great Love towards you before, yet seeing you do so earnestly favour this Man, you will not believe how much my Love towards you is now increased. But yet, all this notwithstanding, I can by no means change my Mind, but that I must needs believe, that you, if you be disposed, and can find in your Heart, to follow some Prince's Court, shall, with your good Counsels, greatly help and further the Common-Wealth. Wherefore there is nothing more appertaining to your Duty, that is to say, to the Duty of a good Man. For whereas your *Plato* judgeth, that Weal Publicks shall by this Means attain perfect Felicity, either if Philosophers be Kings, or else if Kings give themselves to the Study of Philosophy ; how far, I pray you, shall Common-Wealths then be from this Felicity, if Philosophers will vouchsafe to instruct Kings with their good Counsel? They be not so unkind (quoth he) but they would gladly do it, yea, many have done it already in Books that they have put forth, if Kings and Princes would be willing and ready to follow good Counsel. But *Plato*, doubtless, did well foresee, unless Kings themselves would apply their Minds to the Study of Philosophy, that else they would never thoroughly allow the Counsel of Philosophers, being themselves before, even from their tender Age, infected and corrupt with perverse and evil Opinions. Which Thing *Plato* himself proved
true

true in King *Dionyse*. If I should propose to any King wholsome Decrees, doing my Endeavour to pluck out of his Mind the pernicious original Causes of Vice and Naughtiness, think you not that I should forthwith either be driven away, or else made a laughing Stock? Well, suppose I were with the *French* King, and there sitting in his Council, whilst in that most secret Consultation, the King himself there being present in his own Person, they beat their Brains, and search'd the very Bottoms of their Wits, to discuss by what Craft and Means the King may still keep *Milan*, and draw to him again fugitive *Naples*; and then how to conquer the *Venetians*, and how to bring under his Jurisdiction all *Italy*; then how to win the Dominion of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and all *Burgundy*, with divers other Lands and Kingdoms, which he hath long ago in Mind and Purpose invaded. Here, whilst one counseleth to conclude a League of Peace with the *Venetians*, so long to endure as shall be thought meet and expedient for their Purpose, and to make themselves also of their Council; yea, and besides that, to give them Part of the Prey, which afterward, when they have brought their Purpose about after their own Minds, they may require and claim again; another thinketh best to hire the *Germans*; another would have the Favour of the *Switzers* won with Money: Another's Advice is to appease the puissant Power of the Emperor's Majesty with Gold, as with a most pleasant and acceptable Sacrifice; whilst another giveth Counsel to make Peace with the King of *Arragon*, and to restore unto him his own Kingdom of *Navarre*, as a full Assurance of Peace: Another cometh in with his five Eggs, and adviseth to hook in the King of *Castile*, with some Hope of Affinity or Alliance; and to bring to their Part certain Peers of his Court, for great Pensions.

Whilst they all stay at the chiefest Doubt of all, what to do in the mean time with *England*; and yet agree all in this, to make Peace with the *Englishmen*, and with most sure and strong Bonds to bind that weak 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 Readiness, and, as it were, ready at all Occasions (in Case the *Englismen* should stir never so little) incontinently to set upon them. And moreover, privily and secretly) for openly it may not be done, by the Truce that is taken) privily therefore, I say, to make much of some Peer of *England*, that is banished his Country, which must claim Title to the Crown of the Realm, and affirm himself just Inheritor thereof; that by this subtle Means they may hold to them the King, in whom else they have but small Trust and Affiance.

Here, I say, where so great and high Matters be in Consultation, where so many noble and wise Men counsel their King only to War; here if I, silly Man, should rise up, and try to turn over the Leaf, and learn a new Lesson, saying, That my Counsel is not to meddle with *Italy*, but to tarry still at home; and that the Kingdom of *France* alone is almost greater than that it may well be governed of one Man; so that the King should not need to study how to get more; And then should 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 War in their King's Quarrel, for to get him another Kingdom, which he laid Claim unto, and advanced himself right Inheritor to the Crown 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 rebel against them, or else that other Countries were continually with divers Inrodes and Foreigns invading them; so that they were ever fighting, either for them, or against them; and never could break up their Camps: Seeing themselves in the mean Season pillaged and impoverished, their Money carried out of the Realm; their own Men killed, to maintain
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the Glory of another Nation, when they had no War (Peace nothing better than War) by reason that their People in War had so inured themselves to corrupt and wicked Manners, that they had taken a Delight and Pleasure in Robbing and Stealing; that thro' Manlaughter they had gathered Boldness to Mischief; that their Laws were had in Contempt, and nothing set by, or regarded; that their King, being troubled with the Charge and Governance of two Kingdoms, could not, nor was not able perfectly to discharge his Office towards them both: Seeing again, that all these Evils and Troubles were endless, at the last laid their Heads together, and, like faithful and loving Subjects, gave to their King free Choice and Liberty to keep still the one of these two Kingdoms, whether he would, alledging, that he was not able to keep both, and that they were more than might well be governed of Half a King, for as much as no Man would be content to take him for his Muletier, that keepeth another Man's Mules besides his. So this good Prince was constrained to be content with his old Kingdom, and to give over the new to one of his Friends, who shortly after was violently driven out.

Furthermore, If I should declare unto them, that all this busy Preparance to War, whereby so many Nations for his sake should be brought into a troublesome Hurly-burly, when all his Coffers were emptied, his Treasures wasted, and his People destroyed, should at length thro' some Mischance, be in vain, and to none Effect; and that therefore it was best for him to content himself with his own Kingdom of *France*, as his Forefathers and Predecessors did before him; to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourishing as he could; to endeavour himself to love his Subjects, and again to be beloved of them; willingly to live with them, peaceably to govern them, and not to meddle with other Kingdoms, seeing that which he hath already, is even enough for him, yea, and more than he can well turn him to.

This mine Advice, Master *Moore*, how think you, would it not be hardly taken? So God help me, not very thankfully, quoth I. Well, let us proceed then, quoth he: Suppose that some King and his Council were together, whetting their Wits, and devising what subtle Craft they might invent to enrich the King with great Treasures of Money.

First, One counseleth to raise and enhance the Valuation of Money, when the King must pay any; and again, to call down the Value of Coin to less than it is worth, when he must receive or gather any: For thus great Sums shall be paid with a little Money; and where little is due, much shall be received.

Another counseleth to feign War; 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 poor Commonalty, as taking Pity and Compassion forsooth upon Man's Blood, like a loving and a merciful Prince.

Another putteth the King in Remembrance of certain old and Moth-eaten Laws, that of long Time have not been put in Execution, which, because no Man can remember that they were made, every Man hath transgressed. The Fines of these Laws he counseleth the King to require: For there is no Way so profitable, nor more honourable, as that which hath a Shew and Colour of Justice.

Another adviseth him to forbid many Things under great Penalties and Fines, specially such Things as is for the People's Profit not to be used; and afterward to dispense for Money with them which by this Prohibition sustain Loss and Damage: For by this Means the Favour of the People is won, and Profit riseth two Ways: First, by taking Forfeits of them whom Covetousness of Gains hath brought in Danger of this Statute; and also by selling Privileges and Licences: Which the better that the Prince is, forsooth, the dearer he selleth them, as one that is loath to grant to any private Person any
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Thing that is against the Profit of his People; and therefore may set none, but at an exceeding dear Price.

Another giveth the King Counsel to endanger unto his Grace the Judges of the Realm, that he may have them over on his Side, and that they may in every Matter dispute and reason for the King's Right. Yea, and further to call them into his Palace, and to require them there to argue and discuss his Matters in his own Presence: So there shall be no Matter of his so openly wrong and unjust, wherein one or the 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 pick a Thank with his Prince, will not find some Hole open to set a Snare in, wherewith to take the contrary Part in a Trip.

Thus, whilst the Judges cannot agree amongst themselves, reasoning and arguing of that which is plain enough, and bringing the manifest Truth in Doubt; in the mean Season the King may take a fit Occasion to understand the Law as shall make most for his Advantage, whereunto all others, for Shame or for Fear, will agree. Then the Judges may be bold to pronounce on the King's Side: For he 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 Judges is of greater Force than all Laws be) the King's indisputable Prerogative. To conclude, All the Counsellors agree and consent together with the rich *Cræsus*, That no Abundance of Gold can be sufficient for a Prince, which must keep and maintain an Army. Furthermore, That a King, tho' he would, can do nothing unjustly.

For all that Men have, yea, also the Men themselves, be all his. (And that every Man hath so much of his own, as the King's Gentleness hath not taken from him.) And that it shall be most for the King's Advantage that his Subjects have very little or nothing in their Possession,

ion, as his Safeguard doth herein consist, that his People do not wax wanton and wealthy thro' Riches and Liberty, because where these Things be, there Men be not wont patiently to obey hard, unjust, and unlawful Commandments. Whereas, on the other Part, Need and Poverty doth hold down, and keep under stout Courages, and maketh them patient perforce, taking from them bold and rebelling Stomachs.

Here again, if I should rise up, and boldly affirm, that all these Counsels be to the King's Dishonour and Re-
proach, whose Honour and Safety is more and rather supported and upholden by the Wealth and Riches of his People, than by his own Treasures; and if I should declare that the Commonalty chuseth their King for their own sake, and not for his sake, to the Intent, that thro' 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, than for his own Wealth, even as the Office and Duty of a Shepherd is, in that he is a Shepherd, to feed his Sheep rather than himself. For as touching this, that they think the Defence and Maintenance of Peace to consist in Poverty of the People, the Thing itself sheweth that they be far out of the Way: For where shall a Man find more Wrangling, Quarrelling, Brawling and Chiding, than among Beggars? Who be more desirous of new Mutations and Alterations than they that be not content with the present State of their Life? Or finally, Who be bolder stomached to bring all in a Hurly-burly (thereby trusting to get some Wind-fall) than they that have nothing to lose? And if any King were so smally regarded, and so lightly esteemed, yea, so behated of his Subjects, that other ways he could not keep them in Awe, but only by open Wrongs, by polling and shaving, and by bringing them to Beggary; surely, it were better for him to forsake his Kingdom than to hold it by that Means; whereby, tho' 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 Beggars,

gars, but rather over rich and wealthy Men. Of this Mind was the hardy and couragious *Fabrice*, when he said, that *he had rather be a Ruler of rich Men, than be rich himself.*

And verily, one Man to live in Pleasure and Wealth, whilst all others weep and smart for it, that is the Part, not of a King, but a Jailor. To be short, As he is a foolish Physician, that cannot cure his Patient's Disease, unless he cast him in another Sickness; so he that cannot amend the Lives of his Subjects, but by taking from them the Wealth and Commodity of Life; he must needs grant that he knoweth not the Wealth and Commodity of Life; and likewise that he knoweth not the Feat how to govern Men. But let him rather amend his own Life, renounce dishonest Pleasures, and forsake Pride: For these be the chief Vices that cause him to run into Contempt or Hatred of his People. Let him live on his own, hurting no Man: Let his Costs not exceed his Power: Let him restrain Wickedness: Let him prevent Vices, and take away the Occasion of Offences by well-ordering his Subjects, and not by suffering Wickedness to encrease, and afterward to be punished: Let him not be too hasty in calling again Laws which a Custom hath abrogated; especially such as have been long forgotten, and never lacked nor needed. And let him never, under the Cloak and Pretence of Transgression, take such Fines and Forfeits, as no Judge will suffer a private Person to take, as unjust and full of Guile.

Here if I should bring forth before them the Law of the *Macarians*, which be not far distant from *Utopia*, whose King the Day of his Coronation is bound by a solemn Oath, that he shall never at any Time have in his Treasure above a thousand Pounds of Gold or Silver. They say, that a very good King, which took far more Care for the Wealth and Commodity of his Country, than for the enriching of himself, made this Law to be a Stop and Bar to Kings from heaping and hoarding up so much Money as might impoverish their People: For he foresaw that this Sum of Treasure would suffice to support

support the King in Battle against his own People, if they should chance to rebel; and also to maintain his Wars against the Invasions of his foreign Enemies. Again, he perceived the same Stock of Money to be too little and insufficient to encourage and enable him wrongfully to take away other Mens Goods; which was the chief Cause why the Law was made. Another Cause was this, He thought that by this Provision his People should not lack Money wherewith to maintain their daily Occupying and Chaffer.

And seeing the King could not chuse but lay out and bestow all that came in above the prescribed Sum of his Stock, he thought he would seek no Occasions to do his Subjects Injury. Such a King shall be feared of evil Men, and loved of good Men. These, and such other Informations, if I should use among Men wholly inclined and given to the contrary Part, what deaf Ears, think you, should I have? Deaf Hearers, doubtless, quoth I. And, in good Faith, no Marvel. And to be plain with you, truly I cannot allow that such Communication shall be used, or such Counsel given, as shall never be regarded nor received: For how can such strange Informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their Heads, whose Minds be already prevented with clean contrary Persuasions? This School-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 have no Place.

That is it which I meant, quoth he, when I said Philosophy had no Place among Kings. Indeed, quoth I, this School-Philosophy hath not; which thinketh all Things meet for every Place. But there is another Philosophy more civil, which knoweth, as you would say, her own Stage, and therefore ordering and behaving herself in the Play that she hath in Hand, playeth her Part accordingly with Comeliness, uttering nothing out of due Order and Fashion. And this is the Philosophy that you must use. Or else, whilst a Comedy of *Plautus*

is playing, and the vile Bond-men scoffing and trifling among themselves, if you should suddenly come upon the Stage in a Philosopher's Apparel, and rehearse out of *Octavia* the Place whercin *Seneca* disputeth with *Nero*, had it not been better for you to have played the dumb Person, than by rehearsing that which served neither for the Time nor Place, to have made such a tragical Comedy, or Gallimalfry: For by bringing in other Stuff, that nothing appertaineth to the Matter, you must needs mar and prevent the Play that is in Hand, though the Stuff that you bring, be much better. What Part soever you have taken upon you, play that as well as you can, and make the best of it: And do not therefore disturb and bring out of Order the whole Matter, because that another which is merrier and better, cometh to your Remembrance.

So the Case standeth in a Common-Wealth; and so it is in the Consultations of Kings and Princes. If evil Opinions and naughty Persuasions cannot be utterly and quite plucked out of their Hearts, if you cannot even as you would, remedy Vices, which Use and Custom hath confirmed; yet for this Cause you must not leave and forsake the Common-Wealth: You must not forsake the Ship in a Tempest, because you cannot rule and keep down the Winds. No, nor you must not labour to drive into their Heads new and strange Informations, which you know well shall be nothing regarded with them that be of clean contrary Minds. But you must, with a crafty Wile and subtle Train, study and endeavour yourself, as much as in you lieth, to handle the Matter wittily and handsomly for the Purpose, and that which you cannot turn to Good, so to order it that it be not very bad: For it is not possible for all Things to be well, unless all Men were good; which, I think, will not be these good many Years. By this Means, quoth he, nothing else will be brought to pass; but whilst I go about to remedy the Madness of others, I should be even as mad as they: For if I should speak Things that be true, I must needs speak such Things; but as for to
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Speak false Things, whether that be a Philosopher's Part, or no, I cannot tell, truly it is not my Part. Howbeit, this Communication of mine, tho' peradventure it may seem unpleasant to them, yet cannot I see why it should seem strange, or foolishly new-fangled. If so be that I should speak those Things that PLATO feigneth in his Weal Publick, or that the *Utopians* do in theirs, these Things, tho' they were (as they be indeed) better, yet they might seem spoken out of Place. Forasmuch as here amongst us every Man hath his Possessions severally to himself, and there all Things be in common.

But what was in my Communication contained, that might not, and ought not in any Place to be spoken? Saving that to them which have thoroughly decreed and determined with themselves to run headlong on the contrary way, it cannot be acceptable and pleasant, because it calleth them back, and sheweth them the Jeopardies: Verily, if all Things that evil and vicious Manners have caused to seem inconvenient, and nought should be refused as Things unmeet and reproachful, then we must among *Christian* People wink at the most Part of all those Things which *Christ* taught us, and so straitly forbad them to be winked at, that those Things also which he whispered in the Ears of his Disciples, he commanded to be proclaimed in open Houses. And yet the most Part of them is more different from the Manners of the World now-a-days, than my Communication was. But Preachers, sily and wily Men, following your Counsel, as I suppose, because they saw Men not willing to frame their Manners to *Christ's* Rule, they have wrested and wried his Doctrine, and, like a Rule of Lead, have applied it to Mens Manners; that by some Means, at the least way, they might agree together. Whereby I cannot see what good they have done; but that Men may without Regret be evil. And I truly should prevail even as little in Kings Counsels: For either I must say otherways than they say, and then I had as good say nothing, or else I must say the same that they say, and (as *Astus* saith in *Terence*) help to further their Madnes.

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For that crafty Wile, and subtle Train of your's I cannot perceive to what Purpose it serveth, wherewith you would have me to study and endeavour myself, if all Things cannot be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomly for the Purpose, that as far as is possible, they may not be very evil. For there is no Place to dissemble in, nor to work in: Naughty Counsels must be openly allowed, and very pestilent Decrees must be approved.

He shall be counted worse than a Spy, yea, almost as evil as a Traitor, that with a faint Heart doth praise evil and noisome Decrees. Moreover, a Man can have no Occasion to do Good, chancing into the Company of them which will sooner pervert a good Man than be made good themselves; through whose evil Company he shall be marred, or else if he remain good and innocent, yet the Wickedness and Folly of others shall be imputed to him, and laid on his Neck. So that it is impossible with that crafty Wile and subtle Train to turn any Thing to better. Wherefore *Plato* by a goodly Similitude declareth why wise Men refrain to meddle in the Common-Wealth: For when they see the People swarm into the Streets, and daily wet to the Skin with Rain, and yet cannot persuade them to go out of the Rain, and to take to their House, knowing well, that if they should go out to them, they should nothing prevail, nor win ought by it, but with them be wet also in the Rain, they do keep themselves within their Houses, being content that they be safe themselves, seeing they cannot remedy the Folly of the People. Howbeit, doubtless, *Master Moore* (to speak truly as my Mind giveth me) where Possessions be private, where Money beareth all the Stroke, it is hard and almost impossible that there the Weal Publick may be justly governed, and prosperously flourish; unless you think thus, That Justice is there executed where all Things come into the Hands of evil Men; or that Prosperity there flourisheth, where all is divided among a Few; which Few nevertheless do not
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lead their Lives very wealthily, and the Residue live miserably, wretchedly and beggarly.

Wherefore, when I consider with myself, and weigh in my Mind, the wise and godly Ordinances of the *Utopians*; among whom, with very few Laws, all Things be so well and wealthily ordered, that Virtue is had in a Price and Estimation, and yet all Things being there common, every Man hath Abundance of every Thing. Again, on the other Part, when I compare with them so many Nations ever making new Laws, yet none of them all well and sufficiently furnished with Laws; where every Man calleth that he hath gotten, his own proper and private Goods, where so many new Laws daily made, be not sufficient for every Man to enjoy, defend, and know from another Man's that which he calleth his own: Which Thing the infinite Controversies in the Law, daily arising, never to be ended, plainly declare to be true. These Things, I say, when I consider with myself, I hold with *Plato*, and do nothing marvel, that he would make no Laws for them that refused those Laws whereby all Men should have and enjoy equal Portions of Wealths and Commodities.

For the wise Man did easily foresee this to be the one and only Way to the Wealth of a Commonalty, if Equality of all Things should be brought in and established. Which, I think, is not possible to be observed where every Man's Goods be proper and peculiar to himself: For where every Man, under certain Titles and Pretences, draweth and plucketh to himself as much as he can; so that a Few divide among themselves all the whole Riches, be there never so much Abundance and Store, and to the Residue is left Lack and Poverty.

And for the most Part it chanceth, that this latter Sort is more worthy to enjoy that State of Wealth than the other be; because the rich Men be covetous, crafty and unprofitable. On the other Part the Poor be lowly, simple, and by their daily Labour more profitable to the Common-Wealth than to themselves. Thus I do fully persuade myself, that no equal and just Distribution of

Things can be made, nor that perfect Wealth shall ever be among Men, unless this Propriety be exiled and banished. But so long as it shall continue, so long shall remain among the most and best Part of Men, the heavy and inevitable Burthen of Poverty and Wretchedness. Which, as I grant that it may be somewhat eased, so I utterly deny that it can wholly be taken away: For if there were a Statute made, that no Man should have in his Stock above a prescribed and appointed Sum of Money; if it were by certain Laws decreed, that neither the King should be of too great Power, neither the People too haughty and wealthy; and that Offices should not be by inordinate Suit, or by Bribes and Gifts; that they should neither be bought nor sold; nor that it should be needful for the Officers to be at any Cost or Charge in their Offices: For so Occasion is given to them by Fraud and Ravin to gather up their Money again; and, by Reason of Gifts and Bribes, the Offices be given to rich Men, which should rather have been executed of wise Men: by such Laws, I say, like as sick Bodies, that be desperate and past Cure, be wont with continual good Cherishing to be kept 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, is not to be hoped for, whilst every Man is Master of his own to himself. Yea, and whilst you go about to do your Cure of one Part, you shall make bigger the Sore of another Part, so the Help of one causeth another's Harm: Forasmuch as nothing can be given to any one, unless 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 be 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 own Gains driveth not to Work, but the Hope that he hath in other Mens Travels maketh him slothful.

Then, when they be pricked with Poverty, and yet no Man can by any Law or Right defend that for his
own,

own, which he hath gotten with the Labour of his own Hands, shall not there of Necessity be continual 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 marvel 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 been with me in *Utopia*, and had in Person seen their Fashions and Laws, as I did, which lived there five Years, and more, and would never have come away thence, but only to make that new Land known; then, doubtless, you would grant that you never saw People well ordered, but only there. Surely (quoth Master PETER) it shall be hard for you to make me believe that there is better Order in that new Land, than is here in the Countries that we know. For good Wits be as well here as there; and I think our Common-Wealths be ancients than theirs, wherein long Use and Experience hath found out many Things commodious for Man's Life; besides that many Things here among us have been found by chance, which no Wit could ever have devised. As touching the Ancientness, quoth he, of Common-Wealths, then you might better judge if you had read the Histories and Chronicles of that Land, which, if we may believe, Cities were there before Men were here.

Now what Thing soever hitherto by Wit hath been devised, or found by chance, that might be as well there as here. But I think verily, tho' it were so that we did pass them in Wit; yet in Study, in Travel, and in laboursome Endeavour, they far pass us: For (as their Chronicles testify) before our Arrival there, they never heard any Thing of us, whom they call the *Ultra-equinoctials*; saving that once about Twelve-hundred Years ago, a certain Ship was lost by the Isle of *Utopia*, which was driven thither by Tempest, certain *Romans* and *Egyptians* were cast on Land, which after that never went thence.

Mark now what Profit they took of this one Occasion thro' Diligence and earnest Labour. There was no Craft nor Science within the Empire of *Rome*, whereof any Profit could rise, but they either learned it of these Strangers, or else of them who found it out by taking Occasion to search for it. 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 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 own 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 than among us.

And this, I suppose, is the chief Cause why their Common-Wealths be wiselier governed, and do flourish in more Wealth than our's, tho' we neither in Wit nor Riches be their Inferiors. Therefore, gentle Master *Raphael*, quoth I, I pray and beseech you describe unto us the Island. And study not to be short; but declare largely in Order their Soils, their Rivers, their Cities, their People, their Manners, their Ordinances, their Laws; nay, in short, all Things that you shall think us desirous to know. And you must think us desirous to know whatsoever we know not yet.

There is nothing, quoth he, that I will do gladlier. For all these Things I have fresh in Mind: But the Matter requireth Leisure. Let us go in therefore, quoth I, to Dinner, and afterward we will bestow the Time at our Pleasure. I am content, quoth he; be it so. We went in, and dined.

When Dinner was done, we came back, and sat down in the same Place, commanding our Servants not to suffer any body to trouble us. Then I and Master *Peter Giles* desired Master *Raphael* to perform his Promise.

He therefore seeing us desirous and willing to hearken to him, after having sat still and paused a little while, musing and bethinking himself, he began thus.---

The END of the FIRST BOOK.

B O O K II.

The Communication of R A P H A E L
H Y T H L O D A Y, concerning the best
State of a *Common-Wealth*.

*The Description of Utopia, with a large Declaration of the
politick Government, and of all the good Laws and Orders
of the same Island.*

THE Island of *Utopia* containeth in Breadth in the middle Part of it (for there it is broadest, two-hundred Miles. Which Breadth continueth thro' the most Part of the Land, saving that by little it cometh in, and waxeth narrower towards both the Ends; which fetching about a Circuit or Compass of about five-hundred Miles, do fashion the whole Island like to the new Moon. Between these two Corners the Sea runneth in, dividing them asunder by the Distance of eleven Miles, or thereabouts, and there surmounteth into a large Sea, which, by reason that the Land on every Side compasseth it about, and sheltereth it from the Winds, is not rough, nor mounteth not with great Waves, but almost floweth quietly, not much unlike a great standing Pool; and maketh very near all the Space within the Belly of the Land in manner of a Haven; and, to the great Commodity of the Inhabitants, receiveth in Ships towards every Part of the Land. The Forefronts, or Frontiers of the two Corners, what with Boards and Shelves, and what with Rocks, be jeopardous and dangerous. In the middle Distance between them both, standeth up above the Water a great Rock, which therefore is nothing perilous, because it is in Sight. Upon the Top of this Rock is a fair and strong Tower built, which they hold with a Garrison of Men. Other Rocks there be lying hid under the Water, which therefore be dangerous.

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The Channels be known only to themselves: And therefore it seldom chanceth that any Stranger, unless 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 certain Land-Marks standing on the Shore. By turning, translating, and removing the Marks 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 and what by Workmanship of Mens Hands, that a few Defenders may drive back many Armies. Howbeit, as they say, and as the Fashion of the Place itself doth partly shew, it was not ever compassed about with the Sea. But King *Utopus*, whose Name, as Conqueror, 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 civil Gentleness, wherein they now go beyond all the People in the World; at his arriving and entering upon the Land, forthwith obtaining the Victory, caused fifteen Miles Space of uplandish Ground, where the Sea had no Passage, to be cut and digged up; and so wrought the Sea round about the Land. He set to this Work not only the Inhabitants of this Island (because they should not think it done in Contumely and Despite) but also all his own Soldiers.

Thus the Work being divided into so great a Number of Workmen, was with exceeding marvelous Speed dispatched; inso-much that the Borderers, which at the first began to mock and to jest at the vain Enterprize, then turned their Derision to Marvel and to Fear, at the Success. There be in the Island fifty-four large and fair Cities, or Shire Towns, agreeing altogether in one Tongue, in like Manner, Institutions, and Laws; they be all set and situate alike, and in all Points fashioned alike, as far as the Place or Plot suffereth.

Of these Cities they that be nighest together, be twenty-four Miles asunder. Again, there is none of them distant from the next above one Day's Journey on Foot. There come yearly to *Amaurote*, out of every City, three old Men, wise and well experienced, there to treat and debate of the common Matters of the Land. For this City (because it standeth just in the midst of the Island, and is therefore most meet for the Ambassadors of all Parts of the Realm) is taken for the chief and head City. The Precincts and Bounds of the Shires be so commodiously appointed out, and set forth for the Cities, that none of them all hath of any Side less than twenty Miles of Ground, and of some Side also much more, as of that Part where the Cities be of further Distance asunder. None of the Cities desire to enlarge the Bounds and Limits of their Shires. For they count themselves rather the good Husbards than the Owners of their Lands. They have in the Country, in all Parts of the Shire, Houses or Farms built, well appointed and furnished with all Sorts of Instruments and Tools belonging to Husbandry. These Houses be inhabited of the Citizens, which come thither to dwell by Course. No Household or Farm in the Country hath fewer than fifty Persons, Men and Women, besides two Bondmen, which be all under the Rule and Order of the good Man and good Wife of the House, being both very sage, discreet, and ancient Persons. And every thirty Farms or Families have one head Ruler, which is called a *Philarch*, being as it were a head Bailiff. Out of every one of these Families or Farms come every Year into the City twenty Persons, which have continued two Years before in the Country. In their Place so many fresh ones be sent thither out of the City, who of them that have been there a Year already, and be therefore expert and cunning in Husbandry, shall be instructed and taught. And they the next Year shall teach others.

This Order is used for Fear that either Scarceness of Victuals, or some other like Incommodity should chance through Lack of Knowledge, if they should be altogether

gether new and fresh, and unexpert in Husbandry. This Manner and Fashion of yearly changing and renewing the Occupiers of Husbandry, tho' it be solemnly and strictly observed, so as to give no Man room to think that he 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 desire to continue therein for a longer Space of Years. These Husbandmen plough and till the Ground, and bring up Cattle, and provide and make ready Wood, which they carry to the City either by Land or Water, as is most convenient. They breed a great Multitude of Chickens, and that in a wonderful Manner: For the Hens do not sit upon the Eggs; but by keeping them in a certain equal Heat, they bring Life into them, and hatch them. The Chickens, as soon as they be come out of the Shell, follow Men and Women instead of Hens. They bring up very few or no Horses, but those they have are very fierce ones; and that for none other Use or Purpose but only to exercise their Youth in Riding and Feats of Arms: For Oxen be put to all the Labour 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 Lift; but yet they are of Opinion, that Oxen will endure and suffer much more Labour, Pain, and Hardship, than Horses will. And they think that Oxen be not in Danger and subject unto so many Diseases, and that they be kept and maintained with much less Cost and Charge; and finally, that they be good for Meat when they be past Labour. They sow Corn only for Bread: For their Drink is either Wine, made of Grapes, Apples or Pears, or else it is clear Water; and many times Meath made of Honey, or Liquorice sod in Water; for thereof they have great Store. And tho' they know for certain (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 Corn, and bring up much more Cattle, than serveth for their own Use, parting the Overplus among their Borderers.

Borderers. Whatsoever necessary Things be lacking in the Country, all such Stuff they fetch out of the City; where, without any Exchange, they easily obtain it of the Magistrates of the City. For every Month many of them go into the City on the Holiday. When their Harvest-day draweth near, and is at hand, then the *Philarchs*, which be the head Officers and Bailiffs of Husbandry, send Word to the Magistrates of the City, what Number of Harvest-men is needful to be sent to them out of the City. The which Company of Harvest-men being ready at the Day appointed, almost in one fair Day dispatcheth all the Harvest-work.

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 the Nature of the Place permitteth. I will describe to you one or other of them, for it maketh no great Difference which; but which rather than *Amaurote*? Of them all this is the worthiest, and of most Dignity: For the Residue acknowledge it for the head City, because there is the Council-House. Not to me any of them all is better beloved than that wherein I lived five whole Years together: The City of *Amaurote* standeth upon the Side of a low Hill, in Fashion almost square. For the Breadth of it beginneth a little beneath the Top of the Hill, and still continueth by the Space of two Miles, until it cometh to the River of *Anyder*. The Length of it, which lieth by the River's Side, is somewhat more. The River of *Anyder* riseth twenty-four Miles above *Amaurote* out of a little Spring. But being increased by other small Rivers and Brooks that run into it, and among the rest two pretty big ones, before the City it is half a Mile broad, and further off broader; and forty Miles beyond the City it falleth into the Ocean. By all that Space that lieth between the Sea and the City, and certain Miles also above the City, the Water ebbeth and floweth six Hours together with a swift Tide.

When the Sea floweth in, for the Length of thirty Miles it filleth all the *Anyder* with salt Water, and driveth back the fresh Water of the River. And somewhat further it changeth the Sweetness of the fresh Water into Saltness: But a little beyond that the River waxeth sweet, and runneth fore-by the City fresh and pleasant. And when the Sea ebbeth, and goeth back again, 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-Work, with gorgeous and substantial Arches, at that Part of the City that is farthest from the Sea; to the Intent that Ships may pass along fore-by all the Side of the City without Let. They have also another River, which indeed is not very great; but it runneth gently and pleasantly: For it riseth even out of the same Hill that the City standeth upon, and runneth down a-slope thro' the midst of the City into *Anyder*.

And because it riseth a little without the City, the *Amauritians* have inclosed the head Spring of it with strong Fences and Bulwarks, and so have joined it to the City. This is done to the Intent that the Water should not be stopped, nor turned away, nor poisoned, if their Enemies should chance to come upon them. From thence the Water is derived and conveyed down in Channels of Brick divers Ways into the lower Parts of the City. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the Place will not suffer it, there they gather the Rain-Water in great Cisterns, which doth them as good Service. The City is compassed about with a high and thick Stone Wall, full of Turrets and Bulwarks. A dry Ditch, but deep and broad, and over-grown with Bushes, Briars and Thorns, goeth about three Sides or Quarters of the City; and to the fourth Side the River itself serveth as a Ditch. The Streets be appointed and set forth very commodious and handsome, both for Carriage, and also against the Winds. The Houses be fair and gorgeously built, and on the Street Side they are joined together in a long Row thro' the whole Street, without

without any Partition or Separation. The Streets be twenty Foot broad. On the back Side of the Houses, thro' the whole Length of the Street, lie large Gardens, inclosed round about with the back Part of the Streets. Every House hath two Doors, one into the Street, and a back Door into the Garden. These Doors be made with two Leaves, never locked nor bolted, so easily to be opened that they will follow the least Drawing of a Finger, and shut again alone. Whosoever will, may go in, for there is nothing within the Houses that is private, or any Man's own. And every tenth Year they change their Houses by Lot. They set great Store by their Gardens.

In them they have Vineyards, all manner of Fruit, Herbs, and Flowers, so pleasant, so well furnished, and so finely kept, that I never saw any thing more fruitful, nor better trimmed in any Place. Their Study and Diligence herein cometh not only of Pleasure, but also of a certain Strife and Contention that is between Street and Street, concerning the Trimming, Husbanding and Furnishing of their Gardens, every Man for his own Part. And verily, you shall not lightly find in all the City any thing that is more commodious, either for the Profit of the Citizens, or for Pleasure. And therefore it may seem that the first Founder of the City minded nothing so much as these Gardens. For they say, that King *Utopus* himself, even at the first Beginning, appointed and drew forth the Plat-form of the City into this Fashion and Figure that it hath now; but the gallant Garnishing, and the beautiful setting forth of it, whereunto he saw that one Man's Age would not suffice, that he left to his Posterity. For their Chronicles, which they keep written with all diligent Circumspection, containing the History of One thousand Seven-hundred and Sixty Years, even from the first Conquest of the Island, record and witness that the Houses in the Beginning were very low, and like homely Cottages or poor Shepherd-houses, made at all Adventures of every rude Piece of Timber that came first to Hand, with Mud Walls,
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and ridged Roofs, thatched over with Straw: But now the Houses be curiously built, after a gorgeous and gallant manner, with three Stories one over another. The Outsides of the Walls be made either of hard Flint, or of Plaister, or else of Brick, and the Insides be well strengthened with Timber-Work. The Roofs be plain and flat, covered with a certain Kind of Plaister, that is of no Cost, and yet so tempered that no Fire can hurt or destroy it, and it also withstandeth the Violence of the Weather better than any Lead. They keep the Wind out of their Windows with Glass, which is much used there; and some also with fine Linen Cloth, dipped in Oil or Amber, and that for two Commodities: For by this Means more Light cometh in, and the Wind is better kept out.

Of the Magistrates.

EVERY thirty Families, or Farms, chuse for themselves yearly an Officer, which in their old Language is called the *Syphogrant*, and by a newer Name the *Philarch*. Every ten *Syphogrants*, with all their thirty Families, be under an Officer, which was once called the *Tranibore*, now the chief *Philarch*. Moreover, as concerning the Election of the Prince, all the *Syphogrants*, which be in Number Two-hundred, be first sworn to chuse Him whom they think most meet and expedient. Then, by a secret Election, they name as Prince one of those four whom the People before named unto them. For out of the four Quarters of the City there be four chosen, out of every Quarter one, to stand for the Election; which be put up to the Council. The Prince's Office continueth all his Life-time, unless he be deposed or put down for Suspicion of Tyranny. They chuse the *Tranibores* yearly, but lightly they change them not. All the other Officers be but for one Year. The *Tranibores* every third Day, and sometimes, if need be, oftner, come into the Council-House with the Prince: Their Council is concerning the Common-Wealth. If there be

be any Controversies among the Commoners, which be very few, they dispatch and end them by and by. They take ever two *Syphogrants* to them in Council, and every Day a new Couple. And it is provided, that nothing touching the Common-Wealth, shall be confirmed and ratified, unless it have been reasoned of and debated three Days in the Council before it be decreed. It is Death to have any Consultation for the Common-Wealth out of the Council, 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 oppress the People by Tyranny, and to change the State of the Weal Publick. Therefore Matters of great Weight and Importance be brought to the Election-House of the *Syphogrants*, which open the Matter to their Families. And afterward, when they have consulted among themselves, then make Report to the Council. Sometimes the Matter is brought before the Council of the whole Island. Furthermore, this Custom also the Council useth, to dispute or reason of no Matter the same Day that it is first proposed or put forth, but to defer it to the next Sitting of the Council: Because that no Man, when he hath rashly there spoken whatsoever cometh to his Tongue's End, shall afterward rather study for Reasons wherewith to defend and maintain his first foolish Sentence, than for the Commodity of the Common-Wealth; as one rather willing the Harm or Hindrance of the Weal Publick, than any Loss or Diminution of his own Esteem; and as one that would be ashamed (which is a very foolish Shame) to be counted one who had overseen any thing in the Matter at the first; who at first ought to have spoken rather wisely than hastily, or rashly.

Of Sciences, Crafts, and Occupations.

Husbandry is a Science common to them all in general, both Men and Women, and a Thing wherein they be all expert and cunning. They be instructed
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in it even from their Youth; partly in their Schools, with Traditions and Precepts, and partly in the Country nigh the City, brought up as it were in playing, not only beholding the Use of it, but by Occasion also practising it for the Exercise of their Bodies. Besides Husbandry, which (as I said) is common to them all, every one of them learneth one or other several and particular Science, as his own proper Craft. That is most commonly either Cloth-working in Wool or Flax, or Mafonry, or the Smith's Craft, or the Carpenter's Science: For there is none other Occupation that any Number to speak of doth use there.

For their Garments, which throughout all the Island be of one Fashion (saying that there is a Difference between the Man's Garment and the Woman's, between the Married and the Unmarried) and this one continueth for evermore unchanged, seemly and comely to the Eye, no Let to the Moving and Wielding of the Body, also fit both for Winter and Summer: As for these Garments (I say) every Family maketh their own. But of the other foresaid Crafts, every Man learneth one: And not only the Men, but also the Women. But the Women, as the weaker Sort, be put to the easier Crafts; as to work Wool and Flax. The more labourfome Sciences be committed to the Men. For the most Part every Man is brought up in his Father's Craft: For most commonly they be naturally thereto bent and inclined. But if a Man's Mind stand to any other, he is by Adoption put into a Family of that Occupation which he doth most fancy: And not only his Father, but also the Magistrate do diligently look to that he be put to a discreet and an honest Housholder. Yea, and if any Person, when he hath learned one Craft, be desirous to learn also another, he is likewise suffered and permitted. When he hath learned both, he occupieth which of them he will, unless the City hath more need of the one than of the other. The chief and almost only Office of the *Syphogrants* is, to see and take heed, that no Man sit idle; but that every one apply his own Craft with earnest Diligence.

ligence. And yet for all that not to be wearied from early in the Morning to late in the Evening, with continual Work, like labouring and toiling Beasts. For this is worse than the miserable and wretched Condition of Bondmen.

Which nevertheless is almost every where the Life of Workmen and Artificers, saving in *Utopia*. For they, dividing the Day and the Night into Twenty-four just Hours, appoint and assign only Six of those Hours to work; Three before Noon, upon which they go strait to Dinner: And after Dinner, when they have rested Two Hours, then they work Three Hours, and upon that they go to Supper. About Eight of the Clock in the Evening (counting One of the Clock the first Hour after Noon) they go to Bed: Eight Hours they give to Sleep. All the void Time that is between the Hours of Work, Sleep, and Meals, that they be suffered to bestow every Man as he liketh best himself: Not to the Intent, that they should mis-spend this Time in Riot, or Slothfulness, but, being then licensed from the Labour of their own Occupations, to bestow the Time well and thriftily upon some other Science, as shall please them: For it is a solemn Custom there to have Lectures daily early in the Morning, whereat those only be constrained to be present that be chosen and appointed for Learning. Howbeit, a great Multitude of every Sort of People, both Men and Women, go to hear Lectures, some to one, and some to another, as every Man's Nature is inclined. Yet, notwithstanding this, if any Man had rather bestow this Time upon his own Occupation, as it chanceth in many (whose Minds rise not in the Contemplation of any liberal Science) he is not letted nor prohibited, but is also praised and commended, as profitable to the Common-Wealth. After Supper they bestow one Hour in Play: In Summer in their Gardens; in Winter in their common Halls, where they dine and sup. There they exercise themselves in Musick, or else in honest and wholesome Communication. Dice-play, and such other foolish and pernicious Games they know not:

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But they use two Games, not much unlike the Chefs; the one is the Battle of Numbers, wherein one Number stealeth away another; the other is where Vices fight with Virtues, as it were in Battle-array, or a set Field. In which Game is very properly shewn, both the Strife and Discord that Vices have among themselves, and again their Unity and Concord against Virtues; and also what Vices be repugnant to what Virtues; with what Power and Strength they assail them openly; by what Wiles and Subtlety they assault them secretly; with what Help and Aid the Virtues resist and overcome the Puissance of the Vices; by what Craft they frustrate their Purposes; and finally, by what Slight or Means the one getteth the Victory. But here, lest you be deceived, one Thing you must look more narrowly upon. For seeing they bestow but six Hours on Work, perchance you may think that the Lack of some necessary Things hereof may ensue. But not at all: For that small Time is not only enough, but also too much for the Store and Abundance of Things that be requisite, either for the Necessity or Commodity of Life. The which Thing you also shall perceive, if you weigh and consider with yourselves how great a Part of the People in other Countries liveth idle. First, almost all Women, which make one Half of the whole Number; or else if the Women be somewhere occupied, then most commonly in their stead the Men be idle. 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 mean, all that Flock of stout bragging Rushbucklers. Join to them also sturdy and valiant Beggars, who cloak their idle Life under the Colour of some Disease or Sicknes.

And truly you shall find them much fewer than you thought, by whose Labour all these Things are wrought, that in Mens Affairs are now daily used and frequented. Now consider with yourself, of these few that do work,
how

how few be occupied in necessary Works: For where Money beareth all the Swing, there many vain and superfluous Occupations must needs be used to serve only for riotous Superfluity, and dishonest Pleasure. For the same Multitude that now is occupied in Work, if they were divided into so few Occupations as the necessary Use of Nature requireth, by so great Plenty of Things as then of Necessity would ensue, doubtless the Prices would be too little for the Artificers to maintain their Livings.

But if all these that be now busied about unprofitable Occupations, with the whole Flock of them that live idly and slothfully, which consume and waste every one of them more of these Things that come by other Mens Labour, than two of the Workmen themselves do; if all these, I say, were set to profitable Occupations, you easily perceive how little Time would be enough, yea, and too much, to store us with all Things that may be requisite either for Necessity or Commodity, nay, even for Pleasure, if so be that the same Pleasure be but true and natural. And this in *Utopia* the Thing itself maketh manifest and plain: For there in all the City, with the whole Country or Shire adjoining to it, scarcely five-hundred Persons of all the whole Number of Men and Women, that be neither too old nor too weak to work, be licensed and discharged from Labour. Among them be the *Syphogrants* (who, tho' they be by the Laws exempt and privileged from Labour) yet they do not exempt themselves, to the Intent that they may the rather by their Example provoke others to Work.

The same Exemption from Labour do they also enjoy to whom the People, persuaded by the Commendation of the Priests, and secret Election of the *Syphogrants*, have given a perpetual Licence from Labour to Learning. But if any one of them prove not according to the Expectation and Hope conceived of him, he is forthwith plucked back to the Company of Artificers. And contrary-wise, and often it chanceth that a Handicraftsman doth so earnestly bestow his vacant and spare Hours

in Learning, and thro' 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 himself. 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 unprofitable Exercises, it may be easily judged in how few Hours how much good Work by them may be done and dispatched, towards those Things that I have spoken of. This Commodity they have also above any other, that in the most Part of necessary Occupations they need not work so much as other Nations do. For first of all, the Building or Repairing of Houses requireth every where so many Mens continual Labour, because that the unthrifty Heir suffereth the Houses that his Father built, in Continuance of Time to fall in Decay: So that what he might have upheld with little Cost, his Successor is constrained to build it anew again, to his great Charge. Yea, many times also the House that stood one Man in much Money, another is of so nice and delicate a Mind that he setteth nothing by it; and it being neglected, and therefore shortly falling into Ruin, he buildeth up another in another Place with no less Cost and Charge.

But among the *Utopians*, where all Things be set in good Order, and the Common-Wealth in a good Stay, it seldom chanceth that they chuse a new Plot to build an House upon. And they do not only find speedy and quick Remedies for present Faults, but also prevent them that be like to fall. And by this Means their Houses continue and last very long with little Labour and small Reparations, insomuch that this Kind of Workmen sometimes have almost nothing to do; but that they be commanded to hew Timber at home, and to square and trim up Stones, to the Intent that if any Work chance, it may the speedier rise. Now, Sir, in their Apparel, mark, I pray you, how few Workmen they

they need. First of all, whilst they be at Work, they be covered homely, with Leather, or Skins, that will last seven Years. When they go forth abroad, they cast upon them a Cloak, which hideth the other homely Apparel. These Cloaks throughout the whole Island, be all of one Colour, and that is the natural Colour of the Wool. They therefore do not only spend much less Woollen Cloth than is spent in other Countries, but the same standeth them also in much less Cost: But Linen Cloth is made with less Labour, and is therefore had more in Use. In Linen Cloth only Whiteness, and in Woollen only Cleanliness is regarded. As for the Smallness or Fineness of the Thread, that is nothing passed for. And this is the Cause wherefore in other Places four or five Cloth Gowns of divers Colours, and as many Silk Coats be not enough for one Man. Yea, and if he be of the delicate and nice Sort, ten be too few; whereas there one Garment will serve a Man most commonly two Years: For why should he desire more? seeing if he had them, he should not be the better hapt or covered from Cold, neither in his Apparel a Whit the comlier. Wherefore, seeing they be all exercised in profitable Occupations, and that few Artificers in the same Crafts be sufficient, this is the Cause that Plenty of all Things being among them, they do sometimes bring forth an innumerable Company of People to amend the Highways, if any be broken. Many times also, when they have no such Work to be occupied about, an open Proclamation is made that they shall bestow fewer Hours in Work: For the Magistrates do not exercise their Citizens against their Wills in unneedful Labours. For why? In the Institution of the Weal-Publick this End is only and chiefly pretended and minded, that what Time may possibly be spared from the necessary Occupations and Affairs of the Common-Wealth, the Citizens should withdraw from the bodily Service to the Liberty of the Mind and Garnishing 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 Kindreds. For the Women, when they be married at a lawful Age, they go into their Husbands Houses.

But the male Children, with all the whole male Offspring, continue still in their own Family, and be governed of the eldest and ancientest Father, unless he dote for Age: For then the next to him in Age, is placed in his room. But to the Intent, that the prescribed Number of the Citizens should neither decrease, nor above measure increase, it is ordained that no Family (which in every City be Six-thousand in the whole, besides them of the Country) shall at once have fewer Children of the Age of fourteen Years, or thereabout, than ten, or more than sixteen ; 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 City the Store increase above the just Number, they thereby fill up the Lack of other Cities. But if so be that the Multitude throughout the whole Island pass and exceed the due Number, then they chuse out of every City certain Citizens, and build up a Town under their own Laws, in the next Land where the Inhabitants have much waste and unoccupied Ground, receiving also of the same Country People to them, if they will join and dwell with them. They thus joining and dwelling together, do easily agree in one Fashion of Living, and that to the great Wealth of both the Peoples: For they so bring the Matter about by their Laws, that

that the Ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is now sufficient and fruitful enough for them both. But if the Inhabitants of the Land will not dwell with them to be ordered by their Laws, then they drive them out of those Bounds which they have limited and appointed out for themselves.

And if they resist and rebel, then they make War against them. For they count this the most just Cause of War, when any People holdeth a Piece of Ground void and vacant to no good nor profitable Use, keeping others from the Use and Possession of it, which notwithstanding by the Law of Nature ought thereof to be nourished and relieved. If any Chance do so much diminish the Number in their Cities, that it cannot be filled up again, without the diminishing of the just Number of the other Cities (which they say chanced but twice since the Beginning of the Land, thro' a great pestilent Plague) then they fill and make up the Number with Citizens fetched out of their own foreign Towns; for they had rather suffer their foreign Towns to decay and perish than any City of their own Island to be diminished. But now again to the Conversation of the Citizens among themselves.

The eldest, as I said, ruleth the Family. The Wives be Ministers to their Husbands, the Children to their Parents; and, to be short, the Younger to their Elders. Every City is divided into four equal Parts or Quarters. In the midst of every Quarter there is a Market-Place of all Manner of Things: Thither the Works of every Family be brought into certain Houses; and every Kind of Thing is laid up severally in Barns or Store-Houses. From hence the Father of every Family, or every Householder, fetcheth whatsoever he and His have need of, and carrieth it away with him without Money, without Exchange, without any Gage, Pawn, 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 lest any Man will ask more than he needeth.

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For why should it be thought that that Man would ask more than enough, which is sure never to lack? Certainly, in all Kinds of living Creatures the Fear of Lack doth cause Covetousness and Ravin, but in Man it is, besides this Fear, Pride, which counteth it a glorious Thing to surpass and excel others in the superfluous and vain Ostentation of Things. The which Kind of Vice among the *Utopians* can have no Place. Next to the Market-places that I speak of, stand Meat-markets; where be brought not only all Sorts of Herbs, and the Fruits of Trees, together with Bread, but also Fish, and all manner of four-footed Beasts, and wild Fowl, that be Man's Meat. But first the Filthiness and Ordure thereof is clean washed away in the running River, without the City, in Places appointed meet for the same Purpose. From thence the Beasts be brought in killed, and clean washed by the Hands of their Bondmen: For they permit not their free Citizens to accustom themselves to the Killing of Beasts, thro' the Use whereof, they think, Clemency, the gentlest Affection of our Nature, by little and little to decay and perish. Neither do they suffer any thing that is filthy, loathsome, or uncleanly, to be brought into the City, lest the Air, infected and corrupted by the Stench thereof, should cause pestilential Diseases. Moreover, every Street hath certain great and large Halls, set at an equal Distance one from another, every one known by a several Name. In these Halls dwell the *Syphogrants*. And to every one of the same Halls be appointed thirty Families, on either Side fifteen. The Stewards of every Hall, at a certain Hour, come into the Meat-Markets, where they receive Meat according to the Number of their Halls.

But chiefly, and first of all, Respect is had to the Sick that be cured in the Hospitals. For in the Circuit of the City, a little without the Walls, they have four Hospitals, so big, so wide, so ample, and so large, that they may seem four little Towns, which were devised of that Bigness, partly to the Intent that the Sick, be they never so many in Number, should not lie too throng or strait,

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 creep from one to another, might be laid a-far from the Company of the Reſidue.

Theſe Hospitals be ſo well appointed, and ſo furniſhed with all Things neceſſary to Health, and, moreover, ſo diligent Attendance, thro' the continual Preſence of cunning Phyſicians, is given, that tho' no Man be ſent thither againſt his Will, yet notwithſtanding there is no ſick Perſon in all the City that had not rather lie there than at home at his own Houſe. When the Steward of the Sick hath received ſuch Meats as the Phyſicians have 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*, to Ambaſſadors, and all Strangers, if there be any, which be very few and ſeldom. But they alſo, when they be there, have certain ſeveral Houſes appointed and prepared for them. To theſe Halls at the ſet Hours of Dinner and Supper, cometh all the whole Syphogranty, or Ward, warned by the Noiſe of a brazen Trumpet, except ſuch as be ſick in the Hospitals, or elſe in their own Houſes.

Howbeit, no Man is prohibited or forbid, after the Halls be ſerved, to fetch home Meat out of the Market to his own Houſe; for they know that no Man will do it without a reaſonable Cauſe. For tho' no Man be prohibited to dine at home, yet no Man doth it willingly, becauſe it is counted a Point of Indecency. And it were alſo a Folly to take the Pain to dreſs 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 Toil, and Drudgery, and baſe Buſineſs, is done by Bondmen. But the Women of every Family, by Courſe, have the Office and Charge of Cookery, for ſeething and dreſſing the Meat, and ordering all Things thereto belonging. They ſit at three Tables, or more,
accord-

according to the Number of their Company: The Men sit upon the Bench next the Wall, and the Women over-against them on the other Side of the Table; and if any sudden Evil should chance to them, as many times happeneth to Women with Child, they may rise without Trouble or Disturbance of any body, and go thence into the Nursery. The Nurses sit severally alone with their young Sucklings, in a certain Parlour appointed and deputed to the same Purpose, never without Fire and clean Water, nor yet without Cradles, that when they will they may lay down the young Infants, and at their Pleasure take them out of their Swathing-cloaths, and hold them to the Fire, and refresh them with Play. Every Mother is Nurse to her own Child, unless either Death or Sicknes be the Let; when that chanceth, the Wives of the *Syphogrants* quickly provide a Nurse. And that is not hard to be done. For they that can do it, proffer themselves to no Service so gladly as to that; because that there this Kind of Service is much praised; and the Child that is nursed, ever after taketh his Nurse for his own natural Mother. Also among the Nurses sit all the Children that be under the Age of five Years. All the other Children of both Kinds, as well Boys as Girls, that be under the Age of Marriage, do either serve at the Tables, or else if they be too young thereto, yet they stand by with marvelous Silence. That which is given to them from the Table, they eat, but have no other and particular Dinner-Time. 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 overthwart the upper End of the Hall. To them be joined two of the most ancient and eldest: For at every Table they sit four at a Mess. But if there be a Church standing in that *Syphogranty*, or Ward, then the Priest and his Wife sitteth with the *Syphogrant*, as Chief in the Company. On both Sides of them sit young Men, and next unto them again old Men. And thus, throughout all the House, those of an equal Age, be set together,

gether, and yet be mixt and matched with unequal Ages.

This, they say, was ordained, to the Intent that the sage Gravity and Reverence of the Elders should keep the Youngers from wanton Licence of Words and Behaviour: Forasmuch as nothing can be secretly spoken or done at the Table, but either they that sit on the one Side or on the other, must needs perceive it. The Dishes be not set down in Order from the first Place, but all the old Men (whose Places be marked with some special Token to be known) be first served of their Meat, and then the Residue equally. The old Men divide their Dainties as they think best, to the younger on each Side of them. Thus the Elders be not defrauded of their due Honour, and nevertheless equal Commodity cometh to every one. They begin every Dinner and Supper with the Reading of something that pertaineth to good Manners and Virtue. But it is short, because no Man shall be grieved therewith. Hereof the Elders take Occasion of honest Communication, but neither sad nor unpleasant. Howbeit they do not spend all the whole Dinner-time themselves with long and tedious Talk, but they gladly hear also the young Men; yea, and purposely provoke them to talk, to the Intent that they may have a Proof of every Man's Wit, and Inclination or Disposition to Virtue, which commonly in the Liberty of Feasting doth shew and utter itself. Their Dinners be very short, but their Suppers be somewhat longer, because that after Dinner followeth Labour, after Supper Sleep and natural Rest, which they think to be of more Strength and Efficacy to wholesome and healthful Digestion. No Supper is passed without Musick; nor their Banquets want no Conceits, nor Jankets. They burn sweet Gums and Spices or Perfumes, and pleasant Smells, and sprinkle about sweet Ointments and Waters; yea, they leave nothing undone that maketh for the Cherishing of the Company. For they be much inclined to this Opinion, to think no Kind of Pleasure forbidden, whereof cometh no Harm. Thus, therefore, and after this Sort,
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they live together in the City; but in the Country, they that dwell alone, far from any Neighbours, do dine at home in their own Houses: For no Family there lacketh any Victuals, as from whom cometh all that the Citizens eat and live by.

Of their Journeying, or Travelling abroad, with divers other Matters, cunningly reasoned, and wittily discussed.

BUT if any be desirous to visit either their Friends dwelling in another City, or to see the Place itself, they easily obtain Licence of the *Syphogrants* and *Tranibores*, unless there be some profitable Let. No Man goeth out alone, but a Company is sent forth, together with their Prince's Letters, who do testify that they have Licence to go that Journey, and prescribeth also the Day of their Return.

They have a Wain given them, with a common Bondman, which driveth the Oxen, and taketh Charge of them. But, unless they have Women in their Company, they send home the Wain again, as an Impediment and Let. And tho' they carry nothing forth with them, yet in all their Journey they lack nothing: For wheresoever they come, they be at home. If they tarry in a Place longer than one Day, then there every one of them falleth to his own Occupation, and be very gently entertained of the Workmen and Companies of the same Crafts. If any Man, of his own Head, and without Leave, walk out of his Precinct and Bounds, without the Prince's Letters, he is brought again for a Fugitive, or Run-away, with great Shame and Rebuke, and is sharply punished. If he be taken in that Fault again, he is punished with Bondage. If any be desirous to walk abroad into the Fields, or into the Country that belongeth to the same City that he dwelleth in, obtaining the Good-will of his Father, and the Consent of his Wife, he is not prohibited. But into what Part of the Country soever he cometh, he hath no Meat given him
until

until he has wrought out his Forenoon's Task, or dispatched so much Work as there is wont to be wrought before Supper. Observing this Law and Condition, he may go whither he will within the Bounds of his own City: For he shall be no less profitable to the City, than if he were within it. Now you see how little Liberty they have to loiter; how they can have no Cloak or Pretence to Idleness. There be neither Wine-Taverns, nor Ale-houses, nor Stews, nor any Occasion of Vice or Wickedness, no lurking Corners, no Places of wicked Counsels, or unlawful Assemblies, but they be in the present Sight, and under the Eyes of every Man. So that of Necessity they must either apply to their accustomed Labours, or else recreate themselves with honest and laudable Pastimes.

This Fashion and Trade of Life, being used 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 Partners thereof equally, therefore can no Man there be poor or needy. In Council of *Amalrote*, where, as I said, every City sendeth three Men a Piece yearly, as soon as it is perfectly known of what Things there is in every Place plenty, and again what Things be scanty in any Place, incontinently the Lack of the one is supplied and filled up with the Abundance of the other. And this they do freely, without any Benefit, taking nothing again of them to whom the Things be given; and those Cities that have given of their Store to any other City that lacketh, requiring nothing again of the same City, but take such Things as they lack, of other Cities, to the which they gave nothing. So the whole Island is as it were one Family or Household. But when they have made sufficient Provision of Store for themselves (which they do not think to have done, until they have provided for two Years following, because of the Uncertainty of the next Year's Proof) then of those Things, whereof they have Abundance, they carry forth into other Countries great Plenty, as Grain, Honey, Wool, Flax, Wood, Madder, Purple-died
 I 2 Fells,

Fells, Wax, Tallow, Leather, and living Beasts. And the seventh Part of all these Things they give frankly and freely to the Poor of that Country. The Residue they sell at a reasonable and mean Price. By this Means of Traffick or Merchandize, they bring into their own Country, not only great Plenty of Gold and Silver, but also all such Things as they lack at home, which is almost nothing but Iron. And by reason they have long used this Trade, now they have more Abundance of these Things than any Man will believe.

Now, 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 Warranty, of the whole City, by Instruments and Writings made in that Behalf accordingly. When the Day of Payment is come and expired, the City gathereth up the Debt of the private Debtors, and putteth it into the common Box, and so long hath the Use and Profit of it, until the *Utopians*, their Creditors, demand it. The most Part of it they never ask. For that Thing which to them is no Profit to take it from others 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 War. For the which Purpose only they keep at home all the Treasure which they have, to be holpen and succoured by it either in extreme Jeopardies, or in sudden Dangers. But especially and chiefly to hire therewith, and that for unreasonable great Wages, strange Soldiers. For they had rather put Strangers in Jeopardy than their own Country-men; knowing that for Money enough their Enemies themselves many times may be bought and sold, or else thro' Treason be set together by the Ears among themselves. For this Cause they keep an inestimable Treasure. But yet not as a Treasure: But so they have it and use it, as in good Faith I am ashamed to shew, fearing that my Words shall not be believed. And this

I have

I have more Cause to fear, for that I know how difficult and hard it would have been for myself to believe the same, if another Man had told it me, and I not seen it with mine Eyes.

For it must needs be, that as far as a Thing is dissonant and disagreeing from the Guise and Trade of the Hearers, so far shall it be out of their Belief. Howbeit, a wise and indifferent Esteemer of Things will not greatly marvel, perchance, seeing all their other Laws and Customs do so much differ from ours, if the Use also of Gold and Silver among them be applied rather to their own Fashions than to ours. I mean, in that they occupy not Money themselves, but keep it for that Chance, which as it may happen, so it may be that it shall never come to pass. In the mean time, Gold and Silver, whereof Money is made, they do so use, as none of them doth more esteem it than the very Nature of the Thing deserveth.

And then, who doth not plainly see how much inferior it is to Iron; as without the which Men can no more live than without Fire and Water. Whereas to Gold and Silver, Nature hath given no Use for it that we may not well lack, if that the Folly of Men had not set it in higher Estimation for the Rareness sake. But on the contrary Part, Nature, as a most tender and loving Mother, hath placed the best and necessary Things open abroad; as the Air, the Water, and the Earth itself. And hath removed and hid farthest from us vain and unprofitable Things. Therefore, if these Metals among them should be fast locked up in some Tower, it might be suspected that the Prince and the Council (as the People is ever foolishly imagining) intended by some Subtlety to deceive the Commons, and to take some Profit of it to themselves. Furthermore, if they should make thereof Plate, and such other finely and cunningly wrought Stuff, if at any Time they should have Occasion to break it, and melt it again, therewith to pay their Soldiers Wages, they see and perceive very well that Men would be loth to part from those Things that they
once

once began to have Pleasure and Delight in. To remedy all this, they have found out a Means, which, as it is agreeable to all their other Laws and Customs, so it is from ours, where Gold is so much set by, and so diligently kept, very far discrepant and repugnant; and therefore incredible, but only to them that be wise. For whereas they eat and drink out of earthen and glass 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 Uses, not only in their common Halls, but in every Man's private House. Furthermore, of the same Metals they make great Chains, Fetters, and Gives, wherein they tie their Bondmen.

Finally, whosoever for any Offence be infamed, by their Ears hang Rings of Gold; upon their Fingers they wear Rings of Gold, and about their Necks Chains of Gold; and, in Conclusion, their Heads be tied with Gold. Thus, by all Means possible, they procure to have Gold and Silver among them in Reproach and Infamy. And these Metals, which other Nations do as grievously and sorrowfully forego as in a Manner their own Lives, if they should altogether at once be taken from the *Utopians*, no Man there would think that he had lost the Worth of one Farthing. They gather also Pearls by the Sea Side, and Diamonds and Carbuncles upon certain Rocks, and yet they seek not for them; but finding them by chance, they cut and polish them. And therewith they deck their young Infants: Which, like as in the first Years of their Childhood, they make much and be fond and proud of such Ornaments, so when they be a little more grown in Years and Discretion, perceive that none but Children do wear such Toys and Trifles, they lay them away even of their own Shamefacedness, without any Bidding of their Parents; even as our Children, when they wax big, do cast away Nuts, Brouches, and Puppets. Therefore these Laws and Customs, which be so far different from all other Nations, how divers Fantasies also and Minds they do cause,

cause, did I never so plainly perceive as in the Ambassadors of the *Anemolians*.

These Ambassadors came to *Amaurote*, whilst I was there. And because they came to treat 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 been there before, and knew the Fashions and Manners of the *Utopians*, among whom they perceived no Honour given to sumptuous Apparel, Silks to be contemned, Gold also to be infamed and reproachful, were wont to come thither in very homely and simple Array. But the *Anemolians*, because they dwell far thence, and had very little Acquaintance with them, hearing that they were all apparelled alike, and that very rudely and homely, thinking them not to have the Things which they did not wear; being therefore more proud than wise, determined in the Gorgeousness of their Apparel to present very Gods, and with the bright Shining and Glistering of their gay Cloathing to dazzle the Eyes of the silly poor *Utopians*.

So there came in four Ambassadors, with one hundred Servants, all apparelled in changeable Colours; the most of them in Silks; the Ambassadors themselves (for at home in their own Country they were Noblemen) in Cloath of Gold, with great Chains of Gold, with Gold hanging in their Ears, with gold Rings upon their Fingers, with Brouches and Aglets of Gold upon their Caps, which glistered full of Pearls and precious Stones; to be short, trimmed and adorned with all those Things, which among the *Utopians* were either the Punishment of Bondmen, or the Reproach of infamed Persons, or else Trifles for young Children to play withal. Therefore it would have done a Man good at his Heart to have seen how proudly they displayed their Peacock's Feathers, how much they made of their painted Sheaths, and how loftily they set forth and advanced themselves, when they compared their gallant Apparel with the poor Raiment

Raiment of the *Utopians*. For all the People were swarm-
ed forth into the Streets.

And on the other Side, it was no less Pleasure to con-
sider how much they were deceived, and how far they
missed of their Purpose, being contrary-ways taken, than
they thought they should have been. For the Eyes of
all the *Utopians*, except very few, which had been in
other Countries, for some reasonable Cause, all that
Gorgeousness of Apparel seemed shameful and reproach-
ful. Infomuch that they most reverently saluted the
vilest and most abject of them for Lords; judging them
by their wearing of golden Chains to be Bondmen. Yea,
you should have seen Children also, that had cast away
their Pearls and precious Stones, when they saw the like
sticking upon the Ambassadors Caps, pointing and push-
ing their Mothers under the Sides, saying thus to them,
Look, Mother, how great a Lubber doth yet wear
Pearls and precious Stones, as tho' he were a little Child
again.

But the Mother, yea, and that also in good Earnest,
Peace, Son, saith she, I think he is one of the Amba-
sadors Fools. Some found Fault at their golden Chains,
as to no Use nor Purpose, being so small and weak, that
a Bondman might easily break them; and again so wide
and large, that when it pleased him, he might cast them
off, and run away at Liberty whither he would.

But when the Ambassadors had been there a Day or
two, and saw so great Abundance of Gold so lightly
esteemed, yea, in no less Reproach than it was with them
in Honour; and besides that there was more Gold in the
Chains and Gives of one fugitive Bondman than all the
costly Ornaments of them four was worth, they began
to abate their Courage, and for very Shame laid away
all that gorgeous Array whereof they were so proud.
And specially when they had talked familiarly with the
Utopians, and had learned all their Fashions and Opi-
nions, For they marvel that any Man be so foolish as to
have Delight and Pleasure in the doubtful Glistering of
a little

a little trifling Stone, which may behold any of the Stars, or else the Sun itself.

Or that a Man is so mad, as to count himself the nobler for the smaller or finer Thread of Wool, which self-same Wool (be it now never so fine-spun Thread) a Sheep did once wear; and yet was she all that Time no other Thing than a Sheep. They marvel also, that Gold, which of its own Nature is a Thing so unprofitable, is now among all People in so high Estimation, that Man himself, by whom, yea, and for the Use of whom, it is so much set by, is in much less Estimation than the Gold itself. Infomuch that a lumpish block-head Churl, and which hath no more Wit than an Ass, yea, and as full of Naughtiness as of Folly, shall have nevertheless many wise and good Men in Subjection and Bondage, only for this, because he hath a great Heap of Gold.

Which if it should be taken from him by any Fortune, or by some subtle Wile and Cautele of the Law (which no less than Fortune doth both raise up the Low, and pluck down the High) and be given to the most vile Slave and abject Drivel of all his Household, then shortly after he shall go into the Service of his Servant, as an Augmentation or Overplus beside his Money.

But they much more marvel at and detest the Madnes of them, which to those rich Men, in whose Debt and Danger they be not, do 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 one Farthing of that Heap of Gold shall come to them. These, and such like Opinions, have they conceived, partly by Education, being brought up in that Commonwealth, whose Laws and Customs be far different from those Kinds of Folly; and partly by good Literature and Learning. For tho' there be not many in every City, which be exempt and discharged of all other Labours, and appointed only to Learning, that is to say, such in whom even from their very Childhood they have per-

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ceived a singular Towardness, a fine Wit, and a Mind apt to good Learning; yet all in their Childhood be instructed in Learning. And the better Part of the People, both Men and Women, throughout all their whole Life, do bestow in Learning those spare Hours, which we said they have vacant from bodily Labours. They be taught Learning in their own native Tongue: For it is both copious in Words, and also pleasant to the Ear: And for the Utterance of a Man's Mind very perfect and sure. The most Part of all that Side of the World useth the same Language, saving that among the *Utopians* it is finest and purest, and, according to the Diversity of the Countries, it is diversly altered. Of all these Philosophers, whose Names be here famous in this Part of the World to us known, before our coming thither, not as much as the Fame of any of them was come among them. And yet in Musick, Logick, Arithmetick, and Geometry, they have found out in a manner all that our ancient Philosophers have taught. But as they in all Things be almost equal to our old and ancient Clerks, so our new Logicians in subtle Inventions have far passed and gone beyond them.

For they have not devised one of all those Rules of Restrictions, Amplifications, very wittily invented in the small Logicals, which here our Children in every Place do learn. Furthermore, they were never yet able to find out the second Inventions: Infomuch that none of them could ever see Man himself in common, as they call him, tho' he be (as you know) bigger than ever was any Giant, yea, and pointed to even as with a Finger. But they be in the Course of the Stars and the Movings of the heavenly Spheres very expert and cunning. They have also wittily excogitated and devised Instruments of divers Fashions, wherein is exactly comprehended and contained the Movings and Situations of the Sun, the Moon, and of all the other Stars, which appear in the Horizon. But as for the Amities and Diffentions of the Planets, and all that deceitful Divination of the Stars, they never as much as dreamed thereof.

Rains,

Rains, Winds, and other Courses of Tempests, they know before by certain Tokens, which they have learned by long Use and Observation. But of the Causes of all these Things, and of the Ebbing and Flowing, and Saltness of the Sea, and finally of the original Beginning and Nature of Heaven and of the World, they hold partly the same Opinions that our old Philosophers hold, and partly as our Philosophers vary among themselves, so they also, whilst they bring new Reasons of Things, do disagree from all them, and yet among themselves in all Points they do not accord.

In that Philosophy which treateth of Manners and Virtue, their Reasons and Opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good Qualities of the Soul, of the Body, and of Fortune: And whether the Name of Goodness may be applied to all these, or only to the Endowments and Gifts of the Soul. They reason of Virtue and Pleasure: But the chief and principal Question is, in what Thing, be it one or more, the Felicity of Man consisteth. But in this Point they seem almost too much given and inclined to the Opinion of them which defend Pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefest Part of Man's Felicity to rest. And (which is more to be marvelled at) the Defence of this so dainty and delicate an Opinion they fetch even from their grave, sharp, bitter and rigorous Religion. For they never dispute of Felicity or Blessedness, but they join unto the Reasons of Philosophy certain Principles taken out of Religion; without the which, to the Investigation of true Felicity, they think Reason of itself weak and imperfect. Those Principles be these and such like, That the Soul is immortal; and by the bountiful Goodness of God ordained to Felicity. That to our Virtues and good Deeds Rewards be appointed after this Life, and to our evil Deeds Punishments. Tho' these be pertaining to Religion, yet they think it meet that they should be believed and granted by Proofs of Reason. But if these Principles were condemned and disannulled, then without any Delay they pronounce no Man to be so foolish

which would not do all his Diligence and Endeavour to obtain Pleasure, be it right or wrong, only avoiding this Inconvenience that the less Pleasure should not be a Let or Hindrance to the bigger; or that he laboured not after that Pleasure which would bring after it Displeasure, Grief and Sorrow.

For they judge it extream Madness to follow sharp and painful Virtue, and not only to banish the Pleasure of Life, but also willingly to suffer Grief, without any Hope of Profit thereof ensuing. For what Profit can there be, if a Man, when he hath passed over all his Life unpleasantly, that is to say, miserably, shall have no Reward after his Death? But now, Sir, they think not Felicity to consist in all Pleasure, but only in that Pleasure that is good and honest, and that hereto, as to perfect Blessedness, our Nature is allured and drawn even of Virtue, whereto only they that be of the contrary Opinion, do attribute Felicity. For they define Virtue 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 kindle in Men the Love and Veneration of the divine Majesty. Of whose Goodness it is that we be, and that we be in Possibility to attain Felicity. 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 help and further all others in Respect of the Society of Nature, to obtain and enjoy the same. For there was never Man so earnest and painful a Follower of Virtue, and Hater of Pleasure, that would so enjoin you Labours, Watchings and Fastings, but he would also exhort you to Ease, lighten, relieve to your Power, the Lack and Misery of others, prailing the same as a Deed of Humanity and Pity. For if it be a Point of Humanity for Man to bring Health and Comfort to Man, and specially (which is a Virtue most peculiarly belonging to Man) to mitigate and assuage the Grief of others, and by taking
from

from them the Sorrow and Heaviness of Life, to restore them to Joy, that is to say, to Pleasure; why may it not then be said, that Nature doth provoke every Man to do the same to himself? For a joyful Life, that is to say, a pleasant Life, is either evil; and if it be so, then thou shouldest not only help no Man thereto, but rather as much as in thee lieth, withdraw all Men from it, as noisome and hurtful, or else if thou not only must, but also of Duty art bound to procure it to others; why not chiefly to thyself, to whom thou art bound to shew as much Favour and Gentleness as to others? For when Nature biddeth thee to be good and gentle to others, she commandeth thee not to be cruel and ungentle to thyself. Therefore even very Nature, say they, prescribeth to us a joyful Life, that is to say, Pleasure, as the End of all our Operations. And they define Virtue to be Life ordered according to the Prescript of Nature. But in that, that Nature doth allure and provoke Men to help one another to live merrily (which surely she doth not without a good Cause; for no Man is so far above the Lot of Man's State or Condition, that Nature doth care and care for him only, which equally favoureth all that he comprehended under the Communion of one Shape, Form and Fashion) verily she commandeth them to use diligent Circumspection, that thou do not seek for thine own Commodities, that thou procure others Incommodities. Wherefore their Opinion is, that not only Covenants and Bargains made among private Men, ought to be well and faithfully followed, observed, and kept, but also common Laws, which either a good Prince hath justly published, or else the People, neither oppressed with Tyranny, nor 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 Laws not offended, it is Wisdom that thou look to thine own Wealth. And to do the same for the Common-Wealth is no less than thy Duty, if thou bearest any reverent Love, or any natural Zeal and Affection

Affection to thy native Country. But to go about to let another Man of his Pleasure, whilst thou procurest thine own, that is open Wrong. Contrary-wise, to withdraw something from thyself, to give to others, that is a Point of Humanity and Gentleness; which never taketh away so much Commodity, as it bringeth again. For it is recompenced with the Return of Benefits, and the Conscience of the good Deed, with the Remembrance of the thankful Love and Benevolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bring more Pleasure to thy Mind than that which thou hast with-holden from thyself could have brought to thy Body. Finally (which to a godly disposed and a religious Mind is easy to be persuaded) God recompenseth the Gift of a short and small Pleasure with great and everlasting Joy.

Therefore, the Matter diligently weighed and considered, thus, they think, that all our Actions, and in them the Virtues themselves, be referred at the last to Pleasure, as their End and Felicity. Pleasure they call every Motion, and State of the Body or Mind, wherein Man hath naturally Delectation. Appetite they join to Nature, and that not without a good Cause. For like as not only the Senses, but also right Reason, coveteth whatsoever is naturally pleasant, so that it may be gotten without Wrong or Injury, nor letting or debarring a greater Pleasure, nor causing painful Labour, even so those Things, that Men, by vain Imagination, do feign against Nature to be pleasant (as tho' it lay in their Power to change the Things, as they do the Names of Things) all such Pleasures they believe to be of so small Help and Furtherance to Felicity, that they count them a great Let and Hindrance. Because, that in whom they have once taken Place, all his Mind they possess with a false Opinion of Pleasure: So that there is no Place left for true and natural Delectations.

For there be many Things which of their own Nature contain no Pleasantness; yea, the most Part of them much Grief and Sorrow: And yet, thro' the perverse and malicious stickering Inticement of lewd and dishonest

honest Desires, be taken not only for special and so-
vereign Pleasures, but also be counted among the chief
Causes of Life. In this counterfeit Kind of Pleasure
they put them that I spake of before. Which the better
Gowns they have on, the better Men they think them-
selves. In the which Thing they do twice err. For
they be no less deceived in that they think their Gowns
the better than they be, than in that they think them-
selves the better.

For if you consider the profitable Use of the Garment,
why should Wool of a finer spun Thread be thought bet-
ter than the Wool of a coarse spun Thread? Yet they,
as tho' the one did pass the other by Nature, and not by
their mistaking, advance themselves, and think the Price
of their own Persons thereby greatly increased. And
therefore the Honour which in a coarse Gown they durst
not have looked for, they require, as it were of Duty,
for their finer Gown's sake. And if they be passed with-
out Reverence, they take it displeasantly and disdain-
fully. And again, is it not alike Madness to take a
Pride in vain and unprofitable Honours? For what na-
tural or true Pleasure doest thou take of another Man's
bare Head, or bowed Knees; Will this ease the Pain of
thy Knees, or remedy the Phrensy of thy Head? In this
Image of counterfeit Pleasure, they be of marvellous
Madness, which, for the Opinion of Nobility, rejoice
much in their own Conceit. Because it was their For-
tune to come of such Ancestors whose Stock of long
Time had been counted rich (for now Nobility is no-
thing else) specially rich in Lands. And tho' their An-
cestors left them not one Foot of Land, or else they
themselves have pissed it against the Walls, yet they think
themselves not the less noble therefore of one Hair. In
this Number also they count them that take Pleasure and
Delight, as I said, in Gems and precious Stones, and
think themselves almost Gods if they chance to get an
excellent one, specially of that Kind which in that Time
of their own Countrymen is had in highest Estimation.

For

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, until they have made the Seller to swear that he will warrant and assure it to be a true Stone, and no counterfeit Gem. Such Care they take lest a counterfeit Stone should deceive their Eyes instead of a right Stone. But why shouldest thou not take as much Pleasure in beholding a counterfeit Stone, which thine Eye cannot discern from a right Stone? They should both be of like Value to thee, even as to the blind Man.

What shall I say of them that keep superfluous Riches, to take Delectation only in the beholding, and not in the Use or Occupying thereof? Do they take true Pleasure, or else be they deceived with false Pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrary Vice, hiding the Gold which they shall neither occupy, nor peradventure never see any more: And whilst they take Care lest they shall lose, do lose it indeed. For what is it else, when they hide it in the Ground, taking it both from their own Use, and perchance from all other Men's also? And yet thou, when thou hast hid thy Treasure, as one out of all Care, hopest for Joy. The which Treasure, if it should chance to be stolen, and thou ignorant of the Theft, shouldest die ten Years after, all that ten Years thou livedst after thy Money was stolen, what Matter was it to thee, whether it had been taken away, or else safe as thou leftest it? Truly, both Ways like Profit came to thee. To these so foolish Pleasures they join Dicers, whose Madness they know by Hear-say, and not by Use. Hunters also, and 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 frequent Use might make thee weary thereof. Or what Delight can there be, and not rather Displeasure, in hearing the Barking and Howling of Dogs? Or what greater Pleasure is there to be felt when a Dog followeth an Hare, than when a Dog followeth a Dog? For one Thing is done

done in both, that is to say, running, if thou hast Pleasure therein. But if the Hope of Slaughter, and the Expectation of tearing in Pieces the Beast, doth please thee; thou shouldest rather be moved with Pity to see a silly innocent Hare murdered of a Dog; the Weak of the Stronger, the Fearful of the Fierce, the Innocent of the Cruel and Unmerciful. Therefore all this Exercise of Hunting, as a Thing unworthy to be used of free Men, the *Utopians* have 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 only for Necessity.

Whereas the Hunter seeketh nothing but Pleasure of the silly and woful Beast's Slaughter and Murder. The which Pleasure in beholding Death, they think doth rise in the very Beasts, either of a cruel Affection or Mind, or else to be changed in Continuance of Time into Cruelty, by long Use of so cruel a Pleasure. These therefore, and all such like, which be innumerable, tho' the common Sort of People doth take them for Pleasures, yet they seeing there is no natural Pleasantness in them, do plainly determine them to have no Affinity with true and right Pleasure. For as touching that they do commonly move the Sense with Delectation (which seemeth to be a Work of Pleasure) this doth nothing diminish their Opinion. For not the Nature of the Thing, but their perverse and lewd Custom is the Cause hereof. Which causeth them to accept bitter or sower Things for sweet Things. Even as Women with Child in their viciated and corrupt Taste, think Pitch and Tallow sweeter than Honey. Howbeit, no Man's Judgment depraved and corrupt, either by Sickness or by Custom, can change the Nature of Pleasure, more than it can do the Nature of other Things. They make divers Kinds of Pleasures. For some they attribute to the Soul, and some to the Body. To the Soul they give Intelligence, and that

Delectation that cometh of the Contemplation of Truth.

Hereunto is joined the pleasant Remembrance of the good Life past. The Pleasure of the Body they divide into two Parts. The first is, when Delectation is sensibly felt and perceived, which many times chanceth by the renewing and refreshing of those Parts which our natural Heat drieth up. This cometh by Meat and Drink: And sometimes, whilst those Things be expulsed and voided whereof is in the Body over-great Abundance. This Pleasure is felt when we do our natural 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 Pain that it feeleth, which nevertheless tickleth and moveth our Senses with a certain secret Efficacy, but with a manifest Motion turneth them to it: As is that which cometh from Musick. 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 Man's own and proper Health, intermingled and disturbed with no Grief. For this, if they be not letted nor assaulted with no Grief, is delectable of itself, tho' it be moved with no external or outward Pleasure. For tho' it be not so plain and manifest to the Sense, as the greedy Lust of Eating and Drinking, yet nevertheless many take it for the chiefest Pleasure. All the *Utopians* grant it to be a right sovereign Pleasure, and, as you would say, the Foundation and Ground of all Pleasures, the which even alone is able to make the State and Condition of Life delectable and pleasant: And it being once taken away, there is no Place left for any Pleasure. For to be without Grief not having Health, that they call Insensibility, and not Pleasure.

The *Utopians* have long ago rejected and condemned the Opinion of them, which said, that stedfast and quiet Health (for this Question also hath been diligently debated

bated 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 in this, that Health is a most sovereign Pleasure. For seeing that in Sickness, say they, is Grief, which is a mortal Enemy to Pleasure, even as Sickness is to Health, why should not then Pleasure be in the Quietness of Health? For they say it maketh nothing to this Matter, whether you say that Sickness is a Grief, or that in Sickness is Grief; for all cometh to one Purpose.

For whether Health be a Pleasure itself, or a necessary Cause of Pleasure, as Fire is of Heat, truly both Ways it followeth, that they cannot be without Pleasure that be in perfect Health. Furthermore, when we eat, say they, Health, which began to be appaired, fighteth, by the Help of Food, against Hunger. In the which Fight, whilst Health by little and little getteth the upper Hand, that same Proceeding, and (as we would say) that Onwardness to the wonted Strength, ministreth that Pleasure whereby we be so refreshed. Health, therefore, which in the Conflict is joyful, shall it not be merry when it hath gotten the Victory? But as soon as it hath recovered the pristinate Strength, which Thing only in all the Fight is coveted, shall it incontinently be astonied? Nor shall it not know nor embrace its own Wealth and Goodness? For where it is said Health cannot be felt, this, they think, is nothing true. For what Man walking, say they, feeleth not himself in Health, but he that is not? Is there any Man so possessed with stonish Insensibility, or with Lethargy, that is to say, the sleeping Sickness, that he will not grant Health to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other Thing is Delectation than that which by another Name is called Pleasure. They imbrace chiefly the Pleasures of the Mind: For them they count the chiefest and most principal of all. The chief Part of them they think doth come of the Exercise of Virtue and Conscience of good Life. Of these Pleasures that the Body ministreth, they

give the Pre-eminence to Health. For the Delight of Eating and Drinking, and whatsoever hath any like Pleasantness, they determine to be Pleasures much to be desired, but no otherwise than for Health's sake. For such Things of their own proper Nature be not so pleasant, but in that they resist Sicknes privily stealing on: Therefore, like as it is a wise Man's Part, rather to avoid Sicknes, than to wish for Medicines, and rather to drive away and put to Flight careful Grievs, than to call for Comfort; so it is much better not to need this Kind of Pleasure, than thereby to be eased of the contrary Grief. The which Kind of Pleasure, if any Man take it for his Felicity, that Man must needs grant, that then he shall be in most Felicity, if he live that Life, which is led in continual Hunger, Thirst, Itching, Eating, Drinking, Scratching, and Rubbing. The which Life, how not only foul and dishonest, but also how miserable and wretched it is, who perceiveth not? These, doubtless, be the basest Pleasures of all, as impure, and imperfect. For they never come but accompanied with their contrary Grievs: As with the Pleasure of Eating is joined Hunger, and that after no very equal Sort. For of these two, the Grief is the more vehement, and also of longer Continuance. For it beginneth before the Pleasure, and endeth not until the Pleasure die with it. Wherefore such Pleasures they think not greatly to be set by, but in that they be necessary. Howbeit, they have Delight also in these, and thankfully acknowledge 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 Grievs of Hunger and Thirst could not be driven away, but with bitter Potions and sower Medicines, as the other Diseases be, wherewith we be seldomer troubled? But Beauty, Strength, Nimbleness, these as peculiar and pleasant Gifts of Nature, they make much of. But those Pleasures that be received by the Ears, the Eyes, and the

the Nose, which Nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to Man (for no other living Creature doth behold the Fairness and Beauty of the World, or is moved with any Respect of Savours, but only for the Diversity of Meats, neither perceiveth the concordant and discordant Distances of Sounds and Tunes) these Pleasures, I say, they accept and allow as certain pleasant Rejoicings of Life. But in all Things this Cautele they use, that a less Pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the Pleasure be no Cause of Displeasure, which they think to follow of Necessity, if the Pleasure be dishonest. But yet to despise the Comeliness of Beauty, to waste the bodily Strength, to turn Nimbleness unto Slothfulness, to consume and make feeble the Body with Fasting, to do Injury to Health, and to reject the pleasant Motions of Nature, unless a Man neglect these Commodities, whilst he doth with a fervent Zeal procure the Wealth of others, or the common Profit, for the which Pleasure forborne, he is in Hope of a greater Pleasure at God's Hand; else for a vain Shadow of Virtue, for the Wealth and Profit of no Man, to punish himself, or to the Intent he may be able couragiously to suffer Adversity, which perchance shall never come to him; this to do they think is a Point of extream Madness, and a Token of a Man cruelly minded towards himself, and unkind towards Nature, as one so disdainful to be in her Danger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her Benefits. This is their Sentence and Opinion of Virtue and Pleasure. And they believe that by Man's Reason none can be found truer than this, unless any godlier be inspired into Man from Heaven. Wherein, whether they believe well or no, neither the Time doth suffer us to discuss, neither is it now necessary. For we have taken upon us to shew their Laws and Ordinances, and not to defend them. But this Thing I believe verily, howsoever these Decrees be, that there is in no Place in the World, neither a more excellent People, neither a more flourishing Common-Wealth. They be light and quick of Body, full of Activity and Nimbleness, and of more
Strength

Strength, than a Man would judge them by their Stature, which for all that is not too low. And tho' their Soil be not very fruitful, nor their Air very wholesome, yet against the Air they so defend themselves with temperate Diet, and so order and husband their Ground with diligent Travel, that in no Country is greater Increase and Plenty of Corn and Cattle, nor Men's Bodies of longer Life, and subject or apt to fewer Diseases. There, therefore, a Man may see well and diligently exploited and furnished, not only those Things which Husbandmen do commonly in other Countries, as by Craft and Cunning to remedy the Barrenness of the Ground, but also a whole Wood by the Hands of the People plucked up by the Roots in one Place, and set again in another Place. Wherein was had Regard and Consideration, not of Plenty, but of commodious Carriage, that Wood and Timber might be nigher to the Sea, or the Rivers, or the Cities. For it is less Labour and Business to carry Grain far by Land, than Wood. The People be gentle, merry, quick and fine witted, delighting in Quietness, and, when Need requireth, able to abide and suffer much 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 speak of the *Greek* Literature, or Learning (for in *Latin* there was nothing that I thought they would greatly allow, besides Histories and Poets) they made wonderful Earnest and importunate Suit unto me that I would teach and instruct them in that Tongue and Learning. I began therefore to read unto them, at the first, truly, more because I would not seem to refuse the Labour, than that I hoped that they would any Thing profit therein. But when I had gone forward a little, I perceived incontinently, by their Diligence, that my Labour should not be bestowed in vain. For they began so easily to fashion their Letters, so plainly to pronounce their Words, so quickly to learn by Heart, and so surely to rehearse the same, that I marvel at it, saving that the most Part of them were fine and chosen Wits,
and

and of ripe Age, picked out of the Company of the learned Men, which not only of their own free and voluntary Will, but also by the Commandment of the Council, undertook to learn this Language. Therefore, in less than three Years Space there was nothing in the *Greek* Tongue that they lacked: They were able to read good Authors, without any Stay, if the Book were not false. This Kind of Learning, I suppose, they took so much the sooner, because it is somewhat alliant to them: For I think that this Nation took their Beginning from the *Greeks*, because their Speech, which in all other Points is not much unlike the *Persian* Tongue, keeping divers Signs and Tokens of the *Greek* Language in the Names of their Cities, and of their Magistrates. They have of me (for when I was determined to enter on my fourth Voyage, I cast into the Ship instead of Merchandize a pretty Fardle of Books, because I intended to come again rather never than shortly) they have, I say, of me the most Part of *Plato's* Works, more of *Aristotles*, also *Theophrastus* of Plants, but in divers Places (which I am sorry for) imperfect. For whilst they were on Ship board, a Marmoset chanced upon the Book, as it was negligently laid by, which wantonly playing therewith, plucked out certain Leaves, and tore them in Pieces. Of them that have written the Grammar, they have only *Lascaris*. For *Theodorus* I carried not with me, nor never a Dictionary, but *Hesichius*, and *Dioscorides*. They set great Store by *Plutarch's* Books. And they be delighted with *Lucian's* merry Conceits and Jestes. Of the Poets they have *Aristophanes*, *Homer*, *Euripides*, and *Sophocles*, in *Aldus* small Print. Of the Historians they have *Thucydides*, *Herodotus*, and *Herodian*. Also my Companion, *Tricius Apinatus*, carried with him Physick Books, certain small Works of *Hippocrates*, and *Galens* *Microtechnie*; the which Book they have in great Estimation: For tho' there be almost no Nation under Heaven that hath less Need of Physick than they; yet this notwithstanding, Physick is no where in greater Honour. Because they count the Knowledge of it among the godliest and most profitable

profitable Parts of Philosophy. For, whilst they, by the Help of this Philosophy, search out the secret Mysteries of Nature, they think themselves to receive thereby not only wonderful great Pleasure, but also to obtain great Thanks and Favour of the Author and Maker thereof. Whom they think, according to the Fashion of other Artificers, to have set forth the marvelous and gorgeous Frame of the World for Man, with great Affection, intently to behold; whom only he hath made of Wit and Capacity to consider and understand the Excellency of so great a Work. And therefore he beareth, say they, more Good-will and Love to the curious and diligent Beholder and Viewer of his Work, and Marvellor at the same, than he doth to him, which, like a very brute Beast without Wit and Reason, or as one without Sense or Moving, hath no Regard to so great and so wonderful a Spectacle. The Wits, therefore, of the *Utopians*, inured and exercised in Learning, be marvelous quick in the Invention of Feats helping any Thing to the Advantage and Wealth of Life. Howbeit, two Feats they may thank us for; that is, the Science of Imprinting, and the Craft of making Paper. And yet not only us, but chiefly and principally themselves. For when we shewed to them *Aldus* his Print in Books of Paper, and told them of the Stuff whereof Paper is made, and of the Feat of graving Letters, speaking somewhat more than we could plainly declare (for there was none of us that knew perfectly either the one or the other) they forthwith very wittily conjectured the Thing. And whereas before they wrote only on Skins, Barks of Trees, and Reeds, now they have attempted to make Paper, and to imprint Letters. And tho' at first it proved not all of the best, yet by often essaying the same, they shortly got the Feat of both. And have so brought the Matter about, that if they had Copies of *Greek* Authors, they could lack no Books. But now they have no more than I rehearsed before, saving that by printing of Books, they have multiplied and increased the same into many thousands of Copies. Who-
soever

soever cometh thither to see the Land, being excellent in any Gift of Wit, or, through much and long Journeying, well experienced and seen in the Knowledge of many Countries (for the which Cause we were very welcome to them) him they receive and entertain wondrous gently and lovingly. For they have Delight to hear what is done in every Land, howbeit very few Merchant-men come thither.

For what should they bring thither, unless it were Iron, or else Gold and Silver, which they had rather carry home again? Also such Things as are to be carried out of their Land, they think it more Wisdom to carry that Gear forth themselves, than that others should come thither to fetch it, to the Intent they may the better know the Out-lands on every Side of them, and keep in Use the Feat and Knowledge of Sailing.

Of Bondmen, sick Persons, Wedlock, and divers other Matters.

THEY neither make Bondmen of Prisoners taken in Battle, unless it be in Battle that they fought themselves, nor of Bondmen's Children; nor, to be short, of any such as they can get out of foreign Countries, tho' he were yet there a Bondman: But either such as among themselves for heinous Offences be punished with Bondage, or else such as in the Cities of other Lands for great Trespases be condemned 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 Gramercy. These Sorts of Bondmen they keep not only in continual Work and Labour, but also in Bonds. But their own Men they handle hardest, whom they judge more desperate, and to have deserved greater Punishment, because they, being so godly brought up to Virtue in so excellent a Common-Wealth, could not for all that be refrained from Mifdoing. Another Kind of

Bondmen they have, when a vile Drudge, being a poor Labourer in another Country, doth chuse of his own free Will to be a Bondman among them. These they treat and order honestly, and entertain almost as gently as their own free Citizens, saving that they put them to a little more Labour, as thereto accustomed. If any such be disposed to depart thence (which seldom is seen) they neither hold him against his Will, nor send him away with empty Hands. The Sick, as I said, they see to with great Affection, and let nothing at all pass, concerning either Physick or good Diet, whereby they may be restored again to their Health. Such as be sick of incurable Diseases, they comfort with sitting by them, and, to be short, with all Manner of Helps that may be. But if the Disease be not only incurable, but also full of continual Pain and Anguish, then the Priests and Magistrates exhort the Man, seeing he is not able to do any Duty of Life, and, by overliving, his own Life is noisome and irksome to others and grievous to himself, that he will determine with himself no longer to cherish that pestilent and painful Disease. And seeing his Life is to him but a Torment, that he will not be unwilling to die, but rather take a good Hope to him, and either dispatch himself out of that painful Life, as out of a Prison, or a Rack of Torment, or else suffer himself willingly to be rid out of it by another. And in so doing, they tell him, he shall do wisely, seeing by his Death he shall lose no Commodity, but end his Pain. And because in that Act he shall follow the Counsel of the Priests, that is to say, of the Interpreters of God's Will and Pleasure, they shew him that he shall do like a godly and virtuous Man. They that be thus persuaded, finish their Lives willingly, either with Hunger, or else die in their Sleep, without any Feeling of Death. But they cause none such to die against his Will, nor they use no less Diligence and Attendance about him, believing this to be an honourable Death. Else he that killeth himself before that the Priests and the Council have allowed the Cause of his Death, him, as unworthy either to be buried,

ried, or with Fire to be consumed, they cast unburied into some stinking Marsh.

A Woman is not married before she be eighteen Years old. The Man is four Years elder before he marry. If either the Man or the Woman be proved to have actually offended before their Marriage with another, the Party that so hath trespassed, is sharply punished. And both the Offenders be forbidden ever after in all their Life to marry; unless the Fault be forgiven by the Prince's Pardon: Both the Good-man and Good-wife of the House, where that Offence was committed, as being slack and negligent in looking to their Charge, be in Danger of great Reproach and Infamy. That Offence is so sharply punished, because they perceive, that unless they be diligently kept from the Liberty of this Vice, few will join together in the Love of Marriage, wherein all the Life must be led with one, and also all the Grievs and Displeasures coming therewith, patiently be taken and borne. Furthermore, in chusing Wives and Husbands, they observe earnestly and straitly a Custom, which seemed to us very fond and foolish. For a sad and honest Matron sheweth the Woman, be she Maid or Widow, naked to the Woer. And likewise a sage and discreet Man exhibiteth the Woer naked to the Woman. At this Custom we laughed, and disallowed it as foolish. But they, on the other Part, do greatly wonder at the Folly of all other Nations, which in buying a Colt, where a little Money is in Hazard, be so chary and circumspect, that tho' he be almost all bare, yet they will not buy him, unless the Saddle and all the Harnes be taken off, lest 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 heedless, that all the Residue of the Woman's Body being covered with Cloath, they esteem her scarcely by one Hand's Breadth (for they can see no more but her Face) and so to join her to them not without great Jeopardy of evil 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 virtuous Condition of the Party. And the Endowments of the Body cause the Virtues of the Mind more to be esteemed and regarded; yea, even the Marriages of wise Men. Verily, so foul Deformities may be hid under those Coverings, that it may quite alienate and take away the Man's Mind from his Wife, when it shall not be lawful for their Bodies to be separated again. 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 beforehand.

And this were they constrained more earnestly to look upon, because they only of the Nations in that Part of the World be content every Man with one Wife a Piece. And Matrimony is there never broken but by Death; except Adultery break the Bond, or else the intollerable wayward Manners of either Party. For if either of them find themselves for any such Cause grieved, they may, by the Licence of the Council, change and take another: But the other Party liveth ever after in Infamy, and out of Wedlock. Howbeit, the Husband to put away his Wife for no other Fault but that some Mishap is fallen to her Body, this by no means they will suffer: For they judge it a great Point of Cruelty, that any body in their most Need of Help and Comfort, should be cast off and forsaken; and that old Age, which both bringeth Sickness with it, and is a Sickness itself, should unkindly and unfaithfully be dealt withal. But now and then it chanceth, whereas the Man and Woman cannot well agree between themselves, both of them finding others with whom they hope to live more quietly and merrily; that they, by the full Consent of them both, be divorced asunder, and married again to others, But that not without the Authority of the Council:
Which

Which agreeth to no Divorces, before they and their Wives have diligently tried and examined the Matter. Yea, and then also they be loath to consent to it, because they know this is the next Way to break Love between Man and Wife, to be in easy Hope of a new Marriage. Breakers of Wedlock be punished with most grievous Bondage. And if both the Offenders were married, then the Parties which in that Behalf have suffered Wrong, being divorced from the Adulterers, be married together, if they will, or else to whom they list. But if either of them both do still continue in Love toward so unkind a Bed-Fellow, the Use of Wedlock is not to them forbidden, if the Party faultless be disposed to follow in toiling and Drudgery the Person which for that Offence is condemned to Bondage. And very oft it chanceth, that the Repentance of the one, and the earnest Diligence of the other, doth so move the Prince with Pity and Compassion, that he restoreth the Bond-Person from Servitude to Liberty and Freedom again. But if the same Party be taken after in that Fault, there is no other Way but Death. To other Trespases no pre-script Punishment is appointed by any Law. But according to the Heinousness of the Offence, or contrarywise, so the Punishment is moderated by the Discretion of the Council. The Husbands chastise their Wives, and the Parents their Children, unless they have done any so horrible Offence, that the open Punishment thereof maketh much for the Advancement of honest Manners.

But most commonly the most heinous Faults be punished with the Incommodity of Bondage. For that they suppose to be to the Offenders no less Grief, and to the Common-Wealth more Profit, than if they should hastily put them to Death, and so make them quite out of the Way. For there cometh more Profit of their Labour than of their Death, and by their Example they frighten others the longer from like Offences. But if they, being thus used, do rebel and kick again, then, forsooth, they be slain as desperate and wild Beasts, whom neither
Prison

Prison nor Chain could restrain and keep under. But they, which take their Bondage patiently, be not left all hopeles. For after they have been broken and tamed with long Miseries, if then they shew such Repentance as thereby it may be perceived that they be more sorry for their Offence than for their Punishment, sometimes by the Prince's Prerogative, and sometimes by the Voice or else Consent of the People, their Bondage either is mitigated, or clean released and forgiven. He that moveth to Adultery, is in no less Danger and Jeopardy, than if he had committed Adultery indeed. For in all Offences they count the Intent and pretended Purpose as evil as the Act or Deed itself, thinking that no Let ought to excuse him, that did his best to have no Let. They have singular Delight and Pleasure in Fools. And as it is a great Reproach to do any of them Hurt or Injury, so they prohibit not to take Pleasure in Foolishness. For that, they think, doth much Good to the Fools. And if any Man be so sad and stern, that he cannot laugh neither at their Words nor Deeds, none of them be committed to his Tuition, for Fear lest he would not treat them gently and favourably enough, to whom they should bring no Delectation (for other Goodness in them is none) much less any Profit should they yield him. To mock a Man for his Deformity, or that he lacketh one Part or Limb of his Body, is counted great Dishonesty and Reproach, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which unwisely doth imbraid any Man of that as a Vice that was not in his Power to eschew; also as they count and reckon very little Wit to be in him that regardeth not natural Beauty and Comliness, so to help the same with Paintings, is taken for a vain and wanton Pride, not without great Infamy. For they know even by very Experience, that no Comliness of Beauty doth so highly commend and advance the Wives in the Conceits of their Husbands, as honest Conditions and Lowliness: For as Love is oftentimes won with Beauty, so it is not kept, preserved and continued, but by Virtue and Obedience.

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They do not only frighten their People from doing Evil, by Punishments, but also allure them to Virtue, with Rewards of Honour. Therefore they set up in the Market-place the Images of notable Men, and of such as have been bountiful Benefactors to the Commonwealth, for the perpetual Memory of their good Acts; and also that the Glory and Renown of their Ancestors may stir and provoke their Posterity to Virtue. He that inordinately and ambitiously desireth Promotions, is left hopeless for ever of attaining any Promotion as long as he liveth. They live together lovingly: For no Magistrate is either haughty or fearful. Fathers they be called, and like Fathers they use themselves. The Citizens (as it is their Duty) willingly exhibit unto them due Honour, without any Compulsion. Nor the Prince himself is not known from the others by princely Apparel, or a Robe of State, nor by a Crown, or Diadem royal, or Cap of Maintenance, but by a little Sheaf of Corn carried before him. And so a Taper of Wax is borne before the Bishop, whereby only he is known. They have but few Laws. For to People to instruct and institute, very few do suffice. Yea, this Thing they chiefly reprove among other Actions, that innumerable Books of Laws, and Expositions upon the same, be not sufficient. But they think it against all Right and Justice, that Men should be bound to those Laws, which either be in Number more than may be read, or else blinder and darker than that any Man can understand them. Furthermore, they utterly exclude and banish all Attornies, Proctors and Serjeants at the Law, which craftily handle Matters, and subtilly dispute of the Laws. For they think it most meet that every Man should plead his own Matter, and tell the same Tale to the Judge that he would tell to his Man of Law. So shall there be less Circumstance of Words, and the Truth shall sooner come to Light, whilst the Judge, with a discreet Judgment, doth weigh the Words of him whom no Lawyer hath instructed with Deceit, and whilst he heareth out simple Wits against the false and malicious Circum-

Circumventions of crafty Children. This is hard to be observed in other Countries, in so infinite a Number of blind and intricate Laws. But in *Utopia* every Man is a cunning Lawyer. For, as I said, they have very few Laws; and the plainer and grosser that any Interpretation is, that they allow as most just. For all Laws, say they, be made and published only to the Intent, that by them every Man shall be put in Remembrance of his Duty. But the crafty and subtle Interpretation of them (forasmuch as few can attain thereto) can put very few in that Remembrance, whereas the simple, the plain, and gross Meaning of the Laws is open to every Man. Else, as touching the vulgar Sort of the People, which be both most in Number, and have most Need to know their Duties, were it not as good for them, that no Law were made at all, as when it is made to bring so blind an Interpretation upon it, that, without great Wit and long Arguing, no Man can discuss it? To the finding out whereof, neither the gross Judgment of the People can attain, neither the whole Life of them that be occupied in working for their Livings, can suffice thereto. These Virtues of the *Utopians* have caused their next Neighbours and Borderers, which live free and under no Subjection (for the *Utopians* long ago have delivered many of them from Tyranny) to make Magistrates of them, some for a Year, and some for five Years Space. Which, when the Time of their Office is expired, they bring home again with Honour and Praise, and take new ones again with them into their Country.

These Nations have undoubtedly very well and wholesomly provided for their Common-Wealths. For seeing that both the Making and the Marring of the Weal Publick, doth depend and hang upon the Manners of the Rulers and Magistrates, what Officers could they more wisely have chosen than those which cannot be led from Honesty by Bribes (for to them that shortly after shall depart thence into their own Country, Money should be unprofitable) nor yet be moved either with Favour or Malice towards any Man, as being Strangers,
and

and unacquainted with the People? The which two Vices of Affection and Avarice, where they take Place in Judgments, incontinently they break Justice, the strongest and surest Bond of a Common-Wealth. These People, which fetch their Officers and Rulers from them, the *Utopians* call their Fellows. And others, to whom they have been beneficial, they call their Friends. As touching Leagues, which in other Places, between 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 tho' Nature had not set sufficient Love between Man and Man. And who so regardeth not Nature, think you that he will pass for Words? They be brought into this Opinion chiefly, because that in those Parts of the World Leagues between Princes be wont to be kept and observed very slenderly. For here in *Eurose*, and especially in those Parts where the Faith and Religion of *Christ* reigneth, the Majesty of Leagues is every where esteemed holy and inviolable; partly thro' the Justice and Goodness of Princes, and partly at the Reverence and Motion of the Head-Bishops. Which like as they make no Promise themselves, but they do very religiously perform the same, so they exhort all Princes in anywise to abide by their Promises, and them that refuse or deny so to do, by their pontifical Power and Authority they compel thereto. And surely they think well that it might seem a very reproachful Thing, if in the Leagues of them which by a peculiar Name be called Faithful, Faith should have no Place. But in that new-found Part of the World, which is scarcely so far from us beyond the Line equinoctial, as our Life and Manners be dissident from theirs, no Trust nor Confidence is in Leagues. But the more and holier Ceremony the League is knit up with, the sooner it is broken by some Cavillation found out in the Words, which many times on Purpose be so craftily put in and placed, that the Bond can never be so sure and so strong, but they will find some Hole open to creep out at, and to break both

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League

League 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 Bargains and Contracts, they would incontinently cry out at it with an open Mouth, and a frowne Countenance, as an Offence most detestable, and worthy to be punished with a shameful Death; yea, even the very Men that advance themselves Authors of like Counsel, and give it to Princes. Wherefore it may well be thought, either that all Justice is but a base and a low Virtue, and which availeth itself far under the high Dignity of Kings; or, at the least wise, that there be two Kinds of Justice, the one meet for the inferior Sort of the People, going on Foot and creeping low by the Ground, and bound down on every Side with many Bands, because it shall not run at Rovers. The other a princely Virtue, which, like as it is of much higher Majesty than the other poor Justice, so also it is of much more Liberty, as to the which nothing is unlawful that it listeth after. These Manners of Princes, as I said, which be there so evil Keepers of Leagues, cause the *Utopians*, as I suppose, to make no Leagues at all, which perchance would change their Mind, if they lived here. Howbeit, they think that tho' Leagues be never so faithfully observed and kept, yet the Custom of making Leagues was very evilly begun. For this causeth Men (as tho' Nations which be separate asunder by the Space of a little Hill, or River, were coupled together by no Society or Bond of Nature) to think themselves born Adversaries and Enemies one to another, and that it were lawful for the one to seek the Death and Destruction of the other, if Leagues were not; yea, and that after the Leagues be accorded, Friendship doth not grow and increase: But the Licence of Robbing and Stealing doth still remain, as far forth as for Lack of Foresight and Advise-ment in the Words of the League, any Sentence or Clause 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.

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 than by Covenants of Leagues; by hearty Affection of Mind than by Words.

Of Warfare.

WAR, or Battle, as a Thing very beastly, and yet to no Kind of Beasts in so much Use as to Man, they do detest and abhor. And, contrary to the Custom almost of all other Nations, they count nothing so much against Glory, as Glory gotten in War. And therefore, tho' they do daily practise and exercise themselves in the Discipline of War, not only the Men, but also the Women upon certain appointed Days, lest they should be not at all acquainted with the Feat of Arms, if Need should require; yet they never go to Battle, but either in the Defence of their own Country, or to drive out of their Friends Land the Enemies that have invaded it, or by their Power to deliver from the Yoke and Bondage of Tyranny some People that be therewith oppressed. Which Thing they do of mere Pity and Compassion. Howbeit, they send Help to their Friends, not ever in their Defence, but sometimes also to requite and revenge Injuries before to them done. But this they do not unless their Counsel and Advice in the Matter be asked, whilst it is yet new and fresh. For if they find the Cause probable, and if the contrary Part will not restore again such Things as be of them justly demanded, then they be the chief Authors and Makers of the War. Which they do not only as oft as by Inrodes and Invasions of Soldiers Preys and Booties be driven, but then also much more mortally, when their Friends Merchants in any Land, either under the Pretence of unjust Laws, or else by the wresting and wrong Understanding of good Laws, do sustain an unjust Accusation under the Colour of Justice. Neither the Battle

which the *Utopians* fought for the *Nepheletes* against the *Alaopolitans*, a little before our Time, was made for any other Cause, but that the *Nephelete* Merchant-men, as the *Utopians* thought, suffered wrong of the *Alaopolitans*, under the Pretence of right. But whether it were right or wrong, it was with so cruel and mortal War revenged, the Countries round about joining their Help and Power to the Puissance and Malice of both Parties, that most flourishing and wealthy Peoples, being some of them shrewdly shaken, and some of them sharply beaten, the Mischiefs were not finished nor ended until the *Alaopolitans* at the last were yielded up as Bondmen into the Jurisdiction of the *Nepheletes*. For the *Utopians* fought not this War for themselves. And yet the *Nepheletes*, before the War, when the *Alaopolitans* flourished in Wealth, were nothing to be compared with them. So eagerly the *Utopians* prosecute the Injuries done to their Friends: Yea, in Money Matters, and not their own, likewise. For if they, by Covin or Guile, be wiped beside their Goods, so that no Violence be done to their Bodies, they ease their Anger by abstaining from occupying with that Nation, until they have made Satisfaction. Not because they set less Store by their own Citizens than by their Friends, but that they take the Loss of their Friends Money more heavily than the Loss of their own. Because that their Friends Merchant-men, forasmuch as that the Loss is their own private Goods, sustain great Damage by the Loss; but their own Citizens lose nothing but of the common Goods, and of that which was at home plentiful and almost superfluous, else had it not been sent forth: Therefore no Man feeleth the Loss. And for this Cause they think it too cruel an Act to revenge the Loss with the Death of Man, the Incommodity of the which Loss 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 maimed or killed, whether it be done by a common or a private Council, knowing and trying out the Truth of the Matter by their Ambassadors, unless the Offenders be

be rendered unto them in Recompence of the Injury, they will not be appeas'd; but incontinently they proclaim War against them. The Offenders yielded, they punish them either with Death, or with Bondage. They be not only sorry, but also ashamed to atchieve the Victory with Blood-shed, counting it great Folly to buy precious Wars too dear. They rejoyce and avant themselves, if they vanquish and oppress their Enemy by Craft and Deceit: And for that Act they make a general Triumph, and, as if the Matter were manfully handled, they set up a Pillar of Stone in the Place where they so vanquished their Enemies, in Token of their Victory. For then they glory, then they boast and crack, that they have played the Man indeed, when they have so overcome as no other living Creature but only Man could; that is to say, by the Might and Puissance of Wit. For with bodily Strength, say they, Bears, Lions, Boars, Wolves, Dogs, and other wild Beasts do fight. And as the most Part of them do pass us in Strength and fierce Courage, so in Wit and Reason we be much stronger than they all. Their chief and principal Purpose in War is to obtain that Thing which if they had before obtained, they would not have moved Battle. But if that be not possible, they take such cruel Vengeance of them which be in the Fault, that ever after they be afraid to do the like.

This is their chief and principal Intent, which they immediately and first of all prosecute and set forward. But yet so, that they be more circumspect in avoiding and eschewing Jeopardies, than they be desirous of Praise and Renown. Therefore immediately after that War is once solemnly denounced, they procure many Proclamations, signed with their own common Seal, to be set up 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 less Gifts (but them very great also) for every Head of them whose Names be in the said Proclamations contained. They be those whom they count
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Their chief Adversaries 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 unto them, taking their Parts, they proffer the same great Rewards, with Pardon and Surety of their Lives. Therefore it quickly cometh to pass, that their Enemies have all other Men in Suspicion, and be unthankful and mistrusting among themselves one to another, living in great Fear, and in no less Jeopardy. For it is well known, that divers times the most Part of them, and specially the Prince himself, hath been betrayed of them, in whom they put their most Hope and Trust. So there is no Manner of Act nor Deed that Gifts and Rewards do not inforce unto. And in Rewards they keep no Measure: But remembering and considering into how great Hazard and Jeopardy they call them, endeavour themselves to recompense the Greatness of the Danger with like great Benefits. And therefore they promise not only wonderful great Abundance of Gold, but also Lands of great Revenues lying in most safe Places among their Friends. And their Promises they perform faithfully, without any Fraud or Covin.

This Custom of buying and selling Adversaries, among other People is disallowed, as a cruel Act of a base and cowardish Mind: But they in this Behalf think themselves much Praise worthy, as who likewise, as Men, by this Means dispatch great Wars without Battle or Skirmish. Yea, they count it also a Deed of Pity and Mercy, because that by the Death of a few Offenders the Lives of a great Number of Innocents, as well of their own Men, as also of their Enemies, be ransomed and saved, which in fighting should have been slain. For they do no less pity the base and common Sort of their Enemies People than they do their own; knowing that they be driven and forced to Wars against their Wills, by the furious Madness of their Princes and Heads. If by none of these Means the Matter go forward,

ward, as they would have it, then they procure Occasions of Debate, and Dissensions to be spread among their Enemies: As by bringing the Prince's Brother, or some of the Noblemen, in Hope to obtain the Kingdom. If this Way prevail not, then they raise up the People that be next Neighbours and Borderers to be their Enemies, and them they set in their Necks, under the Colour of some old Title of Right, such as Kings do never lack. To them they promise their Help and Aid in their War. And as for Money they give them Abundance. But of their own Citizens they send them few or none; whom they make so much of, and love so entirely, that they would not be willing to change any of them for their Adversary's Prince. But their Gold and Silver, because they keep it all for this only Purpose, they lay it out frankly and freely; as who should live even as wealthily, if they had bestowed it every Penny. Yea, and besides their Riches, which they keep at home, they have also an infinite Treasure abroad, by reason, that, as I said before, many Nations be in their Debt. Therefore they hire Soldiers out of all Countries, and send them to Battle, but chiefly of the *Zapolets*. This People is five hundred Miles from *Utopia* Eastward: They be hideous, savage and fierce, dwelling in wild Woods and high Mountains, where they were bred and brought up. They be of an hard Nature, able to abide and sustain Heat, Cold, and Labour, abhorring from all delicate Dainties, occupying no Husbandry nor Tillage of the Ground, homely and rude both in building of their Houses and in their Apparel, given unto no Goodness, but only to the Breeding and Bringing-up of Cattle. The most Part of their Living is by Hunting and Stealing. They be born only to War, which they diligently and earnestly seek for. And when they have gotten it, they be wondrous glad thereof. They go forth out of their Country in great Companies together, and whosoever lacketh Soldiers, there they proffer their Service for small Wages. This is only the Craft they have to get their Living by. They
maintain

maintain 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 certain Time. But upon this Condition they enter into Bonds, that the next Day they will take Part with the other Side for greater Wages, and the Day after that they will be ready to come back again for a little more Money. There be few Wars there away, wherein is not a great Number of them in both Parties. Therefore it daily chanceth, that nigh Kinsfolk which were hired together on one Part, and there very friendly and familiarly used themselves one with another, shortly after being separate into contrary Parts, run one against another enviously and fiercely; and forgetting both Kindred and Friendship, thrust their Swords into one another: And that for none other Cause, but that they be hired for contrary Princes for a little Money. Which they do so highly regard and esteem, that they will easily be provoked to change Parts for a Half-penny more Wages by the Day. So quickly they have taken a Smack in Covetousness. Which for all that is to them no Profit. For what they get by Fighting immediately they spend needless, unthriftilly and wretchedly in Riot.

This People fighteth for the *Utopians* against all Nations, because they give them greater Wages than any other Nation. For the *Utopians*, like as they seek good Men to use well, so they seek these evil and vicious Men to abuse. Whom, when Need requireth, with Promises of great Rewards, they put forth into great Jeopardies. From whence the most Part of them never cometh again to ask their Rewards. But to them that remain alive, they pay that which they promised, faithfully, that they may be the more willing to put themselves in like Danger another Time. For the *Utopians* pass not how many of them they bring to Destruction. For they believe that they should do a very good Deed for all Mankind, if they could rid out of the World all that foul stinking Den of that most wicked and cursed People. Next unto these, they use the Soldiers of them for whom they
fight;

fight; and then the Help of their other Friends. And last of all, they join to their own Citizens. Among whom they give to one of tried Virtue and Powers, the Rule, Governance, and Conduction of the whole Army. Under him they appoint two others, which, whilst he is safe, be both private and out of Office. But if he be taken or slain, the one of the other succeedeth him, as it were by Inheritance. And if the second miscarry, then the third taketh his Room, lest that (as the Chance of Battle is uncertain and doubtful) the Jeopardy of Death of the Captain should bring the whole Army in Hazard. They chuse Soldiers out of every City, those which put forth themselves willingly. For they thrust no Man forth into War against his Will; because they believe, if any Man be fearful and faint-hearted of Nature, he will not only do no manful and hardy Act himself, but also be Occasion of Cowardness to his Fellows. But if any Battle be made against their own Country, then they put these Cowards (so that they be strong-bodied) in Ships among other bold-hearted Men. Or else they dispose them upon the Walls, from whence they may not fly. Thus, what for Shame that their Enemies be at hand, and what for being without Hope of running away, they forget all Fear: And many times extrem Necessity turneth Cowardness into Prowess and Manliness. But as none of them is thrust forth of his Country into War against his Will, so Women that be willing to accompany their Husbands in Time of War, be not prohibited or letted. Yea, they provoke and exhort them to it with Praises. And in set Field the Wives do stand every one by their own Husbands Side. Also every Man is compassed next about with his own Children, Kinsfolk, and Alliance, that they whom Nature chiefly moveth to mutual Succour, thus standing together, may help one another. It is a great Reproach and Dishonesty for the Husband to come home without his Wife, or the Wife without her Husband, or the Son without his Father. And therefore if the other Part stick so hard by it, that the Battle come to their Hands, it is

fought with great Slaughter and Blood-shed, even to the utter Destruction of both Parties. For as they make all the Means and Shifts that may be, to keep themselves from the Necessity of Fighting, or that they may dispatch the Battle by their hired Soldiers, so when there is no Remedy but that they must needs fight themselves, then they do as couragiously fall to it, as before, whilst 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 increaseth, with so stubborn and obstinate Minds, that they will rather die than give back an Inch. For that Surety of Living which every Man hath at home, being joined with no careful Anxiety or Remembrance how their Posterity shall live after them (for this Pensiveness oftentimes breaketh and abateth couragious Stomachs) making them stout and hardy, and disdainful to be conquered. Moreover, their Knowledge in Chivalry and Feats of Arms putteth them in good Hope. Finally, the wholesome and virtuous Opinions wherein they were brought up, even from their Childhood, partly through Learning, and partly through the good Ordinances and Laws of their Weal Publick, augment and increase their manful Courage. By reason whereof they neither set so little Store by their Lives, that they will rashly and unadvisedly cast them away; nor they be not so far in lewd and fond Love therewith, that they will shamefully covet to keep them, when Honesty biddeth to leave them. When the Battle is hottest, and in all Places most fierce and fervent, a Band of chosen and picked young Men, which be sworn to live and die together, take upon them to destroy their Adversaries Captain. Whom they invade now with privy Wiles, now by open Strength. At him they strike both near and far off. He is assailed with a long and continual Assault, fresh Men still coming in the wearied Mens Places. And seldom it chanceth (unless he save himself by flying) that he is not either slain or else taken Prisoner, and yielded to his Enemies alive. If they win the Field, they persecute

secute not their Enemies with the violent Rage of Slaughter. For they had rather take them alive, than kill them. Neither do they follow the Chace and Pursuit of their Enemies, but they leave behind them one Part of their Host in Battle array, under their Standards: Infomuch, that if all their whole Army be discomfited and overcome, saving the Rear-Ward, they have therewith atchieved the Victory; and they had rather let all their Enemies scape, than to follow them out of Array. For they remember it hath chanced unto them more than once, the whole Power and Strength of their Host being vanquished and put to Flight, whilst their Enemies, rejoicing in the Victory, have pursued them, flying, some one Way and some another, a small Company of their Men lying in Ambush, there ready at all Occasions, have suddenly risen upon them, thus dispersed and scattered out of Array, and, through Presumption of Safety, unadvisedly pursuing the Chace, and have incontinently changed the Fortune of the whole Battle, and, in Spite of their Teeth, wresting out of their Hands the sure and undoubted Victory, being a little before conquered, have for their Part conquered the Conquerors. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in laying an Ambush, or wittier in avoiding the same. You would think they intend to fly when they mean nothing less. And contrary-wise, when they go about that Purpose, you would believe 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 Camp, either in the Night Season with Silence, or by some Policy they deceive their Enemies, or in the Day Time they retire back so softly, that it is no less Jeopardy to meddle with them when they give back, than when they press on. They fence and fortify their Camp surely with a deep and broad Trench: The Earth thereof is cast inward. Nor they do not set Drudges and Slaves to Work about it. It is done by the Hands of the Soldiers themselves. All the whole Army worketh upon it, except them that keep Watch

and Ward in Armour before the Trench for sudden Adventures. Therefore, by the Labour of so many, a large Trench, closing in a great Compass of Ground, is made in less Time than any Man would believe. Their Armour, or Harness, which they wear, is sure and strong to receive Strokes, and handsome for all Movings and Gestures of the Body, insomuch that it is not unweildy to swim in. For in the Discipline of their Warfare, among other Feats, they learn to swim in Harness. Their Weapons be Arrows aloof, which they shoot both strongly and surely, not only Footmen, but also Horsemen. At Hand-strokes they use not Swords, but Poll-axes, which be mortal, as well in Sharpness as in Weight, both for Foins and Down-strokes. Engines for War they devise and invent wondrous wittily. Which when they be made they keep very secret, lest if they should be known before Need require, they should be but laughed at, and serve to no Purpose. But in making them, hereunto they have chief Respect, that they be both easy to be carried, and handsome to be moved and turned about. Truce taken with their Enemies for a short Time, they do so firmly and faithfully keep, that they will not break it, no, not though they be thereunto provoked. They do not waste nor destroy their Enemies Land with Foragings, nor they burn nor up their Corn. Yea, they save it as much as may be from being over-run and trodden down, either with Men or Horses, thinking that it groweth for their own Use and Profit. They hurt no Man that is unarmed, unless he be an Espial. All Cities that be yielded unto them, they defend. And such as they win by Force of Assault, they neither dispoil nor sack, but them that withstood and dissuaded the Yielding-up of the same, they put to Death, the other Soldiers they punish with Bondage. All the weak Multitude they leave untouched. If they know that any Citizens counselled to yield and render up the City, to them they give Part of the condemned Men's Goods. The Residue they distribute and give freely among them whose Help they had in
the

the same War. For none of themselves taketh any Portion of the Prey. But when the Battle is finished and ended, they put their Friends to never a Penny Cost of all the Charges that they were at, but lay it upon their Necks that be conquered. Then they burthen with the whole Charge of their Expences, which they demand of them, partly in Money, to be kept for like Use of Battle, and partly in Lands of great Revenues, to be paid unto them yearly for ever. Such Revenues they have now in many Countries. Which by little and little rising of divers and sundry Causes, be increased above seven hundred thousand Ducats by the Year. Thither they send forth some of their Citizens as Lieutenants, to live there sumptuously, like Men of Honour and Renown. And yet this notwithstanding, much Money is saved, which cometh to the common Treasury; unless it so chance, that they had rather trust the Country with the Money (which many times they do) so long, until they have Need to occupy it. And it seldom happeneth that they demand all. Of these Lands they assign Part unto them which, at their Request and Exhortation, put themselves in such Jeopardies as I spake of before. If any Prince stir up War against them, intending to invade their Land, they meet him incontinently out of their own Borders with great Power and Strength. For they never lightly make War in their own Country. Nor they be never brought into so extream Necessity as to take Help out of foreign Lands into their own Island.

Of the Religions in Utopia.

TH E R E be divers Kinds of Religion, not only in sundry Parts of the Island, but also in divers Places of every City. Some worship, for God, the Sun; some the Moon; others the Planets. There be that give Worship to a Man that was once of excellent Virtue, or of famous Glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefest and highest GOD. But the most and the wisest Part,

Part, rejecting all these, believe, that there is a certain godly Power unknown, everlasting, incomprehensible, inexplicable, far above the Capacity and Reach of Man's Wit, dispersed throughout all the whole World, not in Bigness, but in Virtue and Power. Him they call the Father of All. To him alone they attribute the Beginnings, the Increasing, the Proceedings, the Changes, and the Ends of all Things. Neither do they give any divine Honours to any other than to him. Yea, all the others also, though they be in divers Opinions, yet in this Point they agree all together with the wisest Sort, in believing that there is one principal GOD, the Maker and Ruler of the whole World; whom they all commonly in their Country-Language call *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 chief God, thinketh it to be of the very same Nature to whose only divine Might and Majesty the Sum and Sovereignty of all Things, by the Consent of all People, is attributed and given. Howbeit, they all begin by little and little to forsake and fall from this Variety of Superstitions, and to agree together in that Religion which seemeth by Reason to pass and excel the Residue. And it is not to be doubted but all the others would long ago have been abolished; but that whatsoever unprosperous Thing happened to any of them, as he was minded to change his Religion, the Fearfulness of the People did take it, not as a Thing coming by chance, but as sent from GOD out of Heaven. As tho' the God whose Honour he was forsaking, would have revenged that wicked Purpose against him. But after they had heard us speak of the Name of *Christ*, of his Doctrine, Laws, Miracles, and of the no less wonderful Constancy of so many Martyrs, whose Blood willingly shed brought a great Number of Nations, throughout all Parts of the World, into their Sect; you will not believe with how glad Minds they agreed unto the same: Whether it were by the secret Inspiration of God, or else for that they thought it
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nighest unto that Opinion which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit, I think this was no small Help and Furtherance in the Matter, that they heard us say, that *Christ* institutes among His all Things common; and that the same Community doth yet remain among the rightest *Christian* Companies. Verily, howsoever it came to pass, many of them consented together in our Religion, and were washed in the holy Water of Baptism. But because among us four (for no more of us were left alive, two of our Company being dead) there was no Priest, which I am right sorry for; they being entered and instructed in all other Points of our Religion, lack only those Sacraments which none but Priests do minister. Howbeit, they understand and perceive them, and be very desirous of the same. Yea, they reason and dispute the Matter earnestly among themselves, whether without the Sending of a *Christian* Bishop, one chosen out of their own People, may receive the Order of Priesthood. And truly they were minded to chuse one: But at my Departure thence they had chosen none.

They also which do not agree to *Christ's* Religion, fright no Man from it, nor speak against any Man that hath received it: Saving that one of our Company, in my Presence, was sharply punished. He, as soon as he was baptised, began, against our Wills, with more earnest Affection than Wisdom, to reason of *Christ's* Religion; and began to be so hot in this Matter, that he did not only prefer our Religion before all other, but also did utterly despise and condemn all others, 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 of him, accused him, and condemned him into Exile, not as a Despiser of Religion, but as a seditious Person, and a Raiser-up of Dissention among the People. For this is one of the ancientest Laws among them, that no Man shall be blamed for reasoning in the Maintenance of his own Religion. For King *Utopus*, even at the first Beginning, hearing that the Inhabitants of the Land were

were before his coming thither at continual Dissention and Strife among themselves for their Religions; perceiving also, that this common Dissention (whilst every severall Sect took severall Parts in fighting for their Country) was the only Occasion of his Conquest over them all; as soon as he had gotten the Victory, first of all he made a Decree, that it should be lawful for every Man to favour and follow what Religion he would, and that he might do the best he could to bring others to his Opinion, so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly, and soberly, without hasty and contentious Rebuking and Inveighing against others. If he could not by fair and gentle Speech induce them unto his Opinion, yet he should use no Kind of Violence, and refrain from displeasing and seditious Words. To him that would vehemently and fervently in this Cause strive and contend, was decreed Banishment or Bondage. This Law did King *Utopus* make, not only for the Maintenance of Peace, which he saw, through continual Contention and mortal Hatred, utterly extinguished; but also, because he thought this Decree should make for the Furtherance of Religion. Whereof he durst define and determine nothing unadvisedly, as doubting whether God, desiring manifold and divers Sorts of Honour, would inspire sundry Men with sundry Kinds of Religion. And this surely he thought a very unmeet and foolish Thing, and a Point of arrogant Presumption, to compel all others by Violence and Threatnings to agree to the same that thou believest to be true. Furthermore, tho' there be one Religion which alone is true, and all others vain and superstitious, yet did he well foresee (so that the Matter were handled with Reason and sober Modesty) that the Truth of the One Power would at the last issue out and come to Light. But if Contention and Debate in that Behalf should continually be used, as the worst Men be most obstinate and stubborn, and in their evil Opinion most constant; he perceived that then the best and holiest Religion would be trodden under Foot, and destroyed by most vain Superstitions, even as good Corn is
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by Thorns and Weeds overgrown and choked. Therefore all this Matter he left undiscussed, and gave to every Man free Liberty and Choice to believe what he would: Saving that he earnestly and straitly charged them, that no Man should conceive so vile and base an Opinion of the Dignity of Man's Nature, as to think that the Souls do die and perish with the Bodies; or that the World runneth at all Adventures, governed by no Divine Providence. And therefore they believe that after this Life Vices be extreemly punished, and Virtues 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 Soul to the Vileness of brute Beasts Bodies; much less in the Number of the Citizens: Whose Laws and Ordinances, if it were not for Fear, he would nothing at all esteem. For you may be sure, that he will study, either with Craft privily to mock, or else violently to break the common Laws of his Country, in whom remaineth no further Fear than of the Laws, nor no further Hope than of the Body. Wherefore, he that is thus minded, is deprived of all Honours, excluded from all Offices, and rejected from all common Administrations in the Weal Publick.

And thus he is of all Sorts despised, as of an unprofitable, and of a base and vile Nature. Howbeit, they put him to no Punishment, because they be persuaded that it is in no Man's Power to believe what he list. No, nor they constrain him not with Threatnings to dissemble his Mind, and shew Countenance contrary to his Thought. For Deceit and Falshood, and all Manner of Lies, as next unto Fraud, they do marvelously reject and abhor. But they suffer him not to dispute in his Opinion, and that only among the common People. For else apart, among the Priests and Men of Gravity, they do not only suffer, but also exhort him to dispute and argue, hoping that at the last that Madnes will give Place to Reason. There be also others, and of them no small Number, which be not bidden to speak their Minds, as grounding their Opinion upon some Reason; being in

their Living neither evil nor vicious. Their Heresy is much contrary to the others: For they believe that the Souls of the brute Beasts be immortal and everlasting; but nothing to be compared with the others in Dignity, neither ordained and predestinated to like Felicity. For all they believe certainly and surely, that Man's Bliss shall be so great, that they do mourn and lament every Man's Sicknes, but no Man's Death, unless it be on whom they see depart from his Life carefully, and against his Will. For this they take for a very ill Token, as tho' the Soul being in Despair, and vexed in Conscience, thro' some privy and secret Forefeeling of the Punishment now at hand, were afraid to depart. And they think he shall not be welcome to GOD, which, when he is called, runneth not to him gladly, but is drawn by Force, and fore against his Will. They, therefore, that see this Kind of Death, do abhor it; and them that so die, they bury with Sorrow and Silence. And when they have prayed to GOD to be merciful to the Soul, and merciful to pardon the Infirmities thereof, they cover the dead Corpse with Earth. Contrary-wise, all that depart merrily and full of good Hope, for them no Man mourneth, but followeth the Hearse with joyful Singing, commending the Souls to God with great Affection. And at the last, not with mourning Sorrow, but with a great Reverence, they burn the Bodies. And in the same Place they set up a Pillar of Stone, with the dead Man's Titles therein graved. When they be come home, they rehearse his virtuous Manners and his good Deeds. But no Part of his Life is so oft and gladly talked of, as his merry Death. They think, that this Remembrance of the Virtue and Goodness of the Dead, doth vehemently provoke and inforce the Living to Virtue; and that nothing can be more pleasant and acceptable to the Dead: Whom they suppose to be present among them, when they talk of them, tho' to the dull and feeble Eye-sight of mortal Men they be invisible. For it were an inconvenient Thing that the Blessed should not be at Liberty to go whither they would.

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And it were a Point of great Unkindness in them, to have utterly cast away the Desire of Visiting and Seeing their Friends, to whom they were in their Life-time joined by mutual Love and Amity: Which in good Men after their Death they count to be rather increased than diminished. They believe, therefore, that the Dead be present and conversant among the Quick, as Beholders and Witnesses of all their Words and Deeds. Therefore they go more couragiously to their Business, as having Trust and Confidence in such Overseers. And this Belief of the present Conversation of their Forefathers and Ancestors among them, keepeth them from all secret Dishonesty. They utterly despise and mock Soothsayings and Divinations of Things to come, by the Flight and Voices of Birds, and all other Divination or vain Superstition, which in other Countries be in great Observation. But they highly esteem and worship Miracles that come by no Help of Nature, as Works and Witnesses of the present Power of God. And such, they say, do chance there very often. And sometimes in great and doubtful Matters, by common Intercession and Prayers, they procure and obtain them with a sure Hope and Confidence, and a stedfast Belief.

They think that the Contemplation of Nature, and the Praise thereof coming, is to God a very acceptable Honour; yet there be many so earnestly bent and affected to Religion, that they pass nothing for Learning, nor give their Minds to any Knowledge of Things. But Idleness they utterly forsake and eschew, thinking Felicity after this Life to be gotten and obtained by busy Labour and good Exercises. Some of them, therefore, attend upon the Sick, some mend Highways, cleanse Ditches, repair Bridges, dig Turfs, Gravel, and Stone, fell and cleave Wood, bring Wood, Corn, and other Things, into the Cities in Carts, and serve not only in common Works, but also in private Labours, as Servants; yea, more than Bondmen. For whatsoever unpleasant, hard, and vile Work is any where, from the which Labour, Loathsomness and Desperation doth

fray others, all that they take upon them willingly and gladly, procuring Rest and Quiet to others, whilst they remain in continual Work and Labour themselves, not imbraiding others therewith. They neither reprove other Mens Lives, nor glory in their own. These Men, the more serviceable they behave themselves, the more they be honoured of all Men. Yet they be divided into two Sects. The one of them 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 utterly rejecting the Pleasures of this present Life as hurtful, be wholly set upon the Desire of the Life to come, by Watching, Waiting, and Sweating, hoping shortly to obtain it, and being in the mean Season merry and lusty. The other Sect is no less desirous of Labour; but they embrace Matrimony, not despising the Solace thereof, thinking that they cannot be discharged of their bounden Duties towards Nature, without Labour and Toil, nor towards their native Country, without Procreation of Children: They abstain from no Pleasure that doth not hinder them from Labour: They love the Flesh of four-footed Beasts, because they believe that by the Meat they be made hardy and stronger to work. The *Utopians* count this Sect the wiser, but the other the holier. Which, in that they prefer single Life before Matrimony, and a sharp Life before an easier Life, if herein they grounded upon Reason, they would mock them: But now, forasmuch as they say they be led to it by Religion, they honour and worship them. And these be they whom in their Language, by a peculiar Name, they call *Bruthescas*, the which Word, by Interpretation, signifieth to us, *Men of Religion*, or *Religious Men*. They have Priests of exceeding Holiness, and therefore very few: For there be but thirteen in every City, according to the Number of their Churches, saving when they go forth to Battle. For then seven of them go forth with the Army; in whose Steads so many new ones be made at home. But the others, at their Return home again, re-enter every one in his

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own Place: They that be above the Number, until such Time as they succeed into the Places of the others at their Dying, be in the mean Season continually in Company with the Bishop; for he is the chief Head of them all. They be chosen of the People, as the other Magistrates be, by secret Voices, for the avoiding of Strife.

After their Election they be consecrated of their own Company. They be Overseers of all divine Matters, Orderers of Religions, and as it were Judges and Magistrates of Manners. And it is a great Dishonesty 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 Counsel, so it is the Duty of the Prince and the other Magistrates to correct and punish Offenders, saving that the Priests excommunicate from having any Interest in divine Matters, those whom they find exceeding vicious Livers. And there is almost no Punishment among them more feared. For they run into very great Infamy, and be inwardly tormented with a secret Fear of Religion, and shall not long escape free with their Bodies. For, unless they, by quick Repentance, approve the Amendment of their Lives to the Priests, they be taken and punished of the Council, as wicked and irreligious. Both Childhood and Youth is instructed and taught of them. For they be not more diligent to instruct them in Learning, than in Virtue and good Manners. For they use with very great Endeavour and Diligence to put into the Heads of their Children, whilst they be yet tender and pliant, good Opinions, and profitable for the Conservation of the Weal Publick. Which, when they be once rooted in Children, do remain with them all their Life after, and be wondrous profitable for their Defence and Maintenance of the State of the Common-Weal; which never decayeth but through Vices rising from evil Opinions.

The Priests, unless they be Women (for that Kind is not excluded from Priesthood, howbeit, few be chosen, and none but Widows and old Women) the Men-Priests, I say, take to their Wives the chiefest Women in

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all their Country. For to no Office among the *Utopians* is there more Honour and Pre-eminence given: Inso-much, that if they commit any Offence, they be under no common Judgment, but be left only to God and themselves. For they think it not lawful to touch him with Man's Hands, be he never so vicious, which, after so singular a Sort, was dedicated and consecrated to God, as a holy Offering.

This Manner they may easily observe, because they have so few Priests, and do chuse them with such Circumspection. For it scarcely ever chanceth, that the most Virtuous among Virtuous, which in respect only of his Virtue is advanced to so high a Dignity, can fall to Vice and Wickedness. And if it should chance indeed (as Man's Nature is mutable and frail) yet by reason they be so few, and promoted to no Might nor Power, but only to Honour, it were not to be feared that any great Damage by them should happen and ensue to the Common-Wealth. They have so rare and few Priests, lest if the Honour were communicated to many, the Dignity of the Order, which among them now is so highly esteemed, should run into Contempt. Specially, because they think it hard to find many so good as to be meet for that Dignity, to the Execution and Discharge whereof it is not sufficient to be endued with mean Virtues.

Furthermore, these Priests be not more esteemed of their own Country-men, than they be of foreign and strange Countries. Which Thing may hereby plainly appear; and I think also that this is the Cause of it: For whilst the Armies be fighting together in open Field, they a little beside, not far off, kneel upon their Knees in their hallowed Vestiments, holding up their Hands to Heaven, praying first of all for Peace, next for Victory of their own Part, but to neither Part a bloody Victory. If their Host get the upper Hand, they run into the main Battle, and restrain their own Men from slaying and cruelly pursuing their vanquished Enemies. Which Enemies, if they do but see them, and speak to them, it is enough

enough for the Safe-guard of their Lives. And the Touching of their Cloaths defendeth and saveth all their Goods from Ravin and Spoil. This Thing hath advanced them to so great Worship and true Majesty among all Nations, that many times they have as well preserved their own Citizens from the cruel Force of their Enemies, as they have their Enemies from the furious Rage of their own Men. For it is well known, that when their own Army hath recoiled, and in Despair turned back, and run away, their Enemies fiercely pursuing with Slaughter and Spoil, then the Priests, coming between, have stayed the Murder, and parted both the Hosts: So that Peace hath been made and concluded between both Parties, upon equal and indifferent Conditions. For there was never any Nation so fierce, so cruel, and rude, but they had them in such Reverence, that they counted their Bodies hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violently and unreverently touched.

They keep holy the first and last Day of every Month and Year, dividing the Year into Months, which they measure by the Course of the Moon, as they do the Year by the Course of the Sun. The first Days they call in their Language *Cinimernes*, and the last *Tapermernes*: The which Words may be interpreted, *Primifest*, and *Finifest*; or else in our Speech, *First Feast* and *Last Feast*. Their Churches be very gorgeous, not only of fine and curious Workmanship, but also (which in the Fewness of them was necessary) very wide and large, and able to receive a great Company of People. But they be all somewhat dark. Howbeit, that was not done through Ignorance in Building, but, as they say, by the Counsel of the Priests: Because they thought that overmuch Light doth disperse Mens Cogitations, whereas in dim and doubtful Light they be gathered together, and more earnestly fixed upon Religion and Devotion: Which, because it is not there of one Sort among all Men, and yet all the Kinds and Fashions of it, tho' they be sundry and manifold, agree together in the Honour of Divine Nature,

Nature, as going divers Ways to one End: Therefore nothing is seen or heard in the Churches, but what seemeth to agree indifferently with them all. If there be a distinct Kind of Sacrifice peculiar to any several Sect, that they execute at home in their own Houses. The common Sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no Derogation nor Prejudice to any of the private Sacrifices and Religions. Therefore no Image of any God is seen in the Church, to the Intent it may be free for every Man to conceive God by his Religion after what Likeness and Similitude he will. They call upon no peculiar Name of God, but only *Mythra*. In the which Word they all agree together in one Nature of the Divine Majesty, whatsoever it be. No Prayers be used but such as every Man may boldly pronounce, without the offending of any Sect. They come therefore to the Church the last Day of every Month and Year in the Evening, yet fasting, there to give Thanks to GOD for that they have prosperously passed over the Year or Month whereof that Holiday is the last Day.

The next Day they come to the Church early in the Morning, to pray to God that they may have good Fortune and Success all the new Year or Month which they do use to begin on that same Holiday.

But in the Holidays that be the last Days of the Months and Years, before they come to the Church, the Wives fall down prostrate before their Husbands Feet at home, and the Children before the Feet of their Parents, confessing and acknowledging themselves Offenders, either by some actual Deed, or by Omission of their Duty, and desire Pardon for their Offence. Thus, if any Cloud of privy Displeasure was risen at home, by this Satisfaction it is over-blown, that they may be present at the Sacrifices with pure and charitable Minds. For they be afraid to come there with troubled Consciences. Therefore, if they know themselves to bear any Hatred or Grudge towards any Man, they presume not to come to the Sacrifices, before they have reconciled themselves, and purged their Consciences, for
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Fear of great Vengeance and Punishment for their Offence.

When they be come thither, the Men go into the right Side of the Church, and the Women into the left Side. There they place themselves in such Order, that all they which be of the male Kind in every Household, sit before the Good-man of the House, and they of the female Kind before the Good-wife. Thus it is foreseen, that all their Gestures and Behaviours be marked and observed abroad of them, by whose Authority and Discipline they be governed at home. This also they diligently see unto, that the Younger evermore be coupled with his Elder, lest Children being joined together, they should pass over the Time in childish Wantonness, wherein they ought principally to conceive a religious and devout Fear towards GOD; which is the chief and almost the only Incitation to Virtue. They kill no living Beast in Sacrifice, nor they think not that the merciful Clemency of GOD doth dwell in Blood and Slaughter; which hath given Life to Beasts, to the Intent they should live. They burn Frankincense, and other sweet Savours, and light also a great Number of Wax-candles and Tapers, not supposing this Gear to be any thing available to the Divine Nature, as neither the Prayers of Men. But this unhurtful and harmless Kind of Worship pleaseth them. And by the sweet Savours and Lights, and other such Ceremonies, Men feel themselves secretly lifted up, and encouraged to Devotion with more willing and fervent Hearts. The People weareth in the Church white Apparel. The Priest is cloathed in changeable Colours, which in Workmanship be excellent, but in Stuff not very precious. For their Vestments be neither imbroidered with Gold, nor set with precious Stones: But they be wrought so finely and cunningly with divers Feathers of Fowls, that the Estimation of no earthly Stuff is able to countervail the Price of the Work. Furthermore, in these Bird's Feathers, and in the due Order of them, which is observed in the Setting, they say, is contained certain divine

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Mysteries, the Interpretation whereof known, is diligently taught by the Priests. They be put in Remembrance of the bountiful Benefits of God towards them, and of the Love and Honour which on their Behalf is due to God; and also of their Duties one toward another.

When the Priest first cometh out of the Vestry, thus apparelled, they fall down incontinently every one reverently to the Ground, with so still Silence, that the very Fashion of the Thing striketh into them a certain Fear of God, as tho' he were there personally present. When they have laid a little Space on the Ground, the Priest giveth them a Sign to rise. Then they sing Praises unto God, which they intermix with Instruments of Musick; the most Part of their other Fashions than these that are used in this Part of the World. And like as some of ours be much sweeter than theirs, so some of theirs do far pass ours. But in one Thing doubtless they go exceeding far beyond us: For all their Musick, both that they play upon Instruments and that they sing with Man's Voice, doth so resemble and expresse natural Affections, the Sound and Tune is so applied and made agreeable to the Thing, that whether it be a Prayer or else a Duty of Gladness, of Patience, of Trouble, of Mourning, or of Anger; the Fashion of the Melody doth so represent the Meaning of the Thing, that it doth wonderfully move, stir, pierce, and enflame the Hearers Minds. At the last, the People and the Priest together, rehearse solemn Prayers in Words, expressly pronounced, so made that every one may privately apply to himself that which is commonly spoken of all.

In these Prayers every Man recogniseth, and acknowledgeth God to be his Maker, his Governor, and the principal Cause of all other Goodness, thanking him for so many Benefits received at his Hands. But namely that thro' the Favour of God he hath been placed in that Publick Weal, which is most happy and wealthy, and hath chosen that Religion which he hopeth to be most true. In the which Thing if he do any thing err, or if there

there be any other better than either of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desireth him that he will of his Goodness let him have Knowledge thereof, as one that is ready to follow what Way soever he will lead him. But if this Form and Fashion of a Commonwealth be best, and his own Religion most true and perfect, then he desireth God to give him a constant Stedfastness in the same, and to bring all other People to the same Order of Living, and to the same Opinion of God, unless there be any thing that in this Diversity of Religions doth delight his unsearchable Pleasure. To be short, he prayeth Him that after his Death he may come to Him: But how soon or late that he dare not assign nor determine. Howbeit, if it might stand with His Majesty's Pleasure, he would be much gladder to die a painful Death, and so to go to GOD, than by long living in worldly Prosperity to be away from Him. When this Prayer is said, they fall down to the Ground again, and a little after they rise up and go to Dinner. And the Residue of the Day they pass over in Plays and Exercise of Chivalry.

Now I have declared and prescribed unto you, as truly as I could, the Form and Order of that Commonwealth, which, verily, in my Judgment is not only the best, but also that which alone of good Right may claim and take upon it the Name of a Commonwealth, or Publick Weal. For in other Places they speak still of a Commonwealth; but every Man procureth his own private Gain: Here, where nothing is private, the common Affairs be earnestly looked upon. And truly on both Parts they have good Cause so to do. For in other Countries who knoweth not but he shall starve for Hunger, unless he make some several Provision for himself, tho' the Commonwealth flourish never so much in Riches? And therefore he is compelled even of very Necessity to have Regard to himself, rather than to the People, that is to say, to others.

Contrary-wise, there where all Things be common to every Man, it is not to be doubted that any Man shall

lack any Thing necessary for his private Uses, so that the common Store-houses, and Barns be sufficiently stored. For there nothing is distributed after a niggish Sort, neither is there any poor Man or Beggar. And tho' no Man hath any thing, yet every Man is rich. For what can be more rich, than to live joyful and merrily, without all Grief and Pensiveness; not caring for his own Living, nor vexed or troubled with his Wife's importunate Complaints, nor dreading Poverty to his Son, nor Sorrow for his Daughter's Dowry. Yea, they take no Care at all for the Living and Wealth of themselves and all Theirs, and their Wives, their Children, their Nephews, their Childrens Children, and all the Succession that ever shall follow in their Posterity. - And yet besides this, there is no less Provision for them that were once Labourers, and be now weak and impotent, than for them that do now labour and take Pain. Here now would I see, if any Man dare be so bold as to compare with this Equity the Justice of other Nations: Among whom, in Truth, I can find no Sign 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 do 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 Business; when in the mean Time poor Labourers, Carters, Iron-smiths, Carpenters, Plough-men, by so great and continual Toil, as drawing and bearing Beasts be scarce able to sustain, and again so necessary Toil, that without it no Common-Wealth were able to continue and endure one Year, should get so hard and poor a Living, and live so wretched and miserable a Life, that the State and Condition of a labouring Beast may seem much better and wealthier? For they be not put to so continual Labour, nor their Living is not much worse; yea, to them much pleasanter, taking no Thought in the mean Season for the Time to come. But these silly poor Wretches be for the present tormented with barren and unfruitful Labour

bour, and the Remembrance of their poor, indigent, and beggarly old Age killeth them quite. For their daily Wages is so little, that it will not suffice for the same Day, much less yieldeth it any Overplus, that may daily be laid up for the Relief of old Age.

Is not this an unjust and an unkind Publick Weal, which giveth great Fees and Rewards to Gentlemen, as they call them, and to Gold-smiths, and to such others, which be either idle Persons, or else only Flatterers, and Devisers of vain Pleasures; and, on the contrary Party maketh no gentle Provision for poor Plough-men, Colliers, Labourers, Iron-smiths, and Carpenters, without whom no Common-Wealth can continue? But after it hath abused the Labourers of their lusty and flourishing Age, at the last, when they be oppressed with old Age and Sicknes, being needy, poor, and indigent of all Things, then, forgetting their so many painful Watchings, not remembering their so many and so great Benefits, recompenceth and acquitteth them most unkindly, with miserable Death. And yet, besides this, the rich Men, not only by private Fraud, but also by common Laws, do every Day pluck and snatch away from the Poor some Part of their daily Living. So, whereas it seemed before unjust to recompence with Unkindness their Pains, that they have been beneficial to the Common-Weal, 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-days any where do flourish so, GOD help me, I can perceive nothing but a certain Conspiracy of rich Men procuring their own Commodities, under the Name and Title of the Common-Wealth. They invent and devise all Means and Crafts, first how to keep safely, without Fear of losing that they have unjustly gathered together; and next, how to hire and abuse the Work and Labour of the Poor for as little Money as may be. These Devices which the rich Men have decreed to be kept and observed,

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under Colour of the Commonalty, that is to say, made Laws by those that represent the poor People. But these most vicious and wicked Men, when they have, by their unfeatable Covetousness, divided among themselves all those Things which would have sufficed all Men, how far be they from the Wealth and Felicity of the *Utopian* Common-Wealth? Out of the which, in that all the Desire of Money, with the Use thereof, is utterly secluded and banished, how great a Heap of Cares is cut away? How great an Occasion of Wickedness and Mischief is pulled up by the Root? For who knoweth not, that Fraud, Theft, Ravin, Brawling, Quarrelling, Babling, Strife, Chiding, Contention, Murder, Treason, Poisoning, which by daily Punishments are rather revenged than refrained, do die when Money dieth? And also, that Fear, Grief, Care, Labours, and Watchings, do perish even the very same Moment that Money perisheth? Yea, Poverty itself, which only seemed to lack Money, if Money were gone, it also would decrease and vanish away. And that you may perceive this more plainly, consider with yourselves some barren and unfruitful Year, wherein many thousands of People have starved for Hunger; I dare be bold to say, that in the End of that Penury so much Corn or Grain might have been found in rich Mens Barns, if they had been searched, as, being divided among them whom Famine and Pestilence then consumed, no Man at all should have felt that Plague and Penury. So easily might Men get their Living, if that same worthy Princess Lady Money did not alone stop up the Way between us and our Living, which, in God's Name, was very excellently devised and invented, that by her the Way thereto should be opened. I am sure, the rich Men perceive this, nor they be not ignorant how much better it were to lack no necessary Thing than to abound with overmuch Superfluity; to be rid out of innumerable Cares and Troubles, than to be besieged and incumbered with great Riches.

And I doubt not, that either the Respect of every Man's private Commodity, or else the Authority of our Saviour

Saviour *Christ* (which for his great Wisdom could not but know what was best, and for his inestimable Goodness could not but counsel to that which he knew to be the best) would have brought all the World long ago into the Laws of this Weal Publick, if it were not the one only worst, the Princess and Mother of all Mischief, Pride, that doth withstand and let it. She measureth not Wealth and Prosperity by her own Commodities, but by the Misery and Incommodities of others: She would not by her good Will be made a Goddess, if there were no Wretches left, over whom she might, like a scornful Lady, rule and triumph, over whose Miseries her Felicity might shine, whose Poverty she might vex, torment, and increase, by rigourously setting forth her Riches. This Hell-hound creepeth into Mens Hearts, and pulleth them back from entering the right Path of Life, and is so deeply rooted in Mens Breasts, that she cannot be pulled out.

This Form and Fashion of a Weal Publick, which I would gladly wish unto all Nations, I am glad that it chanced to the *Utopians*, which have followed those Institutions of Life, whereby they have laid such Foundations of their Common-Wealth, as shall continue and last not only wealthy, but also, as far as Man's Wit may judge and conjecture, shall endure for ever. For seeing the chief Causes of Ambition and Sedition, with other Vices, be plucked up by the Roots, and abandoned at home, there can be no Jeopardy of domestical Dissention, which alone hath cast under Foot and brought to nought the well-fortified and strongly defenced Wealth and Riches of many Cities. But forasmuch as perfect Concord remaineth, and wholesome Laws be executed at home, the Envy of all foreign Princes be not able to shake or move the Empire, tho' they have many times and long ago gone about to do it, being evermore driven back.

Thus when *RAPHAEL* had made an End of his Tale, tho' many Things came to my Mind, which in the Manners and Laws of that People, seemed to be instituted
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and founded of no good Reason, but only in the Fashion of their Chivalry, and in their Sacrifices, and Religions, and in others of their Laws; but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal Foundation of all their Ordinances; that is to say, in the Commonalty of their Life and Living, without any Occupying of Money, by the which Thing only all Nobility, Magnificence, Worship, Honour, and Majesty, the true Ornaments and Honours (as the common Opinion is) of a Commonwealth, utterly be overthrown and destroyed; yet, because I knew that he was weary of talking, and was not sure whether he could abide that any thing should be said against his Mind, specially remembering that he had reprehended this Fault in others, which be afraid lest they should seem not to be wise enough unless they could find some Fault in other Mens Inventions; therefore I, praising both their Institutions and his Communication, took him by the Hand, and led him in to Supper, saying, that we would chuse another Time to weigh and examine the same Matters, and to talk with him more at large therein. Which, would God, it might once come to pass.

In the mean time, as I cannot agree and consent to all Things that he said, being else without Doubt a Man singularly well learned, and also in all worldly Matter exactly and profoundly experienced; so must I needs confess and grant, that many Things be in the *Utopian* Weal Publick, which in our Cities I may rather wish for, than hope after.

F I N I S.

Note, Page 32, in the 10th Line from the Bottom, to read *Crassus* for *Cræsus*.

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