

Foundations of Western Culture II: Renaissance to Modernity

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Lecture #2: *UTOPIA*

by SIR THOMAS MORE (1516)

(Excerpts adapted from the Burnet translation by A. C. Kibel)

BOOK I

HENRY VIII, the unconquered King of England, a prince adorned with all the virtues that become a great monarch, having some differences of no small consequence with Charles, the most serene Prince of Castile, sent me into Flanders, as his ambassador, for treating and composing matters between them. I was colleague and companion to that incomparable man Cuthbert Tunstall, whom the King with such universal applause lately made Master of the Rolls, but of whom I will say nothing; not because I fear that the testimony of a friend will be suspected, but rather because his learning and virtues are too great for me to do them justice, and so well known that they need not my praise. Those appointed by the Prince to treat with us met us at Bruges, according to agreement; they were all worthy men. The Mayor of Bruges was their head, and the chief man among them; but he that was esteemed the wisest, and that spoke for the rest, was George Temse, the Provost of Casselsea; both art and nature had concurred to make him eloquent: he was learned in law; and as he had a great capacity, so by a long practice in affairs he was very skillful at unraveling them.

After we had several times met without coming to an agreement, they went to Brussels for some days to know the Prince's pleasure. And since our business would admit it, I went to Antwerp. While I was there, among many that visited me, there was one that was more acceptable to me than any other, Peter Giles, born at Antwerp, who is a man of great honor, and of a good rank in his town, though less than he deserves; for I do not know if there be anywhere to be found a more learned and a better bred young man: for as he is both a very worthy and a very knowing person, so he is so civil to all men, so particularly kind to his friends, and so full of candor and affection, that there is not perhaps above one or two anywhere to be found that are in all respects so perfect a friend. He is extraordinarily modest, there is no artifice in him; and yet no man has more of a prudent simplicity: his conversation was so pleasant and so innocently cheerful, that his company in a great measure lessened any longings to go back to my country, and to my wife and children, which an absence of four months had quickened very much. One day as I was returning home from mass at St. Mary's, which is the chief church, and the most frequented of any in Antwerp, I saw him by accident talking with a stranger, who seemed past the flower of his age; his face was tanned, he had a long beard, and his cloak was hanging carelessly about him, so that by his looks and habit I concluded he was a seaman.

As soon as Peter saw me, he came and saluted me; and as I was returning his civility, he took me aside, and pointing to him with whom he had been discoursing, he said: ADo you see that man? I was just thinking to bring him to you.@

I answered, AHe should have been very welcome on your account.@

AAnd on his own too,@ replied he, Aif you knew the man, for there is none alive that can give so

copious an account of unknown nations and countries as he can do; which I know you very much desire.@

Then said I, AI did not guess amiss, for at first sight I took him for a seaman.@

ABut you are much mistaken,@ said he, Afor he has not sailed as a seaman, but as a traveler, or rather a philosopher. This Raphael, who from his family carries the name of Sillysense¹, is not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but is eminently learned in the Greek, having applied himself more particularly to that than to the former, because he had given himself much to philosophy, in which he knew that the Romans have left us nothing that is valuable, except what is to be found in Seneca and Cicero. He is a Portuguese by birth, and was so desirous of seeing the world that he divided his estate among his brothers, ran the same hazard as AmerigoVespucci, and bore a share in three of his four voyages, that are now published; only he did not return with him in his last, but obtained leave of him almost by force, that he might be one of those twenty-four who were left at the farthest place at which they touched, in their last voyage to New Castile. The leaving him thus did not a little gratify one that was more fond of traveling than of returning home to be buried in his own country; for he used often to say that the way to heaven was the same from all places; and he that had no grave had the heaven still over him. Yet this disposition of mind had cost him dear, if God had not been very gracious to him; for after he, with five Castilians, had traveled over many countries, at last, by strange good-fortune, he got to Ceylon, and from thence to Calcutta, where he very happily found some Portuguese ships, and, beyond all men=s expectations, returned to his native country.@

When Peter had said this to me, I thanked him for his kindness, in intending to give me the acquaintance of a man whose conversation he knew would be so acceptable; and upon that Raphael and I embraced each other. After those civilities were passed which are usual with strangers upon their first meeting, we all went to my house, and entering into the garden, sat down on a green bank, and entertained one another in discourse. He told us that when Vespucci had sailed away, he and his companions that stayed behind in New Castile, by degrees insinuated themselves into the affections of the people of the country, meeting often with them, and treating them gently: and at last they not only lived among them without danger, but conversed familiarly with them; and got so far into the heart of a prince, whose name and country I have forgot, that he both furnished them plentifully with all things necessary, and also with the conveniences of traveling; both boats when they went by water, and wagons when they traveled over land: he sent with them a very faithful guide, who was to introduce and recommend them to such other princes as they had a mind to see: and after many days= journey, they came to towns and commonwealths that were both happily governed and well-peopled.

¹The names attributed to Utopian people and institutions in the original Latin text are composed of Greek roots, for which this text provides crude English equivalents. Raphael=s last name in the original is *Hythloday*, which might be more accurately translated as Aower of nonsense@.

It seems that under the equator, and as far on both sides of it as the sun moves, there lay vast deserts that were parched with the perpetual heat of the sun; the soil was withered, all things looked dismally, and all places were either quite uninhabited, or abounded with wild beasts and serpents, and some few men that were neither less wild nor less cruel than the beasts themselves. But as they went farther, a new scene opened, all things grew milder, the air less burning, the soil more verdant, and even the beasts were less wild: and at last there were nations, towns, and towns, that had not only mutual commerce among themselves, and with their neighbors, but traded both by sea and land, to very remote countries. There they found opportunities to see many countries near and far, for no ship went any voyage into which he and his companions were not very welcome. The first vessels that they saw were flat-bottomed, their sails were made of reeds and wicker woven close together, only some were of leather; but afterward they found ships made with round keels and canvas sails, and in all respects like our ships; and the seamen understood both astronomy and navigation. He got wonderfully into their favor, by showing them the use of the magnetic compass, of which till then they were utterly ignorant. They sailed before with great caution, and only in summer-time, but now they count all seasons alike, trusting wholly to their compasses, in which they feel perhaps more secure than they are actually safe; so that there is reason to fear that this discovery, which was thought would prove so much to their advantage, may by their imprudence become an occasion of mischief to them.

But it were too long to dwell on all that he told us he had observed in every place, it would be too great a digression from our present purpose: whatever is necessary to be told, concerning those wise and prudent institutions which he observed among civilized nations, may perhaps be related by us on a more proper occasion. We asked him many questions concerning all these things, to which he answered very willingly; only we made no inquiries after monsters, than which nothing is more common; for everywhere one may hear of huge, ravenous monsters that gobble down people; but it is not so easy to find citizens who are well and wisely governed.

As he told us of many things that were amiss in those new-discovered countries, so he reckoned up not a few things to serve as patterns for correcting the errors of our own kingdoms and nations; of which an account may be given, as I have already promised, at some other time; for at present I intend only to relate those particulars that he told us of the manners and laws of the Utopians; but I will begin with the occasion that led us to speak of that commonwealth. After Raphael had discoursed with great judgment on the many errors that were both among us and these nations; had treated of the wise institutions both here and there, and had spoken as distinctly of the customs and government of every nation through which he had passed, as if he had spent his whole life in it, Peter, being struck with admiration, said: AI wonder, Raphael, how it comes that you enter into no king=s service, for I am sure there are none to whom you would not be very acceptable: for your learning and knowledge both of men and things, are such that you would not only entertain them very pleasantly, but be of great use to them, by the examples you could set before them and the advices you could give them; and by this means you would both serve your own interest and be of great use to all your friends.@

AAs for my friends,@ answered he, AI need not be much concerned, having already done for them all that was incumbent on me; for when I was not only in good health, but fresh and young, I distributed that among my kindred and friends which other people do not part with till they are old and sick, when they then unwillingly give that which they can enjoy no longer themselves. I think my friends ought to rest contented with this, and not to expect that for their sake I should enslave myself to any king whatsoever.@

ASoft and fair,@ said Peter, AI do not mean that you should be a slave to any king, but only that you should advise him and be useful.@

AA change of wording,@ said he, Adoes not change the matter.@

"But term it as you will," replied Peter, "I do not see any other way in which you can be so useful, both in private to your friends, and to the public, and by which you can make your own condition happier."

"Happier!" answered Raphael; "is that to be managed in a way so abhorrent to my genius? Now I live as I will, to which I believe few courtiers can pretend. And there are so many that court the favor of great men, that there will be no great loss if they are not troubled either with me or with others of my temper."

Upon this, said I: "I perceive, Raphael, that you neither desire wealth nor greatness; and indeed I value and admire such a man much more than I do any of the great men in the world. Yet I think you would do what would well become so generous and philosophical a soul as yours is, if you would apply your time and thoughts to public affairs, even though you may find it a little uncomfortable yourself: and this you can never do with so much good effect as to become counselor to some great prince, encouraging him to noble and worthy actions, which I know you would do if you were in such a post; for the springs both of good and evil flow from the prince as from a lasting fountain over a whole people. So much learning as you have, even without practice in affairs, or so great a practice as you have had, without any other learning, would render you a very fit counselor to any king whatsoever."

"You are doubly mistaken," said he, "Mr. More, both in your opinion of me, and in the judgment you make of things: for as I have not that capacity that you fancy I have, so, if I had it, the public would not be one jot the better, when I had sacrificed my quiet to it. . . . Plato judged right, that except kings themselves became philosophers, they who from their childhood are corrupted with false notions would never fall in entirely with the councils of philosophers, and this he himself found to be true in the person of Dionysius. . . . If I should talk philosophy to men that had taken their bias to wealth and greatness, how deaf would they be to all I could say?"

"No doubt, very deaf," answered I; "and no wonder, for one is never to offer at propositions or advice that we are certain will not be entertained. Discourses well out of the listener's road cannot avail anything, or have any effect on men whose minds were prepossessed with different sentiments. A philosophical way of speculation is not unpleasant among friends in a free conversation, but there is no room for it in the courts of princes where great affairs are carried on by authority."

"That is what I was saying," replied he, "that there is no room for philosophy in the courts of princes."

"Yes, there is," said I, "but not for speculative philosophy that makes everything to be alike fitting at all times: but there is another philosophy that is more pliable, that knows its proper scene, accommodates itself to it, and teaches a man with propriety and decency to act that part which has fallen to his share. If when one of Plautus's comedies is upon the stage and a company of servants are acting their parts, you should come out in the garb of a philosopher, and repeat out of 'Octavia,' a discourse of Seneca's to Nero, would it not be better for you to say nothing than by mixing things of such different natures to make an impertinent tragi-comedy? For you spoil and corrupt the play that is in hand when you mix with it things of an opposite nature, even though they are much better. Therefore go through with the play that is acting, the best you can, and do not confound it because another that is pleasanter comes into your thoughts. It is even so in a commonwealth and in the councils of princes; if ill opinions cannot be quite rooted out, and you cannot cure some received vice according to your wishes, you must not therefore abandon the commonwealth; for the same reasons you should not forsake the ship in a storm because you cannot command the winds. You are not obliged to assault people with discourses that are out of their road, when you see that their received notions must prevent your making an impression upon

them. You ought rather to cast about and to manage things with all the dexterity in your power, so that if you are not able to make them go well they may go as little ill as possible; for except all men were good everything cannot be right, and that is a blessing that I do not at present hope to see."

"According to your arguments," answered he, "all that I could be able to do would be to preserve myself from being mad while I endeavored to cure the madness of others. For if I speak truth, I would have to talk straightforwardly and not in the manner that you advise; and as for lying, whether a philosopher can do it or not, I cannot tell; I am sure I cannot do it. What's more, although plain speaking may annoy them, I do not see why it should seem so out of the road or an assault upon them. It is not as if I should propose such things as Plato has contrived in his commonwealth, or as the Utopians practice in theirs, which are certainly better than our way of doing things but are so different because they are not founded on property, there being no such thing among them.

. . . And this is all the success that I can have in at Court, for either I must always differ from the rest and signify nothing; or I must agree with them and only encourage their madness. I do not comprehend what you mean by your casting about, or by the bending and handling things so dexterously that if they go not well they may do as little harm as possible; for those at Court will not bear a man's holding his peace or merely conniving at what others do. No, he must barefacedly approve of the worst counsels and explicitly consent to the blackest designs: he will pass for a spy, or possibly for a traitor, if he did nothing but keep cold silence about wicked practices: and therefore when a man is engaged in such a society, he will be so far from being able to mend matters by his casting about, as you call it, that he will find no occasions of doing any good: the bad company will sooner corrupt him than be the better for him: or if withstanding all, he remains steady and innocent, yet their follies and knavery will be imputed to him; and by mixing counsels with them, he must bear his share of all the blame that belongs wholly to others.

"It was no ill simile by which Plato set forth the unreasonableness of a philosopher's meddling with government. If a man, says he, was to see a great company run out every day into the rain, and take delight in being wet; if he knew that it would be to no purpose for him to go and persuade them to return to their houses, in order to avoid the storm, and that all that could be expected by his going to speak to them would be that he himself should be as wet as they, it would be best for him to keep within doors; and since he had not influence enough to correct other people's folly, to take care to preserve himself.

Although to speak plainly my real sentiments, I must freely own that as long as there is any property and all things are valued in terms of money, I cannot think that a nation can be governed either justly or happily: not justly, because the best things will fall to the share of the worst men; nor happily, because all things will be divided among a few (and even these are not in all respects happy), the rest being left to absolute misery. Therefore when I reflect on the wise and good constitution of the Utopians, among whom I journeyed and with whom all things are so well governed, and with so few laws; where virtue has its due reward, and yet there is such an equality that every man lives in plenty when I compare with them so many other nations that are always making new laws, and yet can never bring their constitution to a right regulation, where although everyone supposedly has his property; yet all the laws that they invent cannot ensure that anyone gets what is rightly his or preserves it, or even can distinguish his own from another's; on which point many lawsuits every day break out and are eternally dragging on when, I say, I balance all these things in my thoughts, I grow more favorable to Plato, and I wonder less that he resolved not to make any laws for such as would not submit to a community of all things: for so wise a man could not but foresee that the setting all upon one level was the only way to make a nation happy, which cannot be obtained so long as there is property. For when every man can draw to himself all that he can compass, by one title or another, it must needs follow, that how plentiful soever a nation may be at the outset, yet it ends with a few dividing the wealth of it among themselves, and the rest must fall into poverty.

ASo that there will be two sorts of people among them, who deserve that their fortunes should be interchanged; the former useless, but wicked and ravenous; and the latter, who by their constant industry serve the public more than themselves, sincere and modest men. From whence I am persuaded, that till property is taken away there can be no equitable or just distribution of things, nor can the world be happily governed: for as long as that is maintained, the greatest and the far best part of mankind will be still oppressed with a load of cares and anxieties. I confess without taking it quite away, those pressures that lie on a great part of mankind may be made lighter; but they can never be quite removed. You might make laws to limit how much land and money every man can have and limit the prince that he might not grow too great, and restrain the people that they might not become too insolent, and make it illegal to buy public offices, which ought neither to be sold, nor made burdensome by a great expense; since otherwise those that serve in them would be tempted to reimburse themselves by cheats and violence, and it would become necessary to find out rich men for undergoing those employments which ought rather to be trusted to the wise. Such laws, I say, might have such effects, as good diet and care might have on a sick man, whose recovery is desperate: they might allay and mitigate the disease, but it could never be quite healed, nor the body politic be brought again to a good habit, as long as property remains; and it will fall out as in a complication of diseases, that by applying a remedy to one sore, you will provoke another; and that which removes the one ill symptom produces others, while the strengthening one part of the body weakens the rest.@

AOn the contrary,@ answered I, Ait seems to me that men cannot live prosperously where all things are held in common: how can there be any plenty, where every man will shirk his labor? For where the hope of gain is not an incentive, so the hope of being fed by the labor of others will make him lazy: if people come to be pinched with want, and yet cannot dispose of anything as their own, what can follow upon this but perpetual sedition and bloodshed, especially when the reverence and authority due to public officials fall to the ground? For I cannot imagine how respect for authority can be kept up among those that are in all things equal to one another.@

AI do not wonder,@ said he, Athat it appears so to you, since you have no notion, or at least no right one, of such a constitution: but if you had been in Utopia with me, and had seen their laws and rules, as I did, for the space of five years, in which I lived among them; and during which time I was so delighted with them, that indeed I should never have left them, if it had not been to tell Europeans about them; you would then confess that you had never seen a people so well constituted as they.@

AYou will not easily persuade me,@ said Peter, Athat any nation in that new world is better governed than those among us. For as our understandings are not worse than theirs, so our government, if I mistake not, being more ancient, a long practice has helped us to find out many ways for making life more comfortable: and some happy chances have discovered other things to us, which no man=s understanding could ever have invented.@

AAAs for the antiquity, either of their government or of ours,@ said he, Ayou cannot pass a true judgment of it unless you had read their histories; for if they are to be believed, they had towns among them before these parts were so much as inhabited. And as for those discoveries, that have been either hit on by chance, or made by ingenious men, these might have happened there as well as here. I do not deny that we are more inventive than they are, but they exceed us in industry and application. They knew little concerning us before our arrival among them; they call all Europeans by the general name of Transeuitorials; for their chronicle mentions a shipwreck that was made on their coast 1,200 years ago; and that some Romans and Egyptians that were in the ship, getting safe ashore, spent the rest of their days among them; and such was their ingenuity, that from this single opportunity they drew the advantage of learning from those unlooked-for guests, and acquired all the useful arts that were then among the Romans, and which were known to these shipwrecked men: and by the hints that they gave them, they

themselves found out even some of those arts which they could not fully explain; so happily did they improve that accident, of having some of our people cast upon their shore.

ABut if such an accident has at any time brought any from thence into Europe, we have been so far from improving it, that we do not so much as remember it; as in after-times perhaps it will be forgot by our people that I was ever there. For though they from one such accident made themselves masters of all the good inventions that were among us; yet I believe it would be long before we should learn or put in practice any of the good institutions that are among them. And this is the true cause of their being better governed, and living happier than we, though we come not short of them in point of understanding or manual skill.@

Upon this I said to him: AI earnestly beg you would describe that island very particularly to us. Be not too short, but set out in order all things relating to their soil, their rivers, their towns, their people, their manners, constitution, laws, and, in a word, all that you imagine we desire to know. And you may well imagine that we desire to know everything concerning them, of which we are hitherto ignorant.@

AI will do it very willingly,@ said he, Afor I have digested the whole matter carefully; but it will take up some time.@

ALet us go then,@ said I, Afirst and dine, and then we shall have leisure enough.@

He consented. We went in and dined, and after dinner came back and sat down in the same place. I ordered my servants to take care that none might come and interrupt us. And both Peter and I desired Raphael to be as good as his word. When he saw that we were very intent upon it, he paused a little to recollect himself, and began in this manner:

BOOK II

THE island of Utopia is in the middle 200 miles broad, and holds almost at the same width over a great part of it; but it grows narrower toward both ends. Its figure is not unlike a crescent: between its horns, the sea comes in eleven miles across and spreads itself into a great bay about 500 miles in circumference and is well secured from winds. In this bay there is no great current; the whole coast is one continued harbor, which gives all that live in the island great convenience for mutual commerce; but the entry into the bay, occasioned by rocks on the one hand, and shallows on the other, is very dangerous. In the middle of it there is one single rock which appears above water, and may therefore be easily avoided, and on the top of it there is a tower in which a garrison is kept; the other rocks lie under water, and are very dangerous. The channel is known only to the Utopians, so that if any stranger should enter into the bay, without one of their pilots, he would run great danger of shipwreck; for even they themselves could not pass it safe, if some marks that are on the coast did not direct their way; and if these should be but a little shifted, any fleet that might come against them, how great soever it were, would be certainly lost.

On the other side of the island there are likewise many harbors; and the coast is so fortified, both by nature and art, that a small number of men can hinder the descent of a great army. But they say (and there remain good marks of it to make the story credible) that this was no island at first, but a part of the continent. It was first conquered by someone called Utopos (whose name it still carries, for Nopants was its first name), who brought the rude and uncivilized inhabitants into such a good government, and to that measure of civilization that they now far excel all the rest of mankind. Having soon subdued them, Utopos designed to separate them from the continent and to bring the sea quite round them. To accomplish this, he ordered a deep channel to be dug fifteen miles long; and that the natives might not think he treated them like slaves, he not only forced the inhabitants, but also his own soldiers, to labor in

carrying it on. As he set a vast number of men to work, he beyond all men=s expectations brought it to a speedy conclusion. And his neighbors who at first laughed at the folly of the undertaking, no sooner saw it brought to perfection than they were struck with admiration and terror.

There are fifty-four large towns on the island, all well built, with the same manners, customs, and laws, and they are all contrived as near in the same manner as the ground on which they stand will allow. The nearest lie at least twenty-four miles distance from one another, and the most remote are not so far distant but that a man can go on foot in one day from it to that which lies next it. Every city sends three of its wisest elder citizens once a year to Dreamville, to consult about their common concerns; for that is the chief town of the island, being situated near the center of it, so that it is the most convenient place for their assemblies. The jurisdiction of every town extends at least twenty miles: and where the towns lie wider, they have much more ground: no town desires to enlarge its bounds, for the people consider themselves rather as tenants than landlords. They have built over all the country, well-constructed farmhouses furnished with all things necessary for farming. Inhabitants are sent by turns from the towns to dwell in them; no country family has fewer than forty men and women in it, besides two slaves. There is a master and a mistress set over every family; and over thirty families there is a public official, called the Trybchief.

Every year twenty of this family come back to the town, after they have stayed two years in the country; and in their room there are other twenty sent from the town, that they may learn country work from those that have been already one year in the country, as they must teach those that come to them the next from the town. By this means such as dwell in those country farms are never ignorant of agriculture, and so commit no errors, which might otherwise be fatal, and bring them under a scarcity of grain. But though there is every year such a shifting of the farmers, to prevent any man being forced against his will to follow that hard course of life too long, yet many among them take such pleasure in it that they desire leave to continue in it many years. These farmers till the ground, breed cattle, hew wood, and convey it to the towns, either by land or water, as is most convenient. They breed an infinite multitude of chickens in a very curious manner; for the hens do not sit and hatch them, but vast numbers of eggs are laid in a gentle and equal heat, in order to be hatched, and they are no sooner out of the shell, and able to stir about, but they seem to consider those that feed them as their mothers, and follow them as other chickens do the hen that hatched them.

They breed very few horses, but those they have are full of mettle, and are kept only for exercising their youth in the art of sitting and riding them; for they do not put them to any work, either of ploughing or hauling, in which they employ oxen; for though their horses are stronger, yet they find oxen can hold out longer; and as they are not subject to so many diseases, so they are kept upon a less charge, and with less trouble; and even when they are so worn out, that they are no more fit for labor, they are good meat at last. They sow no grain, but that which is to be their bread; for they drink either wine, cider, or perry, and often water, sometimes boiled with honey or licorice, with which they abound; and though they know exactly how much grain will serve every town, and all that tract of country which belongs to it, yet they sow much more, and breed more cattle than are necessary for their consumption; and they give that overplus of which they make no use to their neighbors. When they want anything in the country which it does not produce, they fetch that from their home town, without carrying anything in exchange for it. And the public officials of the town take care to see it given them; for they meet generally in the town once a month, upon a festival day. When the time of harvest comes, the Trybchiefs in the country send to those in the towns, and let them know how many hands they will need for reaping the harvest; and the number they call for being sent to them, they commonly get all the work done in one day.

If you see one of their towns, you=ve seen them all, for they are so like one another, except where the lie of the land makes some difference. I shall therefore describe one of them; and none is so proper as Dreamville; for as none is more eminent, all the rest yielding in precedence to it, because it is the seat of

their Parliament, so there was none of them better known to me, I having lived in it five years altogether.

It lies upon the side of a hill, or rather a rising ground: its figure is almost square, for from the one side of it, which shoots up almost to the top of the hill, it runs down in a descent for two miles to the river Driedup; but it is a little broader the other way that runs along by the bank of that river. The Driedup rises about eighty miles above Dreamville, in a small spring at first, but other brooks falling into it, of which two are more considerable than the rest. As it runs by Dreamville, it is grown half a mile broad; but it still grows larger and larger, till after sixty miles course below it, it is lost in the ocean, between the town and the sea, and for some miles above the town, it ebbs and flows every six hours, with a strong current. The tide comes up for about thirty miles so full that there is nothing but salt water in the river, the fresh water being driven back with its force; and above that, for some miles, the water is brackish; but a little higher, as it runs by the town, it is quite fresh; and when the tide ebbs, it continues fresh all along to the sea. There is a bridge cast over the river, not of timber, but of fair stone, consisting of many stately arches; it lies at that part of the town which is farthest from the sea, so that ships without any hindrance lie all along the side of the town.

There is likewise another river that runs by it, which, though it is not great, yet it runs pleasantly, for it rises out of the same hill on which the town stands, and so runs down through it, and falls into the Driedup. The inhabitants have fortified the fountain-head of this river, which springs a little without the town; so that if they should happen to be besieged, the enemy might not be able to stop or divert the course of the water, nor poison it; from thence it is carried in earthen pipes to the lower streets; and for those places of the town to which the water of that shall river cannot be conveyed, they have great cisterns for receiving the rain-water, which supplies the want of the other. The town is compassed with a high and thick wall, in which there are many towers and forts; there is also a broad and deep dry ditch, set thick with thorns, cast round three sides of the town, and the river is instead of a ditch on the fourth side. The streets are very convenient for all carriage, and are well sheltered from the winds. Their buildings are good, and are so uniform that a whole side of a street looks like one house. The streets are twenty feet broad; there lie gardens behind all their houses; these are large but enclosed with buildings that on all hands face the streets; so that every house has both a door to the street, and a back door to the garden. Their doors have all two leaves, which, as they are easily opened, so they shut of their own accord; and there being no property among them, every man may freely enter into any house whatsoever. At every ten years= end they shift their houses by lots.

They cultivate their gardens with great care, so that they have vines, fruits, herbs, and flowers in them; and all is so well ordered, and so finely kept, that I never saw gardens anywhere that were both so fruitful and so beautiful as theirs. And this humor of ordering their gardens so well is not only kept up by the pleasure they find in it, but also by an emulation between the inhabitants of the several streets, who vie with each other; and there is indeed nothing belonging to the whole town that is both more useful and more pleasant. So that he who founded the town seems to have taken care of nothing more than of their gardens; for they say, the whole scheme of the town was designed at first by Utopos, but he left all that belonged to the ornament and improvement of it to be added by those that should come after him, that being too much for one man to bring to perfection. Their records, that contain the history of their town and State, are preserved with an exact care, and run backward 1,760 years. From these it appears that their houses were at first low and mean, like cottages, made of any sort of timber, and were built with mud walls and thatched with straw. But now their houses are three stories high: the fronts of them are faced with stone, plastering, or brick; and between the facings of their walls they throw in their rubbish. Their roofs are flat, and on them they lay a sort of plaster, which costs very little, and yet is so tempered that it is not apt to take fire, and yet resists the weather more than lead. They have great quantities of glass among them, with which they glaze their windows. They use also in their windows a thin linen cloth, that is so oiled or gummed that it both keeps out the wind and gives free admission to the light.

As for their system of local government, thirty families elect every year a public official, who was anciently called the Styhog, but is now called the Trybchief; and over every ten Styhogs, with the families subject to them, there is another public official, who was anciently called the Greathog, but now the Senior Trybchief. All these Styhogs, who number two hundred, choose the Mayor out of a list of four, who are named by the people of the four divisions of the town; but they take an oath before they proceed to an election, that they will choose him whom they think most fit for the office. They give their votes secretly, so that it is not known for whom anyone gives his suffrage. The Mayor is for life, unless he is removed upon suspicion of some design to enslave the people. The Trybchiefs are new-chosen every year, but are usually re-elected. All their other public officials are only annual. The Trybchiefs meet every third day, and oftener if necessary, and consult with the Mayor, either concerning the affairs of the State in general or such private differences as may arise sometimes among the people; though that seldom happens. There are always two Styhogs called into the council-chamber, and these are changed every day. It is a fundamental rule of their government that no conclusion can be made in anything that relates to the public till it has been first debated for three days in their Council. It is a capital crime for any to meet and discuss public business, unless it be either in their ordinary Council, or in the Council of the whole island.

These things have been so provided among them, that the Mayor and the Trybchiefs may not conspire together to change the government and enslave the people; and therefore when anything of great importance is set on foot, it is sent to the Styhogs; who after they have communicated it to the families that belong to their divisions, and have considered it among themselves, make report to the Senate; and upon great occasions, the matter is referred to the Council of the whole island. One rule observed in their Council, is, never to debate a thing on the same day in which it is first proposed; for that is always referred to the next meeting, that so men may not rashly, and in the heat of discourse, engage themselves too soon, which might bias them so much, that instead of consulting the good of the public, they might rather study to support their first opinions, and by a perverse and preposterous sort of shame, hazard their country rather than endanger their own reputation, or venture the being suspected to have wanted foresight in the expedients that they at first proposed. And therefore to prevent this, they take care that they may rather be deliberate than sudden in their motions.

Farming is so universally understood among them that no person, either man or woman, is ignorant of it; they are instructed in it from their childhood, partly by what they learn at school and partly by practice; they being led out often into the fields, about the town, where they not only see others at work, but are likewise exercised in it themselves. Besides farming, which is so common to them all, every man has some peculiar trade to which he applies himself, such as the manufacture of wool, or flax, masonry, smith=s work, or carpenter=s work; for there is no sort of trade that is not in great esteem among them. Throughout the island they wear the same sort of clothes without any other distinction, except what is necessary to distinguish the two sexes, and the married and unmarried. The fashion never alters; and as it is neither disagreeable nor uneasy, so it is suited to the climate, and calculated both for their summers and winters. Every family makes their own clothes; but all among them, women as well as men, learn one or other of the trades formerly mentioned. Women, for the most part, deal in wool and flax, which suit best with their weakness, leaving the ruder trades to the men. The same trade generally passes down from father to son, inclinations often following descent; but if any man=s genius lies another way, he is by adoption translated into a family that deals in the trade to which he is inclined: and when that is to be done, care is taken not only by his father but by the local authorities that he may be put to a discreet and good family. And if after a person has learned one trade, he desires to acquire another, that is also allowed, and is managed in the same manner as the former. When he has learned both, he follows that which he likes best, unless the public has more occasion for the other.

The chief, and almost the only business of the Styhogs, is to take care that nobody sits around doing nothing but that every one gets on with his (or her) job: yet they do not wear themselves out with perpetual toil, from morning to night, as if they were beasts of burden, which, as it is indeed a heavy

slavery, so it is everywhere the common course of life among all the working classes except the Utopians; but they dividing the day and night into twenty-four hours, appoint six of these for work; three of which are before dinner, and three after. They then sup, and at eight o'clock, counting from noon, go to bed and sleep eight hours. The rest of their time besides that taken up in work, eating and sleeping, is left to everyone's discretion; yet they are not to abuse that interval to luxury and idleness, but must employ it in some proper exercise according to their various inclinations, which is for the most part reading. It is ordinary to have public lectures every morning before daybreak; at which none are obliged to appear but those who are marked out for academic training; yet a great many, both men and women of all ranks, go to hear lectures of one sort or other, according to their inclinations. But if others, that are not made for contemplation, choose rather to employ themselves at that time in their trades, as many of them do, they are not hindered, but are rather commended, as people who take care to serve their country. After supper, they spend an hour in some diversion, in summer in their gardens, and in winter in the halls where they eat; where they entertain each other, either with music or discourse. They do not so much as know dice, or any such foolish and mischievous games: they have, however, two sorts of games not unlike our chess; the one is between several numbers, in which one number, as it were, attacks another: the other resembles a battle between the virtues and the vices, in which the enmity in the vices among themselves, and their agreement against the virtues, is not unpleasantly represented; together with the special oppositions between the particular virtues and vices; as also the methods by which vice either openly assaults or secretly undermines virtue, and virtue resists it.

But I must say more about the time appointed for labor; otherwise, you may imagine that since there are only six hours appointed for work, they may fall under a scarcity of necessary provisions. But this time is not only sufficient but more than enough for supplying them with plenty of all things, either to sustain life or to make it pleasant; and this you will easily apprehend, if you consider how great a part of all other nations do no work at all. First, women generally do little, who are the half of mankind; and if some few women are diligent, their husbands are idle: then consider the great company of idle priests, and of those that are called religious men; add to these all rich men, chiefly those that have estates in land, who are called noblemen and gentlemen, together with their families, made up of idle persons, that are kept more for show than use; add to these, all those strong and lusty beggars, that go about pretending some disease, in excuse for their begging; and upon the whole account you will find that the number of those by whose labors mankind is supplied, is much less than you perhaps imagined. Then consider how few of those that work are employed in labors that are of real service; for we who measure all things by money, give rise to many trades that are both vain and superfluous, and serve only to support foolish entertainment and luxury. For if those who work were employed only in such things as the real conveniences of life require, there would be such an abundance of them that the prices of them would sink so low that tradesmen could not be maintained by their gains; if all those who labor about useless things were set to more profitable employments, and if all they that languish out their lives in sloth and idleness, every one of whom consumes as much as any two of the men that are at work, were made to labor, you may easily imagine that a small proportion of time would serve to supply all the necessities and comforts of life to which you might add all the real and natural forms of pleasure.

The existence of Utopia speaks for the truth of all this. For there, in a great town, and in all the territory that lies round it, you can scarce find 500, either men or women, by their age and strength, are capable of labor, that are not engaged in it; even the Styhogs, though excused by the law, yet do not excuse themselves, but work, that by their examples they may excite the industry of the rest of the people. The like exemption is allowed to those who, being recommended to the people by the priests, are by the secret ballot of the Styhogs exempt from physical labor, that they may apply themselves wholly to study; and if any of these fall short of those hopes that they seemed at first to give, they are obliged to return to work. And sometimes a manual laborer that so employs his leisure hours as to make a considerable advancement in learning, is eased from practicing a trade and ranked among their academics. Out of these they choose their ambassadors, their priests, their Greathogs, and the Mayor himself, anciently called a

Godson, but now called an Overnone.

And thus from the great numbers among them that are neither suffered to be idle, nor to be employed in any fruitless labor, you may easily make the estimate how much may be done in those few hours in which they are obliged to labor. But besides all that has been already said, it is to be considered that the needful arts among them are managed with less labor than anywhere else. The building or the repairing of houses among us employ many hands, because often a thriftless heir suffers a house that his father built to fall into decay, so that his successor must, at a great cost, repair that which he might have kept up with a small charge: it frequently happens that the same house which one person built at a vast expense is neglected by another, who thinks he has a more delicate sense of the beauties of architecture; and he suffering it to fall to ruin, builds another at no less charge. But among the Utopians all things are so regulated that men very seldom build upon a new piece of ground; and are not only very quick in repairing their houses, but show their foresight in preventing their decay: so that their buildings are preserved very long, with but little labor, and thus the builders to whom that care belongs are often without employment, except the hewing of timber and the squaring of stones, that the materials may be in readiness for raising a building very suddenly when there is any occasion for it.

As to their clothes, observe how little work is spent in them: while they are at labor, they are clothed with jeans or corduroys, which will last seven years; and when they appear in public they put on casual jackets and slacks, all of the natural color of the wool. As they need less woollen cloth than is used anywhere else, so that which they make use of is much less costly. They use linen cloth more; but that is prepared with less labor, and they value cloth only by the whiteness of the linen or the cleanness of the wool, without much regard to the fineness of the thread: while in other places, four or five upper garments of woollen cloth, of different colors, and as many shirts or blouses of silk, will scarce serve one person; and while those that are flashy types think ten are too few, everyone in Utopia is content with one, which very often serves for two years. Nor is there any temptation to desire more; for no one who had them would be the warmer nor make one jot the better appearance for it. And thus, since they are all employed in some useful labor, and since they content themselves with fewer things, it falls out that there is a great abundance of all things among them: so that it frequently happens that, for want of other work, vast numbers are sent out to mend the highways. But when no public undertaking is to be performed, the hours of working are lessened. The public officials never engage the people in unnecessary labor, since the chief end of their economic system is to regulate labor by the necessities of the public, and to allow all the people as much time as possible for the improvement of their minds, in which they think the happiness of life consists.

But it is now time to explain to you the mutual intercourse of this people, their social arrangements, and the rules by which all things are distributed among them. As their towns are composed of families, so their families are made up of those that are nearly related to one another. Their women, when they grow up, are married out; but all the males, both children and grandchildren, live still in the same house, in great obedience to their oldest male relative unless age has weakened his understanding: and in that case, he that is next to him in age takes over. But lest any town should become either too great or too little, provision is made that none of their towns may contain above 6,000 families, besides those of the country round it. No family may have less than ten and more than sixteen grown-ups in it. Obviously, they cannot predict the number of children, but the rule is easily observed by removing some of the children, once they come of age, to any other family that does not abound so much in members. By the same rule, they supply towns that do not increase so fast, from others that breed faster; and if there is any increase over the whole island, then they draw out a number of their citizens out of the several towns, and send them over to the neighboring continent; where, if they find that the inhabitants have more land than they can well cultivate, they fix a colony, taking the native inhabitants into their society, if they are willing to live with them; and where they do that of their own accord, they quickly enter into the Utopian way of life and conform to its rules, and this proves a happiness to both nations; for according to their

constitution, such care is taken of the land that it becomes fruitful enough for both, though it might be otherwise too narrow and barren for any one of them.

But if the natives refuse to conform themselves to their laws, they drive them out of those bounds which they mark out for themselves, and use force if they resist. For they account it a very just cause of war for a nation to hinder others from possessing a part of that land of which they make no use, but which is suffered to lie idle and uncultivated; since every man has by the law of nature a right to such a waste portion of the earth as is necessary for his subsistence. If an accident has so lessened the number of the inhabitants of any of their towns that it cannot be made up from the other towns of the island without diminishing them too much (which is said to have fallen out but twice since they were first a people, when great numbers were carried off by the plague), the loss is then supplied by recalling as many as are wanted from their colonies; for they will abandon these, rather than suffer the towns in the island to sink too low.

But to return to their manner of living in society, the oldest man of every family, as has been already said, is its governor. Wives serve their husbands, and children their parents, and always the younger serves the elder. Every town is divided into four equal parts, and in the middle of each there is a warehouse: what is produced by the several families is carried from thence to comprehensive shopping centers, in which all things of the same kind are laid out together; and thither every father goes and takes whatsoever he or his family needs, without either paying for it or leaving anything in exchange. There is no reason for giving a denial to any person, since there is such plenty of everything among them; and there is no danger of a man's asking for more than he needs, since everyone is sure that they shall always be supplied. It is the fear of want that makes any of the whole race of animals either greedy or ravenous; but besides fear, there is in man a pride that makes him fancy it a particular glory to excel others in pomp and excess. But by the laws of the Utopians, there is no room for this. Near the shopping centers there are markets for all sorts of provisions that come from the farming countryside, where there are not only herbs, fruits, and bread, but also fish, fowl, and cattle. Outside their towns, there are places appointed near some running water, for killing their beasts, and for washing away their filth, which is done by their slaves: for they suffer none of their citizens to kill their cattle, because they think that pity and good-nature, which are among the best of those affections that are born with us, are much impaired by the butchering of animals: nor do they suffer anything that is foul or unclean to be brought within their towns, lest the air should be polluted which might prejudice their health.

In every street there are large buildings that lie at an equal distance from each other, distinguished by particular names. These are the homes of the Styhogs, who, as I said, have jurisdiction over thirty families; fifteen of these live one side of the Styhog's house, and fifteen on the other, and there they meet and eat all their meals. The caterers for the dining-hall of every one of them come to the market-place at an appointed hour; and carry home provisions according to the number of those that belong to the hall. But the sick have special priority: these are lodged and provided for in the four public hospitals that belong to every town four hospitals. The hospitals are built just outside the city-walls and are so large that they may pass for little towns: by this means, if they had ever such a number of sick persons, they could lodge them conveniently, and at such a distance, that such of them as are sick of infectious diseases may be kept so far from the rest that there can be no danger of contagion. The hospitals are furnished and stored with all things needful for the ease and recovery of the sick; and those that are put in them are looked after with such tender and watchful care, and are so constantly attended by skillful physicians, that although none are forced to go there, nearly everyone falling ill would choose rather to go there than lie sick at home.

After the steward of the hospitals has taken for the sick whatsoever the physician prescribes, then the best things that are left in the market are distributed equally among the halls, in proportion to their numbers, only, in the first place, they serve the Mayor, the Bishop, the Trybchiefs, visiting diplomats, and

foreigners, if there are any, which indeed falls out but seldom, and for whom there are houses well furnished, particularly appointed for their reception when they come among them. At the hours of dinner and supper, the whole Sty being called together by sound of trumpet, they meet and eat together, except only such as are in the hospitals or lie sick at home. Yet after the halls are served, no man is hindered to carry provisions home from the market-place; for they know that none does that but for some good reason; for though any that will may eat at home, yet none does it willingly, since it is both ridiculous and foolish for any to give themselves the trouble to make ready an ill dinner at home, when there is a much more plentiful one made ready for him so near at hand. All the rough and dirty work about these halls is done by slaves; but the preparation and cooking is left entirely to the women, all those of every family taking it by turns. The other grown-ups sit at three or more tables, according to their number; the men sit toward the wall, and the women sit on the other side, that if any of them should be taken suddenly ill, which is no uncommon case among women with child, she may, without disturbing the rest, rise and go to the nursery, to join those breast-feeding children, where there is always clean water at hand, and cradles in which they may lay infants, if there is occasion for it, and a fire that they may shift and dress them before it.

Every child is nursed by its own mother, if death or sickness does not intervene; and in that case the Styhogs= wives find a wet-nurse quickly, which is no hard matter; for anyone that can do it offers herself cheerfully; for as they are much inclined to that piece of mercy, so the child whom the nurse considers the nurse as its mother. All the children under five years old eat in the nursery; the rest of the younger sort of both sexes, till they are fit for marriage, either serve those in the main dining-hall or, if they are not strong enough for that, stand by them in great silence, and eat what is given them; nor have they any other formality of dining. In the middle of the first table, which stands across the upper end of the hall, sit the Styhog and his wife; for that is the chief and most conspicuous place: next to him sit the two oldest diners, for there always din four to a table. If there is a chapel in the Sty, the vicar and his wife sit with the Styhog above all the rest: next them there is a mixture of old and young, who are so placed, that as the young are set near others, so they are mixed with the more elderly; which they say was appointed on this account, that the gravity of the old people, and the reverence that is due to them, might restrain the younger from all indecent words and gestures. Dishes are not served up to the whole table at first, but the best are first set before the old, whose seats are distinguished from the young, and after them all the rest are served alike. The old men share with the younger any really tasty bits that happen to be set before them, if there is not such an abundance of them that the whole company may be served alike. Thus old men are honored with a particular respect; yet all the rest eat as well as they.

Both dinner and supper are begun with some lecture on ethics that is read to them; but it is so short, that it is not tedious nor uneasy to hear it: from hence the old men take occasion to entertain those about them with some useful and pleasant commentary; but they do not engross the whole discourse so to themselves, during their meals, that the younger may not put in for a share: on the contrary, they engage them to talk, that so they may in that free way of conversation find out the force of everyone=s spirit and observe his temper. They eat breakfast quickly but sit long at supper; because they go to work after the one, and are to sleep after the other, during which they think the stomach carries on the concoction more vigorously. They never sup without music; and there is always fruit served up after meat; while they are at table, some burn perfumes and sprinkle about fragrant ointments and sweet waters: in short, they want nothing that may cheer up their spirits: they give themselves a large allowance that way, and indulge themselves in all such pleasures as are attended with no inconvenience. That=s how they live in the towns; in the country, where they live at great distance, everyone eats at home, and no family wants any necessary sort of provision, for it is from them that provisions are sent to those that live in the towns.

If any man has a mind to visit his friends that live in some other town, or desires to travel and see the rest of the country, he obtains leave very easily from the Styhog and Trybchiefs when there is no particular occasion for him at home: such as travel, carry with them a passport from the Mayor, which both certifies the license that is granted for traveling, and limits the time of their return. They are

furnished with a wagon, and a slave who drives the oxen and looks after them; but unless there are women in the company, the wagon is sent back at the end of the journey as a needless encumbrance. While they are on the road, they carry no provisions with them; yet they want nothing, but are everywhere treated as if they were at home. If they stay in any place longer than a night, they are expected to fit in and do their own sort of work and they will be welcomed by those who do it there; but if any man goes out of the town to which he belongs, without leave, and is found rambling without a passport, he is severely treated. He is punished as a fugitive and sent home disgracefully; and if he falls again into the like fault, is condemned to slavery. However, anyone who wants to travel only over the local countryside may freely do it, after getting his father=s permission and his wife=s consent; but when he comes into any of the country houses, if he expects to be entertained by them, he must work with them and conform to their rules: and if he does this, he may freely go over the whole precinct; being thus as useful to the town to which he belongs, as if he were still within it. Thus you see that there are no idle persons among them, nor pretense of excuse from labor. There are no taverns, no alehouses nor whore-houses among them; nor any other occasions of corrupting each other, of getting into corners, or forming themselves into parties. Everyone lives in full view, so that all are obliged, both to perform their ordinary tasks, and to employ themselves well in their spare hours. And it is certain that a people thus ordered must live in great abundance of all things; and these being equally distributed among them, no man can want, or be obliged to beg.

In their great annual Parliament at Dreamville, to which there are three sent from every town once a year, they examine what towns abound in provisions and what are under any scarcity, that so the one may be furnished from the other; and this is done freely, without any sort of exchange; for according to their plenty or scarcity they supply or are supplied from one another; so that indeed the whole island is, as it were, one family. When they have thus taken care of their whole country, and laid up stores for two years, which they do to prevent the ill-consequences of an unfavorable season, they order an exportation of the surplus, of grain, honey, wool, flax, wood, wax, tallow, leather, and cattle; which they send out commonly in great quantities to other nations. They order a seventh part of all these goods to be freely given to the poor of the countries to which they send them, and they sell the rest at moderate rates. And by this exchange, they not only bring back those few needful things that they do not produce themselves (and indeed they scarce need anything but iron) but also a great deal of gold and silver; and by their driving this trade so long, you cannot imagine how vast a treasure they have got among them, so that now they do not much care whether they sell off their merchandise for cash or credit.

A great part of their treasure is now in credit of this sort; but in all their contracts no private man stands bound, but the writing runs in the name of the town to which the debtor belongs; the town collects from the debtor when they please and can then use the money or enjoy the profit of it till the Utopians call for it; and the Utopians choose rather to let the greatest part of it lie in their hands who make advantage by it, than to call for it themselves: but if they see that any of their other neighbors stand more in need of it, then they call it in and lend it to them. Whenever they are engaged in war, which is the only occasion in which their treasure can be usefully employed, they make use of it themselves, in hiring foreign mercenaries, whom they more willingly expose to danger than their own people: they give them great pay, knowing well that this will work even on their enemies, that it will engage them either to betray their own side, or at least to desert it, and that it is the best means of raising mutual jealousies among them. For this end they have an incredible treasure; but they do not keep it as a treasure, but in such a manner as I am almost afraid to tell, lest you think it so extravagant, as to be hardly credible. This I have the more reason to apprehend, because if I had not seen it myself, I could not have been easily persuaded to have believed it upon any man=s report.

It is certain that all things appear incredible to us, in proportion as they differ from our own customs. But one who can judge aright will not wonder to find that, since their arrangement of life differs so much from ours, their value of gold and silver should be measured by a very different standard; for

since they have no use for money among themselves, but keep it as a provision against events which seldom happen, and between which there are generally long intervals, they value it no farther than it deserves, that is, in proportion to its use, which is, of course far less than the value of iron. For men can no more live without iron than without fire or water, but Nature has marked out no use for the other metals so essential that they could not easily be dispensed with. It is the idiocy of mankind to enhance the value of gold and silver, simply because of their scarcity. Whereas, on the contrary, it is the Utopian opinion that Mother Nature, as an indulgent parent, has freely given us all the best things in great abundance, such as water and earth, and has buried and hidden away the things that are vain and useless.

Now, if these metals were laid up in any tower in the kingdom, it would raise a suspicion among the people that the Mayor and the District Councilors were intending to sacrifice the interest of the public to their own private advantage. At the same time, if they should work it into vessels or any sort of plate, they fear that the people might grow too fond of it, and so be unwilling to let the plate be run down if a war made it necessary to employ it in paying their soldiers. To prevent all these inconveniences, they have fallen upon an expedient, which, as it agrees with their other policy, so is it very different from ours, and will scarce gain belief among us, who value gold so much and lay it up so carefully. They eat and drink out of vessels of earth, or glass, which make an agreeable appearance though formed of brittle materials: while they make their toilet-seats and urinals of gold and silver; and that not only in their public halls, but in their private houses: of the same metals they likewise make chains and fetters for their slaves; to some of which, as a badge of infamy, they hang an ear-ring of gold, and make others wear a chain or coronet of the same metal; and thus they take care, by all possible means, to render gold and silver a thing of contempt. And from hence it is that while other nations part with their gold and silver as unwillingly as if one tore out their guts, those of Utopia would look upon giving all they possess of those metals (when there was any use for them) but as the donation of a trifle, much as we would esteem the loss of a penny. They find pearls on their coast, and diamonds and carbuncles on their rocks; they do not seek them, but if they find them by chance they polish them, and with them they adorn their children, who are delighted with them, and glory in them during their childhood; but when they grow to years, and see that none but children use such baubles, they of their own accord, without being bid by their parents, lay them aside; and would be as much ashamed to use them afterward as children among us, when they come to years, are of their puppets and other toys.

I never saw a clearer instance of the opposite impressions that different customs make on people, than I observed in the ambassadors from Fartland, who came to Dreamville when I was there. As they came to treat of affairs of great consequence, the deputies from several towns met together to wait for their coming. The ambassadors of the nations that lie near Utopia, knowing their customs, and that fine clothes are in no esteem among them, that silk is despised, and gold is a badge of infamy, used to come very modestly clothed; but the Fartlanders, lying more remote, and having had little commerce with them, understanding that they were coarsely clothed, and all in the same manner, took it for granted that they had none of those fine things among them of which they made no use; and they being a self-assertive rather than a wise people, resolved to set themselves out with so much splendor that they should look like gods, and strike the eyes of the poor Utopians with their appearance. Thus three ambassadors made their entry with 100 attendants, all clad in garments of different colors, and the greater part in silk; the ambassadors themselves, who were of the nobility of their country, were in cloth-of-gold, and adorned with massy chains, ear-rings, and rings of gold: their caps were covered with bracelets set full of pearls and other gems: in a word, they were set out with all those things that, among the Utopians, were the badges of slavery, the marks of infamy, or the playthings of children.

It would have amused you to see, on the one side, how they looked big, when they compared their rich habits with the plain clothes of the Utopians, who were come out in great numbers to see them make their entry: and, on the other, to observe how much they were mistaken in the impression which they hoped their display would have made on them. It appeared so ridiculous a show to all that had never stirred out of their country and had not seen the customs of other nations that though they paid some

reverence to those that were the most meanly clad, as if they had been the ambassadors, yet when they saw the ambassadors themselves, so full of gold and chains, they looked upon them as slaves, and virtually ignored them. You might have heard the children, who were grown big enough to despise their playthings and who had thrown away their jewels, call to their mothers, push them gently, and cry out, ASee that great fool that wears pearls and gems, as if he were yet a child.@ While their mothers very innocently replied, AHold your peace; this, I believe, is one of the ambassador=s court jesters.@ Others censured the fashion of their chains, and observed that they were of no use; for they were too slight to bind their slaves, who could easily break them; and besides hung so loose about them that they thought it easy to throw them away, and so run free of them.

But after the ambassadors had stayed a day among them and saw so vast a quantity of gold in their houses, which was as much despised by them as it was esteemed in other nations, and beheld more gold and silver in the chains and fetters of one slave than all their ornaments amounted to, their plumes fell, and they were ashamed of all that glory for which they had formerly valued themselves, and they accordingly laid it aside; a resolution that they immediately took, when on their engaging in some free discourse with the Utopians, they discovered their sense of such things and their other customs. The Utopians wonder how any man should be so much taken with the glaring doubtful luster of a jewel or a stone, that can look up to a star or the sun; or how any should value himself because his cloth is made of a finer thread: for how fine soever that thread may be, it was once no better than the fleece of a sheep, and that sheep was a sheep still while wearing it. They wonder much to hear that gold which in itself is so useless a thing, should be everywhere so much esteemed, that even men for whom it was made, and by whom it has its value, should yet be thought of less value than this metal. That a man whose brains are lead, who has no more sense than a log of wood, and is as bad as he is foolish, should have many wise and good men to serve him, only because he has a great heap of that metal; and that if it should happen that by some accident or trick of law (which sometimes produces as great changes as chance itself) all this wealth should pass from the master to the meanest varlet of his whole family, he himself would very soon become one of his servants, as if he were a thing that belonged to his wealth, and so were bound to follow its fortune. But they much more admire and detest the folly of those who, when they see a rich man, though they neither owe him anything nor are in any sort dependent on his bounty, yet merely because he is rich give him little less than divine honors, even though they know him to be so covetous and base-minded that notwithstanding all his wealth he will not part with one penny of it to them as long as he lives.

These and such like notions has that people imbibed, partly from their education, being bred in a country whose customs and laws are opposite to all such foolish maxims, and partly from their learning and studies; for though there are but few in any town that are so wholly excused from labor as to give themselves entirely up to their studies, these being only such persons as discover from their childhood an extraordinary capacity and disposition for letters; yet their children, and a great part of the nation, both men and women, are taught to spend those hours in which they are not obliged to work, in reading: and this they do through the whole progress of life. All their books are written in the Utopian language, which is both copious and pleasant to the ear, and one in which a man can fully express his mind. It is spoken all over that part of the world but it not always with much facility outside Utopia itself. In this language, they have accumulated quite a store of knowledge. They had never so much as heard of the names of any of those philosophers that are so famous in these parts of the world, before we went among them; and yet they had made the same discoveries as the Greeks, in music, logic, arithmetic, and geometry. But as they are almost in everything equal to the ancient philosophers, so they rather fall behind our modern logicians; for they have never yet forced their youths to learn those rules and syllogisms of such desperate importance in our logical schools. They are so far from understanding the whole subject of Intension² that none of them could comprehend what we meant when we talked to them

²In logic, the range of properties that determine the general class to which something designated

of Man, whose qualities are common to all particular human beings and who must therefore be bigger and more real than any of them. We spoke of this Colossus universal Man as if he were impossible to overlook, and yet none of them could see him.

by a concept belongs. All things sharing an Intension constitute the Extension of the concept.

Yet for all this ignorance of these notions, they knew astronomy, and were perfectly acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies, and have many instruments, well contrived and divided, by which they very accurately compute the course and positions of the sun, moon, and stars. But the frauds of astrology have not so much as entered into their thoughts. They have a particular sagacity, founded upon much observation, in weather-forecasting, but as to the philosophy of these things, the causes of the saltiness of the sea, of its ebbing and flowing, and of the origin and nature both of the heavens and the earth; they dispute of them, partly as our ancient philosophers have done, and partly upon some new hypothesis, in which, as they differ from them, so they do not in all things agree among themselves.

As to moral philosophy, they have the same disputes among them as we have here: they examine what are properly good both for the body and the mind, and whether any outward thing can be called truly good, or if that term belong only to the endowments of the soul. They inquire likewise into the nature of virtue and pleasure; but their chief dispute is concerning the happiness of a man, wherein it consists and whether in some one thing or in a great many. They seem, indeed, inclined to the opinion that places, if not the whole, yet the chief part of a man's happiness is in pleasure; and, what may seem more strange, they make use of arguments even from religion, notwithstanding its severity and roughness, for the support of that opinion so indulgent to pleasure; for they never dispute concerning happiness without fetching some arguments from the principles of religion, as well as from natural reason, since without religion they reckon that reason's notions of happiness must be but conjectural and defective.

These are their religious principles, that the soul of man is immortal, and that God of his goodness has designed that it should be happy; and that he has therefore appointed rewards for good and virtuous actions, and punishments for vice, to be distributed after this life. Though these are religious principles, they think that even reason itself determines a man to believe and acknowledge them, and freely confess that if these were taken away no man would be so insensible as not to seek after pleasure by all possible means, lawful or unlawful; using only this caution, that a lesser pleasure might not stand in the way of a greater, and that no pleasure ought to be pursued that should draw a great deal of pain after it; for they think it the maddest thing in the world to pursue virtue, that is often an uncomfortable thing; and not only to renounce the pleasures of life, but willingly to undergo much pain and trouble, if a man has no prospect of a reward. And what reward can there be for one that has passed his whole life, not only without pleasure, but in pain, if there is nothing to expect after death?

Yet they do not place happiness in all sorts of pleasures, but only in those that in themselves are good and honest. There are a few among them who place happiness simply in virtue itself, but most think that virtue conducts creatures like us to happiness and that happiness, considered as a sum of pleasures, is the *summum bonum*, that is, the highest good of man. They define virtue thus, that it is a living according to nature and think that God made us to do so; they believe, therefore, that in pursuing or avoiding things according to reason one is just following one's natural inclinations. They also say that reason first teaches us to love and reverence for the Divine Majesty, to whom we owe both all that we have and all that we can ever hope for. In the next place, reason directs us to keep our minds as free from passion and as cheerful as we can, and that we should consider ourselves as bound by the ties of good-nature and humanity to use our utmost endeavors to help forward the happiness of all other persons.

For the most sour and severe pursuer of virtue, the greatest enemy to pleasure, although he sets hard rules for everyone to undergo much pain, do without sleep, and endure other discomforts, yet he also advises them to do all they can to relieve the pains and miseries of others, and he will praise those disposed to do so. And the Utopians infer that if a man ought to advance the welfare and comfort of the rest of mankind there being no virtue more proper and peculiar to our nature than to enhance the pleasure of others, free them from trouble and anxiety, and furnish them with the comforts of life, in which pleasure consists why, then, nature just as vigorously prompts everyone to do this for himself as well. Either a life of pleasure is a real evil, in which case we ought not to assist others in their pursuit of it, but

on the contrary, to keep them from it all we can, or else it is a good thing, so that we not only may, but ought to help others to it; and if this is the case, why, then, ought not a man to begin with himself? No one can be more bound to look after the good of another than after one's own; for nature cannot direct us to be good and kind to others and then turn around and tell us to be unmerciful and cruel to ourselves. Thus, as the Utopians define virtue to be living according to nature, so they imagine that nature prompts all people to seek after pleasure as the end of all they do. However, they also observe that in order to support the pleasures of life, nature inclines us to enter into society; for there is no man so much raised above the rest of mankind as to be the only favorite of nature who, on the contrary, seems to have placed on a level all those that belong to the same species. Upon this they infer that no one ought to seek his own conveniences at the expense of other people; and therefore they think that everyone should keep one's promises and also obey the laws regulating the distribution of those conveniences of life that afford us all our pleasures—provided such laws have been published in due form by a wise ruler or consented to by a people neither oppressed with tyranny nor circumvented by fraud.

They think it is an evidence of true wisdom for a man to pursue his own advantages as far as the laws allow it. They account it piety to prefer the public good to one's private concerns; but they think it unjust for a man to seek for pleasure by snatching another man's pleasures from him. And on the contrary, they think it a sign of a gentle and good soul, for a man to dispense with his own advantage for the good of others; and that by this means a good man finds as much pleasure one way as he parts with another; for he may expect the like from others when he may come to need it, and even if that should fail him, yet the sense of a good action, and the reflections that he makes on the love and gratitude of those whom he has so obliged, gives the mind more pleasure than the body could have found in that from which it had restrained itself. They are also persuaded that God will make up the loss of those small pleasures, with a vast and endless joy, of which religion easily convinces a good soul. Thus, upon an inquiry into the whole matter, they reckon that all our actions, and even all our virtues, terminate in pleasure, as in our chief end and greatest happiness.

They call by the name of pleasure every motion or state, either of body or mind in which nature teaches us to delight, but they cautiously limit pleasure only to those appetites and delights to which reason as well as sense carries us—those by which we neither injure any other person nor lose the possession of greater pleasures nor otherwise draw troubles after them. Accordingly, they look upon those delights which most peoples by an idiotic but common mistake call pleasure as things that greatly obstruct their real happiness instead of advancing it—As if their nature could be easily changed just by the use of words. Such things, they hold, so entirely possess the minds of those that are once captivated by them with a false notion of pleasure that there is no room left for pleasures of a truer or purer kind. They become prisoners of the many things that in themselves have nothing that is truly delightful—On the contrary, they have a good deal of bitterness in them—and yet from their perverse appetites after forbidden objects are not only ranked among the pleasures but are made even the great designs of life.

Among those who pursue these sophisticated pleasures, they reckon such as I mentioned before, who think themselves really the better for having fine clothes; in which they think they are doubly mistaken, both in the opinion that they have of their clothes, and in that they have of themselves; for if you consider the use of clothes, why should a fine thread be thought better than a coarse one? And yet these men, as if they had some real advantages beyond others and did not owe them wholly to their mistakes, look big, seem to fancy themselves to be more valuable, and imagine that a respect is due to them for the sake of a rich garment to which they would not have pretended if they had been more meanly clothed; they even resent it as an affront, if that respect is not paid them. It is just as idiotic to be taken with outward marks of respect, which signify nothing: for what true or real pleasure can one man find in another's standing bareheaded, or bending the knee to him? Will the bending another man's knees cure your rheumatism? And will his head's being bare cure the madness of yours? And yet it is wonderful to see how this imaginary notion of pleasure bewitches many who delight themselves with the fancy of their

nobility, and are pleased with this conceit, that they are descended from ancestors who have been held for some successions rich, and who have had great possessions; for this is all that makes nobility at present; yet they do not think themselves a whit the less noble, even when their immediate parents have left none of this wealth to them or they themselves have squandered it away.

The Utopians have no better opinion of those who are much taken with gems and precious stones, and who account it a degree of happiness, next to a divine one, if they can purchase one that is very extraordinary; especially if it be of that sort of stones that is then in greatest request; for the same sort is not at all times universally of the same value; nor will men buy it unless it be dismounted and taken out of the gold; the jeweler is then made to give good security, and required solemnly to swear that the stone is true, that by such an exact caution a false one might not be bought instead of a true: though if you were to examine it, your eye could find no difference between the counterfeit and that which is true; so that they are all one to you as much as if you were blind. Or can it be thought that they who heap up a useless mass of wealth, not for any use that it is to bring them, but merely to please themselves with the contemplation of it, enjoy any true pleasure in it? The delight they find is only a false shadow. Those are no better whose error is somewhat different from the former, and who hide it, out of their fear of losing it; for what other name can fit the hiding it in the earth, or rather the restoring it to it again, it being thus cut off from being useful, either to its owner or to the rest of mankind? And yet the owner having hid it carefully, is glad, because he thinks he is now sure of it. If it should be stolen, the owner, though he might live perhaps ten years after the theft, of which he knew nothing, would find no difference between his having or losing it; for both ways it was equally useless to him.

Among those foolish pursuers of pleasure they reckon all that delight in hunting, in fowling, or gaming: of whose idiocy they have only heard, for they have no such things among them. But they have asked us, what sort of pleasure is it that men can find in throwing the dice? For if there were any pleasure in it, they think the doing of it so often should give one a surfeit of it: and what pleasure can one find in hearing the barking and howling of dogs, which seem rather odious than pleasant sounds? Nor can they comprehend the pleasure of seeing dogs run after a hare, more than of seeing one dog run after another; for if the seeing them run is that which gives the pleasure, you have the same entertainment to the eye on both these occasions, since that is the same in both cases: but if the pleasure lies in seeing the hare killed and torn by the dogs, this ought rather to stir pity, that a weak, harmless and fearful hare should be devoured by strong, fierce, and cruel dogs. Therefore all this business of hunting is, among the Utopians, turned over to their butchers; and those, as has been already said, are all slaves; and they look on hunting as one of the basest parts of a butcher's work: for they account it both more profitable and more decent to kill those beasts that are more necessary and useful to mankind than the killing and tearing of so small and miserable an animal, which can only attract the huntsman with a false show of pleasure and from which he can reap but small advantage. They look on the desire of the bloodshed, even of beasts, as a mark of a mind that is already corrupted with cruelty, or that at least by the frequent returns of so brutal a pleasure must degenerate into it.

Thus, though the rabble of mankind look upon these, and on innumerable other things of the same nature, as pleasures, the Utopians, on the contrary, observing that there is nothing in them truly pleasant, conclude that they are not to be reckoned among pleasures: for though these things may create some tickling in the senses (which seems to be a true notion of pleasure), yet they imagine that this does not arise from the thing itself, but from a depraved custom, which may so vitiate a man's taste, that bitter things may pass for sweet; as women with child think pitch or tallow tastes sweeter than honey; but as anyone's sense when corrupted, either by a disease or some ill habit, does not change the nature of other things, so neither can it change the nature of pleasure.

They reckon up several sorts of pleasures, which they call true ones: some belong to the body and others to the mind. The pleasures of the mind lie in knowledge, and in that delight which the

contemplation of truth carries with it; to which they add the joyful reflections on a well-spent life, and the assured hopes of a future happiness. They divide the pleasures of the body into two sorts; the one is that which gives our senses some real delight, and is performed, either by supplying those parts which feed the internal heat of life by eating and drinking; or when nature is eased of any excess that oppresses it; as in excreting or scratching or satisfying the appetite which nature has wisely given to lead us to the propagation of the species. There is also a pleasure that arises neither from our receiving what the body requires nor its being relieved when overcharged, and yet by a secret, unseen virtue affects the senses, raises the passions, and strikes the mind with generous impressions; this is the pleasure that arises from music. The second kind of bodily pleasure is that which results from an undisturbed and vigorous constitution of body, when life and active spirits seem to actuate every part. This lively health, when entirely free from all mixture of pain, of itself gives an inward pleasure, independent of all external objects of delight; and though this pleasure does not so powerfully affect us, nor act so strongly on the senses as some of the others, yet it may be esteemed as the greatest of all pleasures, and almost all the Utopians reckon it the foundation and basis of all the other joys of life; since this alone makes the state of life easy and desirable; and when this is wanting, a man is really capable of no other pleasure. They look upon any freedom from pain unaccompanied by perfect health to be mere anaesthesia.

This subject has been closely discussed among them long ago: should a firm and entire health be called a pleasure or not? Some have thought that there was no pleasure but what was excited by some sensible motion in the body. But this opinion has been long ago excluded from among them, so that now they almost universally agree that health is the greatest of all bodily pleasures; and that as there is a pain in sickness, which is as opposite in its nature to pleasure as it is to health, so they hold that health is accompanied with pleasure: and if any should say that sickness is not really pain, but only carries pain along with it, they look upon that as a quibble that does not much alter the matter. It is all one, in their opinion, whether it be said that health is in itself a pleasure, or that it begets a pleasure, as fire gives heat; so it be granted, that all those whose health is entire have a true pleasure in the enjoyment of it: and they reason thus--what is the pleasure of eating, but that a man's well-being, which had been weakened, drives away hunger with food and so recovers its former vigor? And being thus refreshed, it finds a pleasure in that conflict; and if the conflict is pleasure, the victory must yet breed a greater pleasure. Why should we suppose that it becomes insensible as soon as it has obtained that which it pursued, and so neither experiences nor rejoices in its success? If it is said that health cannot be felt, they absolutely deny it; for what man is in health that does not perceive it when he is awake? Is there any man that is so dull and stupid as not to acknowledge that he feels a delight in health? And what is delight but another name for pleasure?

But of all pleasures, they esteem those to be most valuable that lie in the mind, the chief of which arises out of true virtue, and the witnesses of a good conscience. They account health the chief pleasure that belongs to the body; for they think that the pleasure of eating and drinking, and all the other delights of sense, are only so far desirable as they give or maintain health, not pleasant in themselves; just as a way of resisting decline of one kind or another. For as a wise man desires rather to avoid diseases than to take medicines, and to be freed from pain, rather than to find ease by remedies, so it is more pleasant not to hanker after food and drink than to overindulge them. If any man imagines that there is a real happiness in these enjoyments, he must then confess that he would be the happiest of all men if he were to lead his life in perpetual hunger, thirst, and itching in order to be perpetually eating, drinking, and scratching himself; which anyone may easily see would be not only a base but a miserable state of life. The bodily satisfactions apart from health itself are indeed the lowest of pleasures and the least pure; for we can relish them only when they are mixed with the contrary pains. The pain of hunger must give us the pleasure of eating. Here the pain out-balances the pleasure; and as the pain is more vehement, so it lasts much longer; for as it begins before the pleasure, so it does not cease but with the pleasure that extinguishes it, and both expire together.

They think, therefore, none of those pleasures is to be valued any further than as it is necessary; yet they rejoice in them, and with due gratitude acknowledge the tenderness of Mother Nature, who has planted in us appetites, by which those things that are necessary for our preservation are likewise made pleasant to us. For how miserable a thing would life be, if those chronic illnesses of hunger and thirst were to be carried off by such bitter drugs as we must use for those diseases that come less often upon us? And thus these pleasant as well as proper gifts of nature maintain the strength and the sprightliness of our bodies.

They also entertain themselves with the other delights let in at their eyes, their ears, and their nostrils, as the pleasant relishes and seasonings of life, which nature seems to have marked out peculiarly for man; since no other sort of animals contemplates the figure and beauty of the universe, nor is delighted with smells, any further than as they can find food by them; nor do they apprehend the concords or discords of sound. Yet in all pleasures whatsoever the Utopians take care that a lesser joy does not hinder a greater, and that pleasure may never breed pain, which they think always follows dishonest pleasures. But they think it madness for a man to wear out the beauty of his face, or the force of his natural strength; to corrupt the sprightliness of his body by sloth and laziness, or to waste it by fasting; that it is madness to weaken the strength of his constitution, and reject the other delights of life; unless by renouncing his own satisfaction, he can either serve the public or promote the happiness of others, for which he expects a greater recompense from God. So that they look upon an ascetic course of life as the mark of a mind that is both cruel to itself, and ungrateful to Nature, as if we did not wish to be in her debt for her favors, and therefore reject all her blessings; as one who should torment himself for a pointless virtue; or for no better end than to render himself capable of bearing misfortunes that may never happen.

Well, that's their notion of virtue and of pleasure; they think that no man's reason can carry him to a truer idea of them, unless some discovery from heaven should inspire him with sublimer notions. I have not now the leisure to examine whether they think right or wrong in this matter: nor do I judge it necessary, for I have only undertaken to give you an account of their way of life, not to defend it. I am sure, that whatsoever may be said of their notions, there is not in the whole world either a better people or a happier government: their bodies are vigorous and lively; and though they are but of a middle stature, and have neither the most fertile soil nor the purest air in the world, yet they fortify themselves by a well-balanced diet so well that they are resistant to bad weather and by their industry they so cultivate their soil, that there is nowhere to be seen a greater increase both of grain and cattle, nor are there anywhere healthier men and freer from diseases: for one may there see reduced to practice, not only all the arts that the farmer employs in manuring and improving an ill soil, but whole woods plucked up by the roots, and in other places new ones planted, where there were none before. Their principal motive for this is to make transporting timber easy, by growing it either near their towns or on the banks of the sea or of some rivers, so as to be floated to them; for it is a harder work to carry wood at any distance over land, than grain.

The people are industrious, apt to learn, as well as cheerful and pleasant; and none can endure more labor, when it is necessary; but otherwise they love their leisure, for it gives them time to use their brains. They are unwearied pursuers of knowledge; for when we had given them some hints of the learning and discipline of the Greeks, concerning whom we only instructed them (for we know that there was nothing among the Romans, except their historians and their poets, that they would value much), it was strange to see how eagerly they were set on learning that language. We began to read a little of it to them, rather in compliance with their importunity, than out of any hopes of their reaping from it any great advantage. But after a very short trial, we found they made such progress, that we saw our labor was like to be more successful than we could have expected. They learned to write and speak the language so exactly, had so quick an apprehension, remembered it so faithfully, and became so ready and correct in the use of it, that it would have looked like a miracle if the greater part of those whom we taught had not been men both of extraordinary capacity and of a fit age for instruction. They were for the greatest part

chosen from among their learned men, by their chief Council, though some studied it of their own accord. In three years= time they became masters of the whole language, so that they read the best of the Greek authors very exactly. I am indeed apt to think that they learned that language the more easily, from its having some relation to their own. I believe that they were a colony of the Greeks; for though their language comes nearer the Persian, yet they retain many names, both for their towns and public officials, that are of Greek derivation.

I happened to carry a great many books with me, instead of merchandise, when I sailed my fourth voyage; for I was so far from thinking of soon coming back, that I rather thought never to have returned at all, and I gave them all my books, among which were many of Plato=s and some of Aristotle=s works. I had also Theophrastus=s book on botany, which, to my great regret, was imperfect; for having laid it carelessly by, while we were at sea, a monkey had seized upon it, and in many places torn out the leaves. I had no book of grammar but Lascaris, for I did not carry Theodorus with me; nor had I any dictionaries but Hesichius and Dioscorides. They esteem Plutarch highly, and were much taken with Lucian=s wit and with his pleasant way of writing. As for the poets, they now have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles of Aldus=s edition; and for historians Thucydides, Herodotus, and Herodian. One of my companions, Master Pettytrifle³, happened to carry with him some of Hippocrates=s works, and Galen=s *Art of Medicine*, which they hold in great estimation; for though there is no nation in the world that needs medicine so little as they do, yet there is not any that honors it so much: they reckon the knowledge of it one of the pleasantest and most profitable parts of natural philosophy, by which, as they search into the secrets of nature, so they not only find this study highly agreeable, but think that such inquiries are very acceptable to the Author of nature; and imagine that as He, like human craftsmen, had constructed the great structure of the universe and exposed it to the view of the only creatures capable of contemplating it, so an exact and curious observer, who admires His workmanship, is much more acceptable to Him than one of the herd, who, like a beast incapable of reason, looks on this glorious scene with the eyes of a dull and unconcerned spectator.

³Mr Tricius Apinatus, in the original. The name is composed of Martial=s expressed opinion of his own poems, that they were *apinae tricaeque*, that is, Atrifles and toys@.

The minds of the Utopians, when trained by their studies, are very ingenious in discovering all such arts as are necessary to make life comfortable. Two things they owe to us, the manufacture of paper and the art of printing: yet they are not so entirely indebted to us for these discoveries but that a great part of the invention was their own. We showed them some books printed by Aldus, we explained to them the way of making paper, and the mystery of printing; but as we had never practiced these arts, we described them in a crude and superficial manner. They seized the hints we gave them, and though at first they could not arrive at perfection, yet by making many essays they at last found out and corrected all their errors, and conquered every difficulty. Before this they only wrote on parchment, on reeds, or on the bark of trees; but now they have established the manufacture of paper, and set up printing-presses, so that if they had but a good number of Greek authors they would be quickly supplied with many copies of them: at present, though they have no more than those I have mentioned, yet by several impressions they have multiplied them into many thousands.

If any man was to go among them that had some extraordinary talent, or that by much traveling had observed the customs of many nations (which made us to be so well received), he would receive a hearty welcome; for they are very desirous to know the state of the whole world. Very few traders go among them, for what can a man carry to them but iron, and the Utopians think it better to manage their own exports than to leave it to foreigners, for by this means, as they understand the state of the neighboring countries better, so they keep up the art of navigation, which cannot be maintained but by much practice.

They do not make slaves of enemy civilians but only those taken in battle; nor of the offspring of their slaves, nor of those of other nations: the slaves among them are only such as are condemned to that state of life for the commission of some crime, or, which is more common, such as their merchants find condemned to die in those parts to which they trade, whom they sometimes redeem cheaply and in other places have them for nothing. They are kept at perpetual labor, and are always chained, but with this difference, that the Utopian slaves are treated much worse than the foreign ones; they are considered as more deplorable than the rest, since they could not be restrained by the advantages of so excellent an education, and are therefore judged worthy of harder usage. Another sort of slaves are the poor of the neighboring countries, who offer of their own accord to come and serve them; they treat these still better, and use them in all other respects as well as the free Utopians, except for imposing more labor upon them, which is no hard task to those that have been accustomed to it; and if any of these have a mind to go back to their own country, which indeed falls out but seldom, as they do not force them to stay, so they let them go freely and do not send them away empty-handed.

I have already told you with what care they look after their sick, so that nothing is left undone that can contribute either to their ease or health: and for those who are taken with fixed and incurable diseases, they use all possible ways to cherish them, and to make their lives as comfortable as possible. They visit them often, and take great pains to make their time pass off easily: but when any is taken with a torturing and lingering pain, so that there is no hope, either of recovery or ease, the priests and public officials come and exhort them, that since they are now unable to go on with the business of life and have become a burden to themselves and to all about them, they have really outlived themselves; they should no longer nourish a perpetual disease but choose rather to die, since they cannot live but in much misery: being assured, that if they thus deliver themselves from torture, or are willing that others should do it, they shall be happy after death. Since by their acting thus, they lose none of the pleasures but only the troubles of life, they think they behave not only reasonably, but in a manner consistent with religion and piety; because they follow the advice given them by their priests, who are expounders of the will of God. Such as are wrought on by these persuasions, either starve themselves of their own accord, or take opium, and by that means die without pain. But no man is forced on this way of ending his life; and if they cannot be persuaded to it, this does not induce others to fail in their attendance and care of them; but because they believe that a voluntary death must be reasonable to be honorable, so if you commit suicide for reasons

the priests and the Greathogs think inadequate, they give you none of the honors of a decent funeral but just throw your body into a ditch.

Their women are not married before eighteen, nor their men before two-and-twenty, and if any of them run into forbidden embraces before marriage they are severely punished, and the privilege of marriage is denied them, unless they can obtain a special license from the Mayor. Such conduct casts a great reproach upon the master and mistress of the household in which they happen, for it is supposed that they have failed in their duty. The reason of punishing this so severely is, because they think that if they were not strictly restrained from all vagrant appetites, very few would engage in marriage. A state in which one risks the quiet of the rest of one's life, being confined to one person and having to endure all the inconveniences of the arrangement.

In choosing their wives they use a method that would appear to us very absurd and ridiculous, but it is constantly observed among them, and is accounted perfectly consistent with wisdom. Before marriage some grave matron presents the bride naked, whether she is a virgin or a widow, to the bridegroom; and after that some grave man presents the bridegroom naked to the bride. We indeed both laughed at this, and condemned it as very indecent. But they, on the other hand, wondered at the folly of the men of all other nations, who, if they are but to buy a horse of a small value, are so cautious that they will see every part of him, and take off both his saddle and all his other tackle, that there may be no secret ulcer hid under any of them; and that yet in the choice of a wife, on which depends the happiness or unhappiness of the rest of his life, a man should venture upon trust, and only see about a hand's-breadth of the face, all the rest of the body being covered, under which there may lie hid what may be contagious as well as loathsome. All men are not so wise as to choose a woman only for her good qualities; and even wise men consider the body as that which adds not a little to the mind: and it is certain there may be some such deformity covered with the clothes as may totally alienate a man from his wife when it is too late to part from her. If such a thing is discovered after marriage, a man has no remedy but patience, and a woman likewise. They therefore think it is reasonable that there should be good provision made against such mischievous frauds.

There was so much the more reason for them to make a regulation in this matter, because they are the only people of those parts that neither allow of polygamy nor of divorces, except in the case of adultery or insufferable perverseness; for in these cases the Council dissolves the marriage and grants the injured person leave to marry again; but the guilty are made infamous and never allowed the privilege of a second marriage. None are allowed to divorce their wives against their wills from any great calamity that may have fallen on their persons; for they look on it as the height of cruelty and treachery to abandon either of the married persons when they need most the tender care of their comfort, and that chiefly in the case of old age, which as it carries many diseases along with it, so it is a disease of itself. But it frequently falls out that when a married couple do not well agree, they by mutual consent separate and find out other persons with whom they hope they may live more happily. Yet this is not done without obtaining leave of the Council, which never admits of a divorce but upon a strict inquiry made, both by the Greathogs and their wives, into the grounds upon which it is desired; and even when they are satisfied concerning the reasons of it, they go on but slowly, for they imagine that too great easiness in granting leave for new marriages would very much shake the tie of married people.

They punish adultery severely. If both parties are married they are divorced, and the injured persons may marry one another, or whom they please; but the adulterer and the adulteress are condemned to slavery. Yet if either of the injured persons cannot shake off the love of the married person, they may live with them still in that state, but they must follow them to that labor to which the slaves are condemned; and sometimes the repentance of the condemned, together with the unshaken kindness of the innocent and injured person, has prevailed so far with the Mayor that he has taken off the sentence; but those that relapse after they are once pardoned are punished with death. Otherwise, their laws do not

determine the punishment for crime, but it is left to the Council to temper it according to the circumstances. Husbands have power to correct their wives, and parents to chastise their children, unless the fault is so great that a public punishment is thought necessary for striking terror into others. For the most part, slavery is the punishment even of the greatest crimes, for as that is no less terrible to the criminals themselves than death, so they think the preserving them in a state of servitude is more for the interest of the commonwealth than killing them; as their labor is a greater benefit to the public than their death could be, so the sight of their misery is a more lasting terror to other men than that which would be given by their death. If their slaves rebel, and will not bear their yoke and submit to the labor that is enjoined them, they are treated as wild beasts that cannot be kept in order by prison or chains and are put to death. But those are not out of hope who bear their punishment patiently and are so much worked upon by their punishment that it appears they are really more troubled for the crimes they have committed than for the miseries they suffer; for it may happen at last that either the Mayor by his prerogative or the people by their intercession will restore them again to liberty, or at least much mitigate their slavery. He that tempts a married woman to adultery is no less severely punished than he that commits it; for they believe that a deliberate design to commit a crime is equal to the fact itself: since its not taking effect does not make the person that miscarried in his attempt at all the less guilty.

They take great pleasure in people with mental deficiencies, and as it is thought a base and unbecoming thing to use them ill, so they do not think it amiss for people to divert themselves with their incompetent speech and behavior: and, in the Utopian opinion, this is a great benefit to the defectives: for if no one were amused by their ridiculous behavior and foolish sayings, it could not be expected that anyone would trouble to look after them or use them so tenderly as they must otherwise be. But if any man should reproach another for his being misshaped or imperfect in any part of his body, it would not at all be thought a reflection on the person so treated, but it would be accounted stupid in him that had upbraided another with what he could not help. At the same time, it is thought a sign of a sluggish and sordid mind not to preserve carefully one's natural beauty; but it is likewise infamous among them to use cosmetics. They all see that no beauty recommends a wife so much to her husband as the probity of her life, and her obedience: for some few are caught only by beauty, but all are held only by virtue and a respectful attitude towards themselves.

As they fright men from committing crimes by punishments, so they invite them to the love of virtue by public honors: therefore they erect statues to the memories of such worthy men as have deserved well of their country, and set these in their market-places, both to perpetuate the remembrance of their actions, and to be an incitement to their posterity to follow their example. But anyone who campaigns for a public office is forbidden from ever holding one. They all live easily together, for none of the public officials are either insolent or cruel to the people: they affect rather to be called fathers, and by being really so, they well deserve the name; and the people pay them all the marks of honor the more freely, because none are exacted from them. The Mayor himself has no distinction, either of garments or of a crown; but is only distinguished by a sheaf of grain carried before him; as the high-priest is also known by his being preceded by a person carrying a candle.

They have but few laws, and such is their constitution that they need not many. They very much condemn other nations, whose laws, together with the commentaries on them, swell up to so many volumes; for they think it an unreasonable thing to oblige men to obey a body of laws that is too prolix for an ordinary person to read right through and so complicated that it cannot be understood without special training. They have no lawyers among them, for they consider them as a sort of people whose profession it is to disguise matters and to twist the laws; and therefore they think it is much better that every man should plead his own cause, and trust to the judge, as in other countries the client trusts a counselor. By this means they both cut off many delays and find out truth more certainly: for after the parties have laid open the merits of the cause, without those artifices which lawyers are apt to suggest, the judge examines the whole matter, and assists well-meaning persons too simple to plead their case properly, whom

otherwise crafty men would be sure to run down: and thus they avoid those evils which appear very remarkably among all those nations that labor under a vast load of laws. Every Utopian has expert legal knowledge, for as it is a very short study, so the plainest meaning of which words are capable is always the sense of their laws. And they argue thus: all laws are promulgated for this end, that every man may know his duty; and therefore the plainest and most obvious sense of the words is that which ought to be put upon them; since a more refined exposition cannot be easily comprehended, and would only serve to make the laws become useless to the greater part of mankind, and especially to those who need most the direction of them: for it is all one, not to make a law at all, or to couch it in such terms that without a quick apprehension, and much study, a man cannot find out the true meaning of it; since the generality of mankind are both so dull and so much employed in their several trades that they have neither the leisure nor the capacity requisite for such an inquiry.

Some of their neighbors, who are masters of their own liberties, having long ago been liberated from tyranny by the Utopians and admiring their good qualities, have come to desire that the Utopians send public officials to govern them; some changing them every year, and others every five years. At the end of their government they bring these governors back to Utopia, with great expressions of honor and esteem, and carry away others to govern in their place. In this they seem to have fallen upon a very good expedient for their own happiness and safety; for since the good or ill condition of a nation depends so much upon their public officials, they could not have made a better choice than by pitching on men whom no advantages can bias; for wealth is of no use to them, since they must so soon go back to their own country; and they being strangers among them, are not engaged in any of their heats or animosities; and it is certain that when public administration is influenced by money and bias there must follow a dissolution of justice, the chief sinew of society.

The Utopians call those nations that come and ask public officials from them, neighbors; but those to whom they have been of help to them, friends. But they never make actual treaties with other nations. Treaties, they think, are useless things. They believe that all human beings are allies by nature, and if anyone is ready to ignore the fundamental bond of humanity, what good will a parcel of words do to knit men together? Faith of promises will have no great effect; they are confirmed in this by what they see among the nations round about them, who are no strict observers of leagues and treaties. Of course, we know how religiously they are observed in Europe, more particularly where the Christian doctrine is received, among whom they are sacred and inviolable; which is partly owing to the justice and goodness of our kings and princes, and partly to the reverence they pay to the Popes; who as they are most religious observers of their own promises, so they exhort all other rulers to perform theirs; and when fainter methods do not prevail, they compel them to it by the severity of Papal rebuke, and think that it would be the most indecent thing possible if men who are particularly distinguished by the title of the Afaithful@ should not religiously keep the faith of their treaties. But in that newfound world, which is not more distant from us in situation than the people are in their manners and course of life, there is no trusting to leagues, even though they were made with all the pomp of the most sacred ceremonies; on the contrary, they are on this account the sooner broken, some slight pretense being found in the words of the treaties, which are purposely couched in such ambiguous terms that they can never be so strictly bound but they will always find some loophole to escape at; and thus they break both their treaties and their faith.

And this is done with such impudence, that those very men who value themselves on having suggested these tricks to their rulers, would with a haughty scorn declaim against such craft, or, to speak plainer, such fraud and deceit, if they found private men making use of it in their bargains, and would readily say that they deserved to be hanged. By this means it is, that all sorts of justice passes in the world for a low-spirited and vulgar virtue, far below the dignity of royal greatness. Or rather, there are set up two sorts of justice; the one is mean, and creeps on the ground, and therefore becomes none but the lower part of mankind, and so must be tethered by many restraints that it may not break out beyond the bounds that are set to it; and the other is the peculiar virtue of those in power, which, because it is more majestic

than those of ordinary folk, is free to do as it likes. Anyway, that is how kings behave in the new world, which is why the Utopians make no treaties. Perhaps they would change their mind if they lived among us; but yet though treaties were more religiously observed, they would still dislike the custom of making them; for they regard all treaties as wrong in principle. As if being separated perhaps by a mountain or a river cut the ties of humanity and everyone were born in a state of hostility, and so might lawfully do mischief to their neighbors unless there were a treaty to prevent it! In any case, when treaties are made, they do not cut off enmity or restrain open hostility, if the provisos against them are badly worded. The Utopians, in contrast, judge that no man is to be esteemed our enemy that has never injured us; that the partnership of the human nature is more effective than a military alliance; and that kindness and good-nature unite men more effectually and with greater strength than any agreements whatsoever; since thereby the engagements of men's hearts become stronger than the bond and obligation of words.

Utopians detest war as a very brutal thing, which is more practiced by men than beasts, to the shame of human nature. They think that there is nothing more inglorious than glory gained by war. And therefore though they accustom themselves daily to military exercises and the discipline of war in which not only their men but their women are trained, yet they do not rashly engage in war, unless it be to defend themselves or their friends from aggressors; or out of good-nature or in compassion assist an oppressed nation in shaking off the yoke of tyranny. They indeed help their friends, not only in defense but also in making reprisals for aggressions; but they never do that unless they had been consulted well in advance and are satisfied that all demands of reparation were rejected, so that a war was unavoidable. This they think to be not only just, when one neighbor robs another by force of arms, but also when the merchants of one country are oppressed by legal injustice in another. This they count a better cause of war precisely because unjust laws are used to excuse it.

This was how the war between the Seenots and the Cloudfolk started, a little before our time; for the merchants of Seenot had met, so the Utopians thought, great injustice among the Seenots. Whether they were right or wrong, there ensued a terrible war, involving scads of countries; and their keenness in carrying it on being supported by their strength in maintaining it, it not only shook some and very much afflicted others, but ended in the entire conquest and slavery of Seenot, who though before the war was much superior to the Cloudfolk; but though the Utopians had assisted the Cloudfolk in the war, yet they took no share of spoil.

But though they so vigorously assist their friends in obtaining reparation for the injuries they have received in affairs of this nature, yet if any such frauds were committed against themselves, provided no violence was done to their persons, they would simply refuse trading with such a people. This is not because they favor their neighbors more than their own citizens; but since their neighbors trade everyone upon his own stock, fraud is a more sensible injury to them than it is to the Utopians, among whom everyone shares the loss. As they expect nothing in return for the merchandise they export but that in which they so much abound and is of little use to them, the loss does not much affect them; they think therefore it would be too severe to revenge so trivial a loss with the death of many persons. But if any of their people is either killed or wounded wrongfully, whether it be done by public authority or only by private men, as soon as they hear of it they send ambassadors, and demand that the guilty persons may be delivered up to them. If that is denied, they declare war; if it be granted, the offenders are condemned either to death or slavery.

They would be both troubled and ashamed of a bloody victory over their enemies, and think it stupid to pay such a high price for anything, whatever its value. And in no victory do they glory so much as in that which is gained by diplomacy, without bloodshed. In such cases they appoint public triumphs, and erect trophies to the honor of those who have succeeded; for then do they reckon that a man acts suitably to his nature when he conquers his enemy in such a way as that no other creature but a man could be capable of, and that is by the strength of his understanding. Bears, lions, boars, wolves, and dogs, and

all other animals employ their bodily force one against another, in which as many of them are superior to men, both in strength and fierceness, so they are all subdued by his reason and understanding. The only design of the Utopians in war is to obtain that by force which would have prevented the war if it had been granted in time; or if that cannot be done, to take so severe a revenge on those that have injured them that they may be terrified from doing the like for the time to come. By these ends they measure all their designs, and so it's clear that national prestige is never an issue for them.

As soon as they declare war, they take care to have a great many posters fixed in the most conspicuous places of their enemies' country all at once. In these they promise great rewards to such as shall kill the enemy ruler, and lesser in proportion to such as shall kill any other persons on whom the ruler chiefly depends in case of war. And they double the sum to him that, instead of killing the person so marked out, shall take him alive and put him in their hands. They also offer both pardon and rewards to the persons named in the posters, if they will act against their associates; by this means those that are named become not only distrustful of their fellow-citizens but of one another, and are much distracted by fear and danger; for it has often fallen out that many of them, and even the ruler himself, have been betrayed by those in whom they have trusted most; for the rewards that the Utopians offer are so unmeasurably great, that there is no sort of crime to which men cannot be drawn by them. They consider the risk that those run who undertake such services, and offer a recompense proportioned to the danger; not only a vast deal of gold, but great revenues in lands, that lie among other nations that are their friends, where they may go and enjoy them very securely; and they observe the promises they make of this kind most faithfully.

They very much approve of this way of corrupting their enemies, though it appears to others to be base and cruel; but they look on it as a wise course, to make an end of what would be otherwise a long war without so much as hazarding one battle to decide it. They think it likewise an act of mercy and love to mankind to prevent the great slaughter of those that must otherwise be killed in the progress of the war, both on their own side and on that of their enemies, by the death of a few that are most guilty; and that in so doing they are kind even to their enemies, and pity them no less than their own people, as knowing that the greater part of them do not engage in the war of their own accord but are forced into by the powers that be. If this method does not succeed with them, then they sow seeds of contention among their enemies, and animate the king's brother, or some of the nobility, to aspire to the crown. If they cannot disunite them by domestic broils, then they engage their neighbors against them, and make them set on foot some old claims, which are never wanting among rival nations when they have occasion for them. They supply the claimant nation with money, though but very sparingly with any auxiliary troops: for they are so tender of their own people, that they would not willingly exchange one of them, even for the king of their enemies' country; but they easily part with money for it wouldn't affect their standard of living to spend all of it. And so they do most of their fighting mercenaries⁴. . . . Next to these they are served in their wars with those upon whose account they undertake them, and with the auxiliary troops of their other friends, to whom they join a few of their own people, and send some men of eminent and approved virtue to command in chief. There are two sent with him, who during his command are but private men, but the first is to succeed him if he should happen to be either killed or taken; and in case of the like misfortune to him, the third comes in his place; and thus they provide against ill events, that such accidents as may befall their generals may not endanger their armies.

When they conscript their own people for military service abroad, they take only volunteers,

⁴Omitted here is a description of the *Zapolites*, a name constructed out of Greek roots that signify a people who trade heavily in anything. They are the universal mercenaries in More's imaginary New World, rude and savage barbarians, who never betray a contract for hire but never sign on for any length of time and so, with due notice, will change sides when more money is on offer. Their business is shedding blood. In point of loyalty, the upper managerial staff of large corporations resemble the *Zapolites*.

because they think that nervous people make bad soldiers. But if an invasion is made on their country they subject everyone fit for service to the draft and put the cowards aboard their ships or place them on the walls of their towns, that being so posted they may find no opportunity of flying away; and thus either shame, the heat of action, or the impossibility of flying, bears down their cowardice; and in the last resort, they often fight well. But as they force no man to go a foreign war, so they do not hinder those women who want to go with their husbands; on the contrary, they encourage and praise them, and they often fight beside of their husbands. They also place together those who are related, parents and children, kindred, and those that are mutually allied, near one another; that those whom nature has inspired with the greatest zeal for assisting one another, may be the nearest and readiest to do it; and it is matter of great reproach if husband or wife survive one another, or if a child survives his parents, and therefore when they come to be engaged in action they continue to fight to the last man, if their enemies do not run away.

So long as they can use mercenaries, the Utopians keep out of battle, but when they must fight, their courage is equal to their earlier caution. It rises by degrees; and as they continue in action, they grow more obstinate and press harder upon the enemy, insomuch that they will much sooner die than give ground; for the certainty that their children will be well looked after when they are dead frees them from the anxieties that often undermines courage; and thus they are animated by a noble and invincible resolution. Their skill in military affairs helps, too; and the wise sentiments which, according to the laws of their country, are instilled into them in their education, give additional vigor to their minds: for as they do not undervalue life so as to throw it away, they are not so indecently fond of it as to preserve it by base and unbecoming methods. At the height of battle, the bravest of their youth form a special group to knock out the enemy general by every possible means anywhere in the battlefield; and these, when spent and wearied out, are relieved by others, who never give over the pursuit; so that unless he secures himself by flight, they seldom fail at last to kill or to take him prisoner.

When they have obtained a victory, they prefer taking prisoners to killing the conquered; nor do they ever let their men so loose in pursuit of their enemies, as not to retain an entire body still in order of battle. They are mindful how often they had turned the tide of battle, falling back themselves but managing to triumph in the end, thanks to the disorder in which the apparently victorious army was pursuing them. It is hard to tell whether they are more cunning in offense or defense. They sometimes seem to fly when it is far from their thoughts; and when they really mean to retreat, you=d never guess it from looking at them. In any case, it is no less dangerous to fall upon them in a retreat than in an advance. . . . All that are trained up to war practice swimming, so that they can swim rivers with their armor on. Both horse and foot make great use of arrows, and are very expert. They have no swords, but fight with heavy pole-axes, by which they strike down an enemy. They are very good at inventing warlike machines, and disguise them so well, that the enemy does not perceive them till he feels the use of them; so that he cannot prepare such a defense as would render them useless. If they agree to a truce, they observe it so religiously that no provocations will make them break it. They never lay their enemies=country waste nor burn their grain, and even take care that neither horse nor foot may tread it down, for they do not know but that they may have use for it themselves. They hurt no man whom they find disarmed, unless he is a spy. When a town is surrendered to them, they take it into their protection; and when they carry a place by storm, they never plunder it, but just kill those who opposed surrender, and make the rest of the army slaves, but for civilians, they do them no hurt; and if any of them had advised a surrender, they give them good rewards out of the estates of those that they condemn, and distribute the rest among their auxiliary troops, but they themselves take no share of the spoil.

When a war is ended, they do not oblige their friends to reimburse their expenses; but they obtain them of the conquered, either in money, which they keep for the next occasion, or in lands, out of which a constant revenue is to be paid them; by many increases, the revenue which they draw out from several countries on such occasions, is now risen to above 700,000 ducats a year. They send some of their own people to receive these revenues, who have orders to live magnificently and play-act the role of important

people, by which means they consume much of it upon the place; and either bring over the rest to Utopia, or lend it to the nation which pays it. This they most commonly do, unless some great occasion, which falls out but very seldom, should oblige them to call for it.

As for Utopian religious ideas, they have several religions, not only in different parts of the island, but even in every town; some worshipping the sun, others the moon or one of the planets: some worship such men as have been eminent in former times for virtue or glory, not only as ordinary gods, but as the supreme god: yet the greater and wiser sort of them worship none of these, but believe there is an invisible, infinite, and incomprehensible divine power far above all our apprehensions, that is spread over the whole universe, not as substance but as force. This force they call AFather@, and credit Him with the origins, increase, progress, changes, endings of all things; nor do they recognize any other gods. And indeed, though they differ concerning other things, yet all agree in this, that they think there is one Supreme Being that made and governs the world, whom they call in the language of their country Mithra. They differ in this and that; but they all agree in one principle, that whoever is this Supreme Being, He is also that great Essence to whose glory and majesty all honors are ascribed by the consent of all nations.

By degrees, they fall off from the various superstitions among them, and adopt the more reasonable ones; and there is no doubt but that all the others would have vanished long ago, if some of those who advised them to lay aside their superstitions had not met with some unhappy accident, which being considered as inflicted by heaven was looked upon as punishment by the god whose authority had been denied. But after they had heard from us an account of the doctrine, the course of life, and the miracles of Christ, and of the wonderful constancy of the martyrs whose blood, so willingly offered, was means of converting so many nations to the Christian faith, you cannot imagine how inclined they were to receive it. Whether this proceeded from any secret inspiration of God, or whether it was because it seemed so favorable to that community of goods which they already practiced, I cannot tell; since they perceived that Christ and his followers lived by that rule⁵ and that it was still kept up in some communities among the sincerest sort of Christians. From whichever of these motives it might be, true it is that many of them came over to our religion, and were initiated into it by baptism. But as none of us were in priest=s orders; we therefore could only baptize them; so that to our great regret they could not partake of the other sacraments, that can only be administered by priests; but they are instructed concerning them, and long most vehemently for them. They have had great disputes among themselves, whether one chosen by them to be a priest would not be thereby qualified to do all the things that belong to that character, even though he had no authority derived from the Pope; and they seemed to be resolved to choose some for that employment, but they had not done it when I left them.

Those among them that have not accepted Christianity do not discourage others from it, and use none ill who convert; so that all the while I was there, one man was only punished on this occasion. He being newly baptized, did, notwithstanding all that we could say to the contrary, dispute publicly concerning the Christian religion with more zeal than discretion; and with so much heat, that he not only preferred our worship to theirs, but condemned all their rites as profane; and cried out against all that adhered to them, as impious and sacrilegious persons, that were to be damned to everlasting burnings. Upon his having frequently preached in this manner, he was seized, and after trial he was condemned to banishment, not for having disparaged their religion, but for disturbing the peace. For this is one of their most ancient laws, that no man ought to be punished for his religion. At the first constitution of their government, Utopos having understood that before his coming among them the old inhabitants had been engaged in great quarrels concerning religion, by which they were so divided among themselves, that he found it an easy thing to conquer them, after he had subdued them, he made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavor to draw others to it by reasonable argument, quietly

⁵An allusion to *Acts*, ii, 44-5 and iv, 32, which make clear that communicants of the early Church held property in common.

and politely, but without bitterness against those of other opinions or violence or personal abuse; and such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment or slavery.

This law was made by Utopos, not only for preserving the public peace, which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable heats, but because he thought the interest of religion itself required it. He judged it unfit to determine anything rashly and seemed open to the idea that different forms of religion all came from God, who inspired different men in different ways and was pleased with the variety; he certainly thought it stupid for anyone to threaten and terrify a man to make him believe what did not appear to him true. And supposing that only one religion was really true and the rest false—Utopos imagined that the native force of truth would at last break forth and shine bright, if supported only by the strength of argument, and attended to with a gentle and unprejudiced mind; while, on the other hand, if such debates were carried on with violence and tumults, as the most wicked are always the most obstinate, so the best and most holy religion might be choked with superstition, as grain is with briars and thorns.

He therefore left all free to believe as they should see cause; only he made a solemn and severe law against such as should so far degenerate from the dignity of human nature as to think that our souls died with our bodies, or that the world was governed by chance, without a wise overruling Providence. For a man of such principles must despise all laws and customs as long as he thinks that he can get away with it: for there is no doubt to be made that a man who is afraid of nothing but the law, and apprehends nothing after death, will not scruple to break through all the laws of his country, either by fraud or force, when by this means he may gain his ends. The Utopian, therefore, never raises any that hold these maxims, either to honors or offices, nor employ them in any public trust, but despise them, as men of base and sordid minds: yet they do not punish them, because they lay this down as a maxim that a man cannot make himself believe anything he pleases; nor do they drive any to dissemble their thoughts by threats, so that men are not tempted to lie or disguise their opinions; which being a sort of fraud, is abhorred by the Utopians. They take care indeed to prevent their arguing in defense of these opinions, especially before the common people; but they suffer, and even encourage them to dispute concerning them in private with their priests and other persons of learning, being confident that they will be cured of those mad opinions by having reason laid before them.

There are many among them that run far to the other extreme (though it is neither thought an ill nor unreasonable opinion, and therefore is not at all discouraged); I refer to those who think that the souls of beasts are immortal, though far inferior to the dignity of the human soul, and not capable of so great a happiness. As for human happiness, almost all Utopians are firmly persuaded that good men will be infinitely happy in another state; so that though they sympathize with sick, yet they lament no one's death, unless they see that person unhappy to depart this life; for they look on this as a very ill presage, as if the soul, conscious to itself of guilt, and quite hopeless, was afraid to leave the body, from some secret hint of approaching misery. Besides, they think that God will not be pleased to see a person who does not answer His call cheerfully, but is backward and unwilling, and is, as it were, dragged to go before Him. They are struck with horror when they see any die in this manner, and carry them out in silence and with sorrow, and praying God that he would be merciful to the errors of the departed soul, they lay the body in the ground; but when any die cheerfully and full of hope, they do not mourn them but sing hymns when they carry out their bodies, and commend their souls very earnestly to God: their whole behavior is then rather grave than sad, they cremate the body and set up a pillar inscribed in honor of the deceased.

When they come from the funeral, they discourse of his good life and worthy actions, but speak of nothing oftener and with more pleasure than of his serenity at the hour of death. They think that this kind of respect is the best way of encouraging the living and also the best way pleasing the dead; for they believe that the dead, though invisible, are present among us, and hear those discourses that pass concerning themselves. They believe it inconsistent with the happiness of departed souls not to be at

liberty where they will and able to see whomever they loved in life; they are persuaded that good men after death have all their affections and good dispositions increased rather than diminished, and therefore conclude that they move among the living, and observe all they say or do; and this gives them greater confidence in the success of all their affairs. Further, this opinion of the presence of their ancestors discourages bad behavior in private.

They despise and laugh at omens and the other vain and superstitious ways of telling the future, so much observed among other nations; but have great reverence for such miracles as cannot flow from any of the powers of nature, and look on them as effects and indications of the presence of the Supreme Being, of which they say many instances have occurred among them; and that sometimes their public prayers, which upon great and dangerous occasions they have solemnly put up to God, with assured confidence of being heard, have been answered in a miraculous manner.

They think that contemplating God by studying the natural world is a very acceptable piece of worship to Him. There are many among them, however, that upon a motive of religion neglect learning, and apply themselves to no sort of study; nor do they allow themselves any leisure time, but are perpetually employed in good works, believing that the good things a person does secures happiness after death. Some of these visit the sick; others mend highways, cleanse ditches, repair bridges, or dig turf, gravel, or stones. Others fell and cleave timber, and bring wood, grain, and other necessaries on carts into their towns. Nor do these only serve the public, but they serve even private men, more than the slaves themselves do; for if there is anywhere a rough, hard, and sordid piece of work to be done, from which many are frightened by the labor and loathsomeness of it, if not the despair of accomplishing it, they cheerfully and of their own accord, take that to their share; and by that means, as they ease others very much, so they afflict themselves, and spend their whole life in hard labor; and yet they do not value themselves upon this, nor blame others while boasting about their virtue; but by their stooping to such servile employments, they are so far from being despised that they are esteemed by the whole nation.

Of these there are two sorts; some live unmarried and chaste and are vegetarians; and thus weaning themselves from all the pleasures of the present life, which they account hurtful, they pursue, even by the hardest and most painful methods possible that blessedness which they hope for hereafter; Another sort is less willing to put themselves to much toil, and therefore prefer a married state to a single one; and as they do not deny themselves the pleasure of it, so they think the begetting of children is a debt which they owe to human nature and to their country; nor do they avoid any pleasure that does not hinder labor, and therefore eat meat so much the more willingly, as they find that by this means they are the more able to work; the Utopians look upon these as the wiser sect, but they esteem the others as the more holy. They would indeed laugh at any man, who from the principles of reason would prefer an unmarried state to a married or a life of labor to an easy life; but they reverence and admire such as do it from the motives of religion. There is nothing in which they are more cautious than in judging anybody's religion. The men that lead those severe lives are called in the language of their country Rumenators, which corresponds to those we call religious ordersBmonks, friars, and the like.

Their priests are men of eminent piety, which means there aren=t many of them; there are only thirteen in every town, one for every church, with one set over the rest as Bishop; but when they go to war, seven of the ordinary priest go out with their forces, and seven others are chosen as temporary substitutes; those who return get their old jobs back and the substitutes attend upon the local Bishop till vacancies fall by death. The priests are chosen by secret ballot as the other public officials are, to prevent the formation of pressure groups; and when they are chosen they are consecrated by their colleagues. The care of all sacred things, the worship of God, and an inspection of the people=s morals are committed to them. It is a reproach to a man to be sent for by any of them or to be admonished by them. All that they can do, of course, is to exhort and admonish; for the power of punishing belongs wholly to the Mayor and other public officials. The severest thing that the priest does is excommunicate the wicked from joining in

worship. There is not any sort of punishment more dreaded, for as it loads them with infamy, so it fills them with secret horrors, such is their reverence to their religion; nor will their bodies be long exempted from their share of trouble; for if they do not very quickly satisfy the priests of the truth of their repentance, they are seized on by the Greathogs and punished for their impiety. The education of youth belongs to the priests, who instruct their pupils in letters and in moral principles; they use all possible methods to infuse very early into the tender and flexible minds of children such opinions as are both good in themselves and will be useful to their country. For when deep impressions of these things are made at that age, they follow men through the whole course of their lives, and conduce much to preserve the peace of the government, which suffers by nothing more than by vices that rise out of wrong ideas.

The wives of their priests are the most highly regarded of the whole country; sometimes the women themselves are made priests, though that falls out but seldom, nor are any but ancient widows chosen into that order. None of the public officials has greater honor paid him than is paid the priests; and if any priest should happen to commit any crime, he would not be questioned for it. His punishment is left to God and to his own conscience; for they do not think it lawful to lay hands on any man, how wicked soever he is, that has been in a peculiar manner dedicated to God; nor do they find any great difficulty in this, both because they have so few priests, and because these are chosen with much caution, so that it must be a very unusual thing to find one who degenerates into corruption and vice. And if such a thing should fall out, for man is a changeable creature, yet there being few priests, and these having no authority but what rises out of the respect that is paid them, they pose no danger to the public. The number of the priests is kept down lest greater numbers sharing in the same honor might make the dignity of that order which they esteem so highly to sink in its reputation. They also think it difficult to find out many of such an exalted pitch of goodness, as to be equal to that dignity which demands the exercise of more than ordinary virtues.

Nor are the priests in greater veneration among them than they are among their neighboring nations, as you may imagine when I tell you the reason for it. When the Utopians engage in battle, the priests who accompany them to the war kneel down during the action a short way off; and lifting up their hands to heaven, pray, first for peace, and then for victory to their own side, and particularly that it may be gained without much blood on either side; and when the victory turns to their side, they run in among their own men to restrain their fury; and if any of their enemies see them, or call to them, they are preserved by that means; and such as can come so near them as to touch their garments, have not only their lives, but their fortunes secured to them. Because all the nations round about consider them so much, and treat them with such reverence, the Utopian priests have been often just as able to preserve their own people as to save their enemies; for it has sometimes fallen out, that when the Utopian army have been in disorder, and forced to fly, so that their enemies were running upon the slaughter and spoil, the priests by interposing have separated them from one another, and stopped the effusion of more blood; so that by their mediation a reasonable peace has been concluded. Nor is there any nation about them so fierce, cruel, or barbarous as not to look upon their persons as sacred and inviolable.

The first and the last days of the month, and of the year, are religious festivals. They measure their months by the course of the moon, and their years by the course of the sun. The first days are called in their language the Newdays, and the last the Olddays; which answers in our language to the first and last holidays of the time in question. They have magnificent churches, that are not only nobly built, but extremely spacious; which is the more necessary, as they have so few of them; they are a little dark within, which proceeds not from any error in the architecture, but is done with design; for their priests think that too much light dissipates the thoughts, and that a more moderate degree of it both recollects the mind and raises devotion. Though there are many different forms of religion among them, yet all these, how various soever, agree in the main point, which is the worshiping of the Divine Essence; and therefore there is nothing to be seen or heard in their temples in which the several persuasions among them may not agree; for every sect performs those rites that are peculiar to it, in their private houses, nor is there

anything in the public worship that contradicts the particular ways of those different sects. There are no images for God in their temples, so that everyone may represent Him to his thoughts, according to the way of one's religion; nor do they call this sole God by any other name than that of Mithra, which is their common name for the Divine Essence, whatsoever they think it to be; nor are there any prayers among them but such as every one of them may use without prejudice in the churches of any other sect.

They fast on Olddays and go to church in the evening, thanking God for their success during the past year or month; and the following Newday they meet early in their churches to pray for the year or month to come. Before church on Turndays, both wives and children kneel before their husbands or parents, and confess their sins of omission and commission and beg pardon for them. Thus all little grudges in families are removed, and they may offer up their devotions with a pure and serene mind; for they hold it a great impiety to enter upon them with disturbed thoughts, or with a consciousness of their bearing hatred or anger in their hearts to any person whatsoever; and think that they should become liable to severe punishments if they presumed to offer sacrifices without cleansing their hearts and reconciling all their differences. In the temples, the two sexes are separated, the men go to the right hand, and the women to the left; and the males and females all place themselves before the head and master or mistress of that family to which they belong; so that those who have the government of them at home may see their deportment in public; but the younger are mixed in with the older, for if the younger all sat together, they might perhaps trifle away the time which they ought to spend in religious awe—the greatest and almost the only incitement to virtue.

They offer up no living creature in sacrifice, nor do they think it suitable to the Divine Being, from whose bounty it is that these creatures have derived their lives, to take pleasure in their deaths, or the offering up of their blood. They burn incense and other sweet odors, and have a great number of wax lights during their worship; not out of any imagination that such oblations can add anything to the divine nature, which even prayers cannot do; but as it is a harmless and pure way of worshiping God, so they think those sweet savors and lights, together with some other ceremonies, by a secret and unaccountable virtue, elevate men's souls, and inflame them with greater energy and cheerfulness during the divine worship.

All the people appear in the temples in white garments, but the priest's vestments are parti-colored, and both the work and colors are wonderful. They are made of no rich materials, for they are neither embroidered nor set with precious stones, but are composed of the plumes of several birds, laid together with so much art and so neatly, that the true value of them is far beyond the costliest materials. They say that in the ordering and placing those plumes some dark mysteries are represented, which pass down among their priests in a secret tradition concerning them; and that they are as hieroglyphics, putting them in mind of the blessings that they have received from God, and of their duties both to Him and to their neighbors. As soon as the priest appears in those ornaments, they all fall prostrate on the ground, with so much reverence and so deep a silence that such as look on cannot but be struck with it, as if it were the effect of the appearance of a deity. After they have been for some time in this posture, they all stand up, upon a sign given by the priest, and sing hymns to the honor of God, some musical instruments playing all the while. These are quite of another form than those used among us: but as many of them are much sweeter than ours, so others are made use of by us. Yet in one thing they very much exceed us; all their music, both vocal and instrumental, is adapted to imitate and express the passions, and is so happily suited to every occasion, that whether the subject of the hymn be cheerful or troubling, or to express grief or remorse, the music exactly represents the appropriate emotion and works it deep into the hearts of the congregation.

When this is done, both priests and people offer up very solemn prayers to God in a set form of words; and these are so composed, that whatsoever is pronounced by the whole assembly may be likewise applied by every man in particular to his own condition. In these prayers, they acknowledge God to be

the author and governor of the world, and the fountain of all the good they receive, and offer up their thanksgiving; they bless Him for His goodness in ordering it so that they are born under the happiest government in the world, and are of a religion which they hope is the truest of all others: but if they are mistaken, and if there is either a better government or a religion more acceptable to God, they implore His goodness to let them know it, vowing that they resolve to follow Him whithersoever He leads them. But if their government *is* the best and their religion *is* the truest, then they pray that He may strengthen them in it, and bring all the world to the same rules of life and to the same opinions concerning Himself; unless, according to the unsearchableness of His mind, He *is* pleased with a variety of religions. Then they pray that God may give them an easy passage at last to Himself; not presuming to set limits to Him how early or late it should be; but if it may be wished for, without derogating from His supreme authority, they desire to be quickly delivered, and to be taken to Himself, though by the most terrible kind of death, rather than to be detained longer from seeing Him by the most prosperous course of life. When this prayer is ended, they all fall down again upon the ground, and after a little while they rise up, go home to dinner, and spend the rest of the day in recreation or military training.

Well, there you are I have described to you, as accurately as I could, the make-up of the commonwealth, which I do not only think the best in the world but indeed the only commonwealth that truly deserves that name. In all other places it is visible, that while people talk of a commonwealth, every man only seeks his own wealth; but there, where no man has any property, all men zealously pursue the good of the public: and, indeed, it is no wonder to see men act so differently; for in other commonwealths, every man knows that unless he provides for himself, how flourishing soever the commonwealth may be, he must die of hunger; so that he sees the necessity of preferring his own concerns to the public; but in Utopia, where every man has a right to everything, they all know that if care is taken to keep the public stores full, no private man can want anything; for among them there is no unequal distribution, so that no man is poor, none in necessity; and though no man has anything, yet they are all rich; for what can make a man so rich as to lead a serene and cheerful life, free from anxieties, neither wanting things himself nor vexed with the endless complaints of his wife? He is not afraid of the poverty of his son or worrying about the dowry of his daughter, but is secure in this, that both he and his wife, his children and grandchildren, to as many generations as he can fancy, will all live both plentifully and happily; since among them there is no less care taken of those who were once engaged in labor, but grow afterward unable to follow it, than there is elsewhere of these that continue still employed.

I would gladly hear any man compare the justice that is among them with that of all other nations; among whom, may I perish if I see anything that looks either like justice or equity. For what justice is there in this, that a nobleman, a goldsmith, a banker, or any other man, that either does nothing at all, or at best is employed in things that are of no use to the public, should live in great luxury and splendor upon what is so ill acquired; but laborers, carters, blacksmiths, and ploughmen, who work harder even than the beasts themselves and work at things so necessary that no commonwealth could hold out a year without them, can only earn so poor a livelihood and must lead so miserable a life, that the condition of the beasts is much better than theirs? The beasts do not work so constantly but feed almost as well, and with more pleasure, too, because they have no anxiety about what is to come, while these men are depressed by a barren and fruitless employment, and tormented with the apprehensions of want in their old age, since what they get barely maintain them and is consumed as fast as it comes in, there is no overplus left to lay up for old age. Is not that government both unjust and ungrateful, that is so prodigal of its favors to those that are called gentlemen, or goldsmiths, or such others who are idle, or live either by flattery, or by contriving the arts of vain pleasure; and on the other hand, takes no care of those of a meaner sort, such as ploughmen, colliers, and smiths, without whom it could not subsist? But after the public has reaped all the advantage of their service, and they come to be oppressed with age, sickness, and want, all their labors and the good they have done is forgotten; and all the recompense given them is that they are left to die in great misery. The richer sort are often trying to bring the wages of laborers lower, not only by fraudulent practices but also by bribing laws into existence for the purpose. As if it weren't bad enough to give

such small rewards to those who deserve so well of the public, yet they must give these hardships the name and color of justice, by procuring laws to be made for regulating them!

I must say that, as I hope for mercy, I can have no other notion of all the other governments that I see or know than that they are a conspiracy of the rich to advance their interest on a pretense of managing society. They devise all the trickery they can first, to preserve all that they have so ill acquired without danger, and second to engage the poor to toil and labor for them on the cheap, and oppress them as much as they please. And if they can but prevail to get these contrivances established by public authority, which is considered as representing the whole people, they are accounted laws. These wicked men have, by insatiable greed, divided among themselves what could supply the needs of the whole society. And yet, how far are they from the happiness enjoyed by the Utopians! For the use as well as the desire of money being extinguished, much anxiety and great occasions of mischief is cut off with it. And who does not see that the frauds, thefts, robberies, quarrels, tumults, contentions, seditions, murders, treacheries, and poisonings, which are indeed punished but not inhibited by the severities of law, would all fall off, if money were no longer valued by the world? Men's fears, solitudes, cares, labors, and watchings, would all perish in the same moment with the value of money: even poverty itself, for the relief of which money seems most necessary, would fall. But, in order to the apprehending this aright, take one instance. Consider any year that has been so unfruitful that many thousands have died of hunger. I'd wager that if a survey was made of the granaries of all the rich men at the end of that year, you would have found enough hoarded up grain to have prevented all that consumption of men who perished in misery; and that if it had been distributed among them, none would have felt the terrible effects of that scarcity; so easy a thing would it be to supply all the necessities of life, if that blessed thing called money, which is supposed to exist for procuring them, was not really the only thing that obstructed their being procured!

I do not doubt but rich men are sensible of this, and that they well know how much a greater happiness it is to want nothing necessary than to abound in things that you don't need and to be rescued out of so much misery than to crouch behind a barricade of wealth; and I cannot think but the sense of every man's interest, added to the authority of Christ, who knew what was best for us in his wisdom and was too good to enjoin us to anything else, would have drawn all the world over to the laws of the Utopians, if it weren't for pride, that plague of human nature, that source of so much misery. For pride does not measure happiness by what you have as by what others have not; and would not be happy in paradise, if there were no poor there to gloat over, no miserable people there to deride with their unhappiness. Pride thinks its own happiness shines the brighter by comparing it with the misfortunes of other persons, and takes its pleasure that by displaying its own wealth, they may feel their poverty the more sensibly. This is that infernal serpent that creeps through human hearts, that monstrous sucking-fish that clings to the ship of state, drawing it always backwards, away from a better life.

And since Pride is so deeply rooted in mankind's heart that she cannot easily be torn out, I am glad that at least one country has fallen upon a way of life that I'd like to see the whole world imitate; for they have indeed laid down a scheme and policy, that as men live happily under it, so it is like to be of great continuance. They having rooted out of the minds of their people all the seeds of ambition and partisan interest, so that there is no danger of internal conflict; which alone has been the ruin of many States that seemed otherwise to be well secured. And as long as they live in peace at home, and are governed by such good laws, the envy of all their neighboring kings, who have often though in vain attempted their ruin, will never be able to put Utopia into commotion or disorder.

When Raphael had made an end of speaking, many things occurred to me concerning the manners and laws of that people. Their way of making war seemed quite absurd, as well as their notions of religion and divine matters; together with several other particulars. But chiefly what seemed ridiculous was the foundation of all the rest, that is, their system of holding property in common and living without the use of money, by which all nobility, magnificence, splendor, and majesty, which are generally supposed to be the true glories of a nation, would be quite taken away. Yet since I saw that Raphael was weary, and was not sure whether he could easily bear contradiction, . . . I only made polite remarks about their system and the account he had given of it; and so taking him by the hand, led him to supper, and told him I would find out some other time for examining this subject more carefully; and indeed I shall be glad to embrace an opportunity of doing it. In the meanwhile, though I must admit that he is both a very learned man, and a person who has obtained a great knowledge of the world, I cannot perfectly agree to everything he has related.

However, there are many things in the Commonwealth of Utopia that I rather wish, than hope, to see followed in our governments.

THE END