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MORE'S UTOPIA

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SIR THOMAS MORE

UTOPIA

*Translated by RAPHE ROBYNSON, together with the life
of Sir Thomas More, by his son-in-law, William Roper,
reprinted from Hearne's edition 1716. Edited, with
Introduction, Notes, Glossary and Index of Names,
by J. RAWSON LUMBY, D.D.*

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INTRODUCTION.

OF the two books of the *Utopia*, the second was written a year before the first. The first, which constitutes what may be called the framework or setting for the second, was completed in 1516, just about the time when More, though strongly urged to do so by Cardinal Wolsey, had declined to give up his position as undersheriff, and his income from legal work, that he might enter the service of Henry VIII. We find therefore that there are put into the mouth of the supposed traveller to *Utopia* many of the arguments which had no doubt weighed with More in the decision at which he had arrived. When, for example, it is urged upon Hythloday in the dialogue (p. 24) that he might bestow his time fruitfully, for the private commodity of his friends and the general profit of all sorts of people, as well as for his own advancement, by getting into some king's court, he replies that in his present condition he lives at liberty and after his own mind, which great estates and peers of the realm rarely can do; and beside this most princes now take delight rather in warlike matters and feats of chivalry than in the good feats of peace, while their present counsellors will admit into the councils no other independent man's advice. So it comes to pass that any one putting forward what he has learnt from history or experience, is little likely to find acceptance for his views. Here we may be sure that we are listening to an exposition of More's own feelings, and so we may also conclude that we have in other parts of the book his views of the condition of the society in England, when Raphael is made the speaker in the

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conversation before Cardinal Morton. The Utopia therefore is interesting as giving us in this way an insight into the mind of its author on topics of the greatest importance at the time when he lived.

More represents the conversation which is set forth in the Utopia as having taken place at Antwerp. The traveller, Raphael Hythloday, is introduced to More by his friend Peter Giles, and that they may hear more conveniently the wonders which he has to tell, they betake themselves to a quiet seat in More's garden. Raphael is represented as having been one of the companions of Amerigo Vespucci, but he had been left behind in the New World when that discoverer last returned to Europe. The listeners to his narrative at first put now and then a question to the speaker and so the way is paved for making him tell his experience of England, where he had once visited Cardinal Morton, and he relates many things in the government and customs of the English which are worthy to be condemned. He first dwells on the number of thieves, and the frequency of capital punishment for theft, and insists that such severity is not likely to deter offenders, while at the same time so extreme a penalty as death for theft is not equitable.

He next complains of the raising of rents beyond the real value of the land, of the number of idle retainers who when their masters die must steal or starve, of the unnecessary multitudes of soldiers that are kept, of the decay of husbandry, and the great evil of increased sheep-farming, seeing that it employs few men while husbandry furnishes work and wages for many. He then proceeds to point out the dearness of all commodities in the land, victuals, wool and cattle; speaks in strong terms of the licentiousness in manners and of the greed of the rich, who by monopolies and engrossing regulate the markets just as they please.

The reformer would not have thieves punished with death, but would let them live and so have the profit of their labour for the nation. He glances at the warlike array of all Europe as he proceeds to give his opinions against the universal fondness for war, but soon returns to what were the special sorrows

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of England in the time of Henry VIII. The debasing of coin for the enrichment of the monarch, the pretence of war that money may be raised by taxation though it shall never be spent, the fines exacted on account of old and obsolete laws which are revived for the purposes of extortion either in the form of penalties on offenders, or in payments for dispensations by those who do not choose to observe them, all carry the mind back to the close of the reign of the seventh Henry, when Empson and Dudley were in the height of their power. In such wise does More declare through his fictitious narrator the difficulties which he felt would attend on life in the royal service. To him it would have been for ever a swimming against the stream, a struggle to remedy overwhelming evils, with no one to support him, and so with small hope of success.

The Utopia was perhaps the most powerful among such lamentations over the state of the land at this time, but there were many voices raised with the same cry. Among the publications of the Early English Text Society may be found of the same character—

(1) 'Certain causes gathered together wherein is shewed the decay of England only by the great multitude of sheep, to the utter decay of household keeping, maintenance of men, dearth of corn, and other notable discommodities' (about 1550).

(2) 'Henry Brinklow's complaint of Roderick Mors unto the Parliament house of England his natural country for the redress of certain wicked laws, evil customs, and cruel decrees.' This book, like the Utopia, dwells on the enhancing of rents, the enclosing of parks, forests and chases, the selling of wards for marriage, of the law's delays, of lords which have turned shepherds, and many other kindred evils.

(3) And over the same ground with the Utopia goes still more closely 'Thomas Starkey's description of England in the reign of King Henry VIII., conveyed in a dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset, Lecturer in Rhetoric at Oxford.' Here we find exactly the same complaints as are made by More concerning the decay of towns and villages, the increase of sheep-farms and enclosures, the growth of poverty

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and crime, the characters of the clergy and lawyers, which are both painted in dark colours. Men of religion were a scandal to their profession, and men of law were not slow to follow their example according to the view which Starkey gives us of his own times, and we gather confirmation of it to the full from other sources, among which, to mention no more, Latimer's sermons at Paul's Cross supply evidence in abundance.

With the framework of this first part did More enclose the fiction which he had written in the previous year, to shadow forth remedies for evils against which plain and direct speaking would probably have been dangerous. He tells us (p. 23) that from Hythloday's narrative 'these our cities, nations, countries and kingdoms may take example to amend their faults, enormities and errors.' Such reform is the drift of his whole narrative. We can see how his heart longed and laboured after those things which he spake of to his son-in-law Roper, saying, 'Were they well established in Christendom, would to God I were put in a sack and cast into the Thames.' For there is much in the laws and customs of the imaginary Utopia that holds up to admiration the blessing of universal peace among nations for which More was constantly sighing and praying, and much too that proclaims a desire for the time when the Church should be settled in an uniformity of Religion.

And as we turn over the chapters of the second part we can see what were More's ideas of the remedies which ought to be applied to the evils in the society in which he lived. He first describes the country of Utopia and one of its chief cities, and through the whole we may observe that England is in his mind. Utopia is an island, and its great river is very like to the river Thames, and is in the same way spanned by a bridge of stonework with gorgeous and substantial arches. Its government is representative like that of More's native land. Husbandry and tillage are chiefly regarded and advanced among the Utopians, as all reformers in More's day thought they should be in England. There is in Amaurote abundance of fresh water, the streets are broad and kept clear of all filth, the buildings are good, with gardens at the back of all the houses, and such

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regard for wholesome conditions of life would More have enforced on the people of London. No man is allowed to be idle, and the incorrigibly lazy are banished from the land. But though all are to labour, yet by the wise provisions of the country, this labour is abridged, and to make the hours of toil as brief as conveniently may be is an object kept continually in view. Thus there is abundant time for all to be well educated and to take interest in the study of good literature. By making their buildings sound and of a character to be permanent, and by use of clothing rather durable than showy, the labour of builders and of workers in cloth is greatly diminished. So that many times an open proclamation is made that they shall bestow fewer hours on work. For all the time that can be spared from the necessary occupations and affairs of the commonwealth, the citizens should withdraw from bodily service to the free liberty of the mind and the garnishing of the same. Men are 'not to be wearied (p. 79) from early in the morning till late in the evening, with continual work like labouring and toiling beasts : for this is worse than the miserable and wretched condition of bondmen.'

Such a lessening of labour is gained by a community of all things, so that none are in need, and there is no end to be served by amassing more than each man can use. By this is banished all cause for covetousness or extortion. Meals are taken in common halls where the young are mixed with their elders, that they may be guided both in words and behaviour. The Utopians set no store by precious metals, but employ gold and silver for their vessels of baser use, and so the wearing of gold has grown to be a reproach, since in Utopia the fetters of bondmen are made out of it. They devote themselves to the exact sciences, as arithmetic and geometry, and while holding astronomy in esteem, have no faith in or regard for the speculations of astrology. In their moral philosophy they regard felicity as the *summum bonum*, but it is to be a felicity which postpones the immediate pleasure for the sake of the more remote, and sacrifices the less pleasure for the sake of the greater, and esteems the felicity of the body politic far above

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that of the individual. Such felicity must therefore consist in all that is good and honest, and so becomes a virtue and that whereunto man was ordained of God. The body is not to be afflicted for the mere sake of mortification unless some benefit is to result either directly to the individual or to the commonwealth from his example.

Of those who break their laws they make bondmen but leave them not without hope that by a return to good conduct they may regain their liberty. The laws in Utopia are few, because it is against all right and justice that men should be bound to those laws, which either are in number more than can be read, or blinder and darker than men may well understand.

Of leagues and treaties the Utopians have none. Those between other countries are so often concluded, and then broken and renewed, that in Utopia no confidence is placed in them. On this matter More, no doubt having in his mind the many treaties made and broken between England, France, Germany, and the Pope at this time, writes with much satire, 'Here in Europe and especially in these parts where the faith of Christ reigneth, the majesty of leagues is everywhere esteemed holy and inviolable partly through the justice and goodness of princes and partly at the reverence and motion of the head bishops. Which like as they make no promise themselves but they do very religiously perform the same, so they exhort all princes in any wise to abide by their promises, and them that refuse or deny so to do, by their pontifical power and authority they compel thereto.'

War and battle the Utopians abhor, and only fight in defence of their own country. They would rather conquer at any time by craft than by blows, and they prefer to spend the lives of mercenaries in their necessary wars rather than those of their own citizens. They therefore use money in their wars to hire soldiers and also to offer bribes among the enemy that deserters may come over and so weaken the adversary's strength, and they even make public proclamation of rewards to those who will slay or take captive the chief leaders of the opposite party.

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They have many kinds of religion in Utopia, but yet all agree in worshipping a common Father of all, to whom they attribute the origin and growth and change of all things. They received Christ's religion the more readily because they were told of the religious houses, the constitution of which had some likeness to their own community of goods. And they were minded to choose one of their number to be a priest of the Christian religion, even without any episcopal ordination. Against irreligious persons they have laws which exclude them from all honours. Of death they teach men not to be afraid, as it cannot be well pleasing to God, if His creatures run not gladly to Him when they are called. Even those most devoted to a religious life among them employ themselves in busy labour and good exercises. Their priests are very few in number, and may be women as well as men. Their persons are sacred from ordinary punishments if they commit any offence, and they are left only to God and their own conscience. The people observe holidays and have churches for public worship, but for that which is peculiar in each man's religion and forms no part of the public faith, provision is made that its rites may be observed by each privately and at home. They meet for worship in churches with a 'dim religious light' that their thoughts may not be distracted. They have no images, and so each man conceives of God according to his own thoughts and feelings. They come to church on the first and last day of each month and year, and those who feel that they have sins to confess make confession before they come, wives at the feet of their husbands, and children at those of their parents, and desire pardon for their offences. They are afraid to come to worship with troubled consciences. In church the men sit on the right and the women on the left side. They sacrifice no beasts, but burn frankincense and other sweet spices during their service. All in the church are robed in white. At the entrance of the priest, who is clad in a finely wrought dress covered with the feathers of birds, they all fall to the ground in reverence. After they have risen up they sing praises to God and have an accompaniment of musical instruments. After this

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they offer solemn general prayers, so composed that every man may privately apply to himself that which is commonly spoken of all. They thank God for all their blessings and especially for placing them in that state and religion which seemeth to be best. At the same time they pray that if there be any other better state or religion God will reveal it unto them of His goodness, and will after death take them unto Himself. The prayers ended they again prostrate themselves, and presently afterwards rise and go forth and spend the rest of their day in 'plays and 'exercise of chivalry.'

Thus does More in his imaginary republic suggest remedies for the evils most rife in his day. He longed to see more thought taken for the labouring classes and their toil lessened, he wished that selfishness and greed and the making haste to be rich should be abated. He had perfect faith in the blessings of education, and so would have every one to partake in them; and feeling that a sound mind could only exist in a sound body he would force due regard to be paid to conditions of health in the cities of the land and the homes of the people. He was ever desirous that wars should cease, and that the essentials in religion should be most dwelt upon as likely to lead to unity, while for the sake of non-essentials there should be no schism. His book therefore has a living interest for the people of to-day, for the same desires and aims fill the minds of the best among men at the present time; but it is a homily on the hopelessness of labour in this field, that most schemes which are put forward for the advancement of these noblest ends are doomed to be as little accepted as were More's in his time, and generally come to be classed under a title drawn from his essay, and to be styled 'Utopian.'

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OF THE LANGUAGE OF ROBYNSON'S TRANSLATION.

FROM the irregularity which characterizes all the orthography in works of this date it is impossible to draw from them any conclusions about the pronunciation of words or on the main peculiarities of English inflexions in the Tudor period. Sometimes, for example, an *e* final is preserved where the older language would have preserved it, but in almost as many cases it is omitted, and so there can be no certainty whether such final letters were sounded or not. It is therefore only possible for us to notice in the matter of language some few usages which are of frequent occurrence in this version.

It is a favourite practice of the translator to give two English words for one in the Latin text, and frequent instances of this have been recorded in the notes. It would seem as though Robynson had felt that he was not able to bring out by one English word the whole of what was contained in his original. And this must often be the case with translators, for no two languages ever entirely run on all fours, and it is therefore easy to account for Robynson's duplicate renderings. The same sort of double translation is a marked feature in King Alfred's version of Gregory's 'Pastoral Care.'

In some few instances the French orthography has exercised its influence upon his English spelling. Thus we have *avauncement* (3. 10), *endevoire* (3. 22), *royalme* (31. 1), *perfet* (105. 30), *aventure* (141. 16), and several others.

Among purely English words the only one of which the spelling is not easy to account for is *skasely* or *scasely* (68. 13; 82. 30; 129. 11) for *scarcely*. It would almost appear as though

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in pronunciation there had been in Robynson's time a dropping of the liquid, but yet the *r* is preserved when he writes *skarsnes*.

To is very frequent for *too*, as 3. 5; 12. 1, &c., and conversely *too* for *to*, as 23. 5, but this is no doubt due to the absence of all rule about spelling, and the same may be said of *where* = *were* (3. 6).

It may have been some singularity of pronunciation which produced *harde* (5. 3) and *hard* (52. 19) as the past tense of the verb *hear*. The older form was *hyrde*.

But it is in the use of the pronouns that the greatest peculiarities may be noticed. Sometimes they are omitted, as 2. 16, 'Whiche busie labour ... when Diogenes sawe ... immediately girded about him his phylosophicall cloke,' where the long parenthesis in the sentence may perhaps account for the omission of *he* before *girded*. Another example will be found 25. 6, where except by the help of the Latin it is difficult to catch at first the meaning of the sentence, 'There be ynow of them that sue for great mens frendshippes; and therefore thinke it no great hurte if they have not me &c.,' where *thinke* is really = *think thou*, Lat. *ne putes*. So 35. 30, 'as please them' is for 'as it may please them,' and 29. 32, 'These men as sone as their mayster is dead, or be sicke themselves' is for 'or *they* be sicke themselves.'

Again a pronoun is inserted where we should not now use it. Thus 9. 4, 'The faultes, I doubt not, but thou wilt wink at *them*.' So 42. 13, 'to conceal suche an enterpries *it* is death.' Similar superfluous pronouns will be found 46. 12; 59. 9; 60. 14; 83. 33, &c.

The objective case of *myself* is not unfrequently written *me self*, as 3. 17; 5. 6, &c., and *the selfe* is found 106. 33; 107. 4, but the other forms are also quite as common.

The own is a rendering of Lat. *suus*, where we should now say *its own*. But in the language of Robynson *its* had no existence. So we have 101. 29, 'Of *the owne* nature a thinge so unprofytable,' and 113. 29, 'Shal it not know *the owne* wealthe,' and 147. 10, 'the trueth of *the own* powre would come to lyghte.'

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With Robynson *other* is plural as well as singular when used without a noun and = *other persons*. Thus 5. 16, 'this man with divers *other*,' and 29. 22, 'to live of that whiche *other* have laboured for,' and in many more places.

In the same way *whosoever* is a plural in 98. 19 'Finally *whosoever* for anye offense *be* infamed, by *their* eares hange rynges of golde.'

He uses *that* for *that which* not unfrequently, as 23. 23, 'I am determined to reherse onely *that* he tolde us.' So 77. 10, 'When he hath rashely spoken *that* commeth to his tonges ende.'

The which is found in the same sense 53. 12, 'there is no waye so profitable, nor more honorable, as *the whyche* hathe a shewe and colour of justice.'

He employs *very they* where we should now say *those very men*, as 129. 25, 'yea even *very they* that avaunce themselves authours of lyke counsell.'

In the form *whomewyth* (136. 23) = with whom, we have an imitation of the Latin *quicum*, by placing the preposition as a suffix to the pronoun governed by it.

Beside these pronominal peculiarities there are in the text a few peculiar forms of adverbs.

In the older English we often find adverbs formed by the possessive cases of nouns as *nedes* i.e. *needs* = of necessity, of need. Of the like form though not derived from nouns are such words as *towards*, *forwards*, of which we have the duplicates *toward* and *forward*. After this form we have in the Utopia *hedlonges* = headlong 59. 32; and *amonges* = among 21. 15, while *togethers* = together is of constant occurrence, as 6. 12; 9. 9; 10. 11 &c.

The use of double negatives is not uncommon as 67. 22, 'The sea is not roughe *nor* mounteth *not* with great waves,' and 141. 12, '*Nor* do they *not* set drudgeis and slaves aworke about it.'

We find now and then an instance of the case absolute, as (107. 25), '*These laws not offended*, it is wysdome that thou looke to thine own wealthe.'

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There can however be no doubt that some of the peculiarities of the language are due to the fact that it is a translation. Thus in 108. 27, we read 'Because that in whom they (i.e. *certain pleasures*) have ones taken place, all his mynde they possesse with a false opinion of pleasure,' where the inversion of order in the sentence is owing to the author's attempt to range his English words in the same fashion as the Latin.

In the same way the broken construction in 94. 4 is intelligible when we read the original. 'If they tarry in a place longer then one daye, than there every one of them *falleth* to his owne occupation, and *be* very gentilly entertained of the workemen.'

In the printing of the text, the punctuation and orthography of the original edition have been exactly followed, as well as the division of the text into paragraphs. But the reader will see that the punctuation had not the same value then as it has now and must often be neglected altogether. Thus in 96. 10, we have 'The mooste parte of it they never aske. For that thyng whiche is to them no profite to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thinke it no righte nor conscience.' Which is meant to be read as if it were pointed with a stop at *profite* and little or none at *profitable* and none at all after *other*.

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

My thanks are due to several friends who have favoured me with their notes on the first edition, by which this volume will be found to be improved, and I desire specially to make my acknowledgements to the Rev. J. H. Lupton, Sur-Master of St Paul's School, London, and formerly Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, and W. F. Smith, Esq., Fellow and Classical Lecturer of St John's College, for their valuable suggestions.

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THE LIFE OF S^R THOMAS MORE

In hoc ✠ signo vinces.

FORASMUCH as Sir Thomas Moore Knight sometye Lord
 Chauncelor of England, a man of singular vertue and of a
 cleare unspotted conscience, (as wittneseth Erasmus,) more
 pure and white then the whitest snow, and of such an angelicall
 witt, as England, he sayth, never had the like before, nor 5
 never shall againe, universally, as well in the lawes of our
 Realme (a studie in effect able to occupie the whole lif of a
 man) as in all other sciences, right well studied, was in his
 dayes accounted a man worthie famous memory; I William
 Roper (though most unworthie) his sonne in law by marriage 10
 of his eldest daughter, knowinge no one man that of hime and
 of his doinges understood so much as my self for that I was
 continually resident in his house by the space of 16 yeares and
 more, thought it therfore my parte to sett forth such matters
 touchinge his lyfe as I could at this present call to remem- 15
 braunce. Amonge which very many notable things not meet
 to have beene forgotten, through negligence and longe con-
 tinuance of tyme, are slipped out of my mynd. Yeat to th'
 entente the same shall not all utterly perish, I have at the
 desire of diverse worshipfull frendes of myne, though very farr 20
 from the grace and worthines of them, nevertheas as far fourth
 as my meane witt, memory and learninge would serve me,
 declared so much thereof as in my poore judgment seemed
 worthie to be remembred.

This Sir Thomas Moore after he had beene brought up in 25
 the Latine tonge at St. Antonie's in London, he was, by his

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Father's procurement received into the house of the right reverend, wise and learned prelat Cardinall Mourton, where (though hee was yonge of yeares, yet) would he at Christmas tyd sodenly sometymes stepp in among the players, and never stud[y]nge for the matter, make a parte of his owne there presently amonge them, which made the lookers on more sport then all the players besid. In whose witt and towardnesse the Cardinall much delightinge, would often say of him unto the nobles that divers tymes dyned with him, "This child here wayting at the table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man." Wheruppon for his learninge he placed him at Oxford, where when he was both in the Greeke and Latine tonge sufficiently instructed, he was then for the studie of the law of the Realme put to an Inne of the Chauncerie, called New Inne, where for his tyme, he very well prospered. And from thence was committed to Lincolne's Inne with very smale allowance, continuing there his studie untill he was made and accounted a worthie utter barrister. After this, to his great commendation, he read for a good space a publicke lecture of St. Augustine *de Civitate Dei* in the church of St. Laurence in the ould Jurye, wherunto there resorted Doctor Grosyn an excelent cunning man, and all the cheif learned of the cittie of London. Then was he made Reader of Furnifalle's Inne, so remayning by the space of three yeares and more. After which tyme he gave himselfe to devotion and prayer in the Charterhouse of London, religiously living there without vow about 4 yeares, untill he resorted to the house of one Mr Colte a gentleman of Essex that had oft invited him thither, havinge three daughters whose honest conversation and verteous education provoked him there especially to sett his affection. And albeit his mynd most served him to the second daughter, for that he thought her the fayrest and best favored, yet when he considered that it would be both great greif and some shame also to the eldest to see her younger sister in marriage preferred before her, he then of a certyne pittie framed his fancie towardes her, and soone after married her, never the lesse not discontinuing his studie of the law at Lincolne's Inne, but applyinge

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still the same untill he was called to the Bench, and had read
 twice, which is as often as any Judge of the law doth read.

Before which tyme he had placed himself and his wif at
 Bucklesburie in London, where he had by her three daughters,
 in vertue and learning brought up from there youth, whom he 5
 would often exhort to take vertue and learning for there meate,
 and play but for there sauce.

Who ere ever he had beene reader in Court was in the latter
 tyme of Kinge Henry the seaventh made a Burgesse in the
 Parliament, wherein ther were by the King demaunded (as I 10
 have hard it reported) about three fiteenes for the marriag of
 his eldest daughter, that then should be the Scottish Queene.
 At the last debatinge wherof he mad such argumentes and
 reasons thereagainst, that the King's demaunds were thereby 15
 overthrowne. So that one of the King's privie chamber, named
 Mr Tyler, being present thereat, brought word to the Kinge
 out of the Parliament house, that a beardles boy had disa-
 poynted all his pourposes. Whereupon the King conceiving
 grete indignation towards him could not be satisfied untill he
 had some way revenged it. And forasmuch as he nothing 20
 haveinge, nothings could loose, his grace devised a causeles
 quarrell against his Father, keepinge him in the Tower
 untill he had payed him an hundred pownds fyne. Schortly
 hereupon it fortunated that this Sir Thomas Moore comminge
 in a suite to Dr Fox bishopp of Winchester, one of the 25
 King's privie councill, they called him aside, and pretendinge
 great favour towards him, promised him that if he would be
 ruled by him, he would not faile but into the Kinge's favour
 againe to restore him, meaninge, as it was after conjectured, to
 cause him therby to confesse his offence against the Kinge, 30
 whereby his heighnes might with better colour have occasion
 to revenge his displeasure against him. But when he came
 from the Bishopp, he fell in communication with one Mr
 Whitforde his familiar frend, then Chaplen to that Bishopp and
 after a Father of Sion, and shewed him what the Bishopp had 35
 sayd unto him, desiringe to have his advise therein, who for
 the passion of God pray'd him in no wise to follow his counsell,

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“for my Lord my Master (quoth he) to serve the King’s turne will not stick to agree to his owne Father’s death.” So Sir Thomas Moore returned to the Bishopp no more. And had not the King soone after died, he was determined to have gone
 5 over the sea, thinking that beinge in the King’s indignation he could not live in England without great daunger. After he was made one of the under-shiriffs of London, by which office and his learninge together as I have harde him say, he gained without greefe not so litle as foure hundred poundes by the
 10 yeare: sith there was at that tyme in none of the Prince’s courtes of the lawes of this Realme any matter of importaunce in controversie wherin he was not with the one partie of counsell. Of whom, for his learninge, wisdom, and knowledge and experience, men had him in such estimation, that before he was
 15 come to the service of King Henry the eight, at the suit and instance of the English Merchautes, he was, by the King’s consent, mad twise Embassador in certaine great causes betweene them and the Merchautes of the Stilliard, whose wise and discreete dealinge therin, to his heigh commendation, com-
 20 minge to the King’s understanding, provokinge his Highnesse to cause Cardinall Woolsie, (then Lord Chancellor) to procure him to his service. And albeit the Cardinall accordinge to the King’s request earnestlie travelled with him therfore, among many other his perswasions alleaginge unto him, how deere
 25 his service must needs be unto his Majestie, which could not of his honor with lesse then he should yearly louse thereby seeme to recompence him, yet he, loath to change his estate, made such meanes to the Kinge by the Cardinall to the contrarie, that his Grace for that tyme was well satisfied. Now
 30 happned there after this a greate Shipp of his that then was Pope to arrive at Southampton, whiche the Kinge clayminge for a forfeiture, the Pope’s Embassador by suite unto his Grace obtayned, that he might for his Master the Pope have counsell learned in the Lawes of this Realme, and the matter in his
 35 owne presence (being himself a singular Civillian) in some publicke place to be openly heard and discussed. At which tyme there could none of our Law be found so meete to be of

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Counsell with this Embassador as Sir Thomas Moore, who could report to the Embassador in Latine all the reasons and argumentes by the learned Counsell on both sydes alleaged. Upon this the Councillors on ether partie in presence of the Lord Chauncellor, and other the Judges in the Starr Chamber, 5 had audience accordingly. Where Sir Thomas Moore not only declared to the Embassador the whole effect of all there opiniones, but also in defence on the Pope's syd argued so learnedly himselfe, that both was the foresayd forfeiture to the Pope restord, and himself amonge all the hearers, for his up- 10 right and commendable demeanor therin, so greatly renowned, that for no intreatie would the Kinge from henceforth be induced any longer to forbear his service. At whose first entrie thereunto he made him Master of the Requests, havinge then no better roome voyd, and within a moneth after, Knight and 15 one of his privie Counsell, and so from tyme to tyme was by the Prince advaunced, continuinge in his singular favour and trustie service 20 yeares and above, a good part whereof used the King upon holidayes, when he had done his owne devotions to send for him into his travers, and there some tyme in 20 matters of Astronomie, Geometrie, Divinitie and such other Faculties, and some tyme in his worldly affayeres, to sitt and conferr with him, and otherwhiles would he in the night have him up into the leades, there to consider with him the diversities, courses, motions and operations of the Starrs and 25 Planetts. And because he was of a pleasant disposition, yt pleased the Kinge and Queene, after the Counsell had suppt, at the tyme of there supper for there pleasure commonly to call for him, and to be merry with them. When he perceaved so much in his talke to delight, that he could not once in a 30 month gett leave to go home to his wif and children (whose companie he most desired) and to be absent from the Court 2 dayes together, but that he should be thither sent for againe, he much mislikinge this restraint of libertie, begann thereuppon somewhat to dissemble his nature, and so by litle and litle from 35 his former mirth to disuse himselfe, that he was of them from thencefurth no more so ordinarielie sent for. Then dyed one

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Mr Weston Treasurer of the Exchequer, whose office after his death the Kinge of his owne offer, without any askinge, freely gave unto Sir Thomas Moore. In the 14 yeare of his Grace's Raigne was there a Parliament houlden, whereof Sir Thomas
 5 Moore was chosen Speaker, who beinge very loath to take that Roome upon him, made an oration, not now extant, to the King's Heighnes for his discharge therof. Whereunto when the Kinge would not consent, hee spake unto his Grace in forme followinge: "Sith I perceave (most redoubted Sovraigne)
 10 that it standeth not with your Heighnes pleasure to reforme this election, and cause it to be chaunged, but have, by the mouth of the Right Reverend Father in God the Legat your Heighnes Chauncelor, therunto given your most Royall consent, and have of your benignitie determined, far above that
 15 I may beare, to enable me, and for this office to repute me meeete, rather then ye should seeme to impute unto your Commones, that they had unmeetly chosen, I am therefore, and alwayes shal be, readie obediently to conforme my selfe to th' accomplishment of your heigh commaundment. In my most
 20 humble wise beseechinge your most noble Majestie, that I may, with your Grace's favour, before I farther enter thereunto, make myne humble intercession unto your Heighnes for tow lowly petitions, the one privatly concerninge my self, th' other the whole assemblie of your common house. And for my self
 25 (Gratious Sovraigne) that if it mishapp me in any thinge hereafter, that is in the behalfe of your Commones in your heigh presence to be declared, to mistake my message, and for lacke of good utteraunce by me misrehersted, to pervert or impaire the prudent instructions, that it may then like your
 30 most noble Majestie of your aboundaunt Grace, with the eie of your accustomed pittie, to pardon my simplicitie, giving me leave againe to repaire to the Common house, and there to conferr with them, and to take there substantiall advice, what thinge, and in what wise I shall on there behalf utter and
 35 speake before your noble Grace: to th' intent there prudent advises and affaires be not by my simpleness and folly hindred or impaired. Which thinge if it should so happ, as it were

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well likly to mishapp in me (if your Grace's benignitie releived
 not my oversight) it could not fayle to be, duringe my life, a
 perpetuall grudg and heavinesse to my hart. The helpe and
 remedie wherof in manner aforesayd remembred, is (most
 Gratiuous Soveraigne) my first lowly suit and humble petition 5
 unto your most noble Grace. Myne other humble request,
 most excelent Prince, is this. For as much as there be of your
 Commons here, by your heigh commaundment assembled for
 your Parliament, a great number which are after the accostomed
 manner appoynted in the common house to treat and advise of 10
 the common affayres among themselves apart : and albeit (my
 leige Lorde) that, accordinge to your prudent advise, by your
 honorable Writts every where declared, there hath beene as
 due diligence used in sending up to your Heighness court of
 Parliament the most discreete persones out of every quarter, 15
 that men could esteeme meete thereto, whereby it is not to be
 doubted but that there is a very substantiall assembly of right
 wise and politicke persons: yet (most victorious Prince) sith
 amonge soe many wise men, nether is every man wise alike,
 nor amonge soe many men like well witted, every man like well 20
 spoken ; and it oftneth happneth, that likewise as much folly
 is uttered with painted polished speeches, so many boysterous
 and rude in language see deepe in deed, and give right substan-
 tiall counsell : and syth also in matters of great importaunce
 the mynd is often so occupied in the matter, that a man rather 25
 studieth what to say, then how ; by what reason whereof the
 wisest man and best spoken in a countrie fortuneth amonge,
 while his minde is fervent on the matter, somewhat to speake in
 such wise, as he would afterward wish to have beene uttered
 otherwise, and yeat noe worse will had when he spake it, then 30
 he hath when he would so gladly chaunge it : Therefore (most
 Gratiuous Soveraigne) consideringe that in all your heigh courtes
 of Parliament is nothing intreated but of matters of waight and
 importaunce concerninge your Realme, and your owne Royall
 estate, it could not faile to lett and put to silence from the 35
 givinge of there advice and counsell many of your discreete
 commons [except they] weare utterly discharged of all doubt and

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feare how any thinge that should happen them to speake, should
 happen of your Heighnes to be taken: and in this poynte your
 well knowne benignitie putteth every man in right good hope.
 Yet such is the waight of the matter, such is the reverend dread
 5 that the timorous hartes of your naturall subjectes conceive
 towards your heigh Majestie (our most redubted Kinge and
 undoubted Sovaraigne) that they cannot in this poynt find
 themselves satisfied, except your gracious bountie herein de-
 10 clared put away the scruple of there timorous myndes, and
 animat and incourage them out of doubt. It may therefore
 like your most abundant Grace, (our most gracious Kinge) to
 give to all your Commons here assembled your most gracious
 license and pardon freely, without doubt of your dreadfull dis-
 15 pleasure, every man to discharge his conscience, and bouldly
 soever happneth any man to say, it may like your noble
 Majestie of your inestimable goodnesse to take all in good
 part, interpretinge every man's words, how uncunningly soever
 they be couched, to proceed yeat of a good zeale towards the
 20 profitt of your Realme and honour of your Royall person, the
 prosperous estate and preservation whereof (most excellent
 Sovaraigne) is the thing which we all your most humble loving
 subjectes, accordinge to the most bounden duty of our naturall
 Allegiance, most highly desire and pray for." At this Parlia-
 25 ment Cardinall Wolsey found himself much grieved with the
 Burgesses thereof, for that nothing was so soone done or
 spoken therein, but that it was immediatly blowne abroad in
 every Alehouse. It fortunated at that Parliament a very great
 subsidie to be demaunded, which the Cardinall fearing it would
 30 not passe the common house, determined for the furthraunce
 thereof, to be there present himself; before whose comminge
 after longe debating there, whether it were better but with a
 few of his Lordes (as the most opinion of the house was) or
 with a whole trayne royally to receive him there amongst
 35 them, "Maisters," quoth Sir Thomas Moore, "for asmuch as
 my Lord Cardinall latelie, you note well, laied to our charge
 the lightnes of our tongs for thinges uttered out of this house,

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it shall not be amisse in my mynd to receave him with all his pompe, with his maces, his pillars, his pollaxes, his crosses, his hatt, and great seale to ; to the intent that if he finde the like fault with us hereafter, we may be the boulder from our selves to lay the blame upon those that his Grace bringeth with him." 5
 Whereunto the house wholly agreeing, he was received accordingly. Where after he had in a solemne oration by many reasons proved how necessary it was the demandes there moved to be granted, and further said that lesse would not serve the King's purpose ; he seeinge the companie still silent, 10
 and thereunto nothinge answeringe, and contrary to his expectation shewinge in them selves towards his requests no towardnesse of Inclination, sayd unto them : " Masters, ye have many wise and learned men amonge you, and seeth I ame from the King's owne person sent hither unto you for the preservation of 15
 your selves and all the Realme, I thinke it meete you give me a reasonable answer." Whereat every man houldinge his peace, then began he to speake to one Mr Marney, who makinge him no answer nether, he severally asked the same Question of divers others accounted the wisest of the company. To whome 20
 when none of them all would give so much as one word, beinge before agreed, as the custom was, by there speaker to make answer : " Masters," quoth the Cardinall, "unlesse it be the manner of your house (as of likelihood it is) in such causes to utter your myndes by the mouth of your speaker, whome yee 25
 have chosen for trustie and wise (as indeed he is) here [is] without doubt a marveolus obstinat silence;" and thereupon required the answer of Mr Speaker, who reverently upon his knees excusing the silence of the house, abashed at the presence of so noble a personage, able to amaze the wisest and best learn'd 30
 in a Realme, and after by many reasons provinge, that for them to make answer was it nether expedient, nor agreeable with the ancient libertie of the house ; in conclusion for himself shewed, that though they had all with there voyces trusted him, yeat except every of them could put into his owne head all 35
 there severall wittes, he alone in so waightie a matter was unmeete to make his Grace answer. Whereupon the Cardinall

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displeased with Sir Thomas Moore, that had not in this Parli-
 ament in all things satisfied his desire, sodenly arose and
 departed: and after the Parliament ended, uttered unto him
 all his greefes, sayinge, "Would to God you had beene at
 5 Roome, Mr Moore, when I made you Speaker." "Your Grace
 not offended, so would I too, my Lord," quoth he, and to
 wind such quarrells out of the Cardinal's head, he began to
 talke of that Gallerie at Hampton Court, wherewith so wisly
 brake he off the Cardinal's displeasaut talke, the Cardinall
 10 at that present, as it seemed, wist not what more to say to him,
 but for Revengment of his displeasure councelled the Kinge
 to send him Embassador into Spaine, commendinge unto his
 Heighnes his wisdom, learninge, and meetnes for that voyag,
 and the difficultie of the cause considered, none was there so
 15 well able, he sayd, to serve his Grace therein. Which when
 the King had broken to Sir Thomas Moore, and that he had
 declared unto his Grace, how unfitt a Journey it was for him,
 the nature of the Countrie and disposition of his complection
 so disagreeinge together, that he should never be likely to do
 20 his Grace acceptable service therin, knowinge right well that
 if his Grace sent him thither, he should send him to his grave;
 but shewing him selfe neverthelesse readie according to his
 dutie, albeit with the losse of his lyfe, to fulfill his Grace's
 pleasure therein, the King allowinge well his answer, sayd
 25 unto him, "It is not our meaninge, Mr Moore, to do you hurt,
 but to do you good we would be glad. We therefore for this
 purpose will devise upon some other, and employ your service
 otherwise." And such entire favour did the Kinge beare him,
 that he made him Chauncelor of the Duchie of Lancaster, upon
 30 the death of Sr. Richard Winfeild, who had that office before.
 And for the pleasure he tooke in his Companie, would his
 Grace sodenly somtymes come home to his house at Chelsie
 to be merry with him, whithere on a tyme unlooked for he came
 to dinner, and after dinner in a faire garden of his walked with
 35 him by the space of an howre houldinge his arme about his
 neck. As soone as his Grace was gone, I rejoycinge, tould
 Sr. Thomas Moore, how happie he was, whome the King had