Locating More: The Dialogical Gardenscapes of Thomas More and Ellis Heywood's *Il Moro*

Hannah Lucas

University of Cambridge

Abstract:

This essay explores the gardenscapes that Thomas More inhabited, and how these locations defined his writing and the critical canon. Through a study of both More's works and the earliest posthumous recollections of the author in Ellis Heywood's *Il Moro,* I consider how physical spaces and their respective environments of enclosure or exposure influenced More and posthumous remembrances of him.

Key words: Thomas More, Ellis Heywood, location, place, dialogue, garden.

Throughout his life, we frequently find Thomas More in settings that are conducive to the development of his humanist ideas: the enclosed privacy of More's Chelsea garden incongruously facilitates the enlightening pedagogy of free speech and humanist dialogue, while his imprisonment in the Tower of London expedites the intransigent ideology of his Catholicism. In a study of More's lifelong pursuit of a virtuous soul and the liberty that this condition provides, locational context thus becomes an inherent component of the Morean narrative; location influences our understanding of More, and it is evoked by posthumous recollections of him as a means to further the detail of our portrait, with interpretations of More's life and works establishing the author within specific spatial settings.

Including Ellis Heywood's *Il Moro* (1556) in this study negotiates the placement of More within the critical and biographical canon, as well as his own. This intertextual approach hopes to demonstrate by example the Morean preoccupation with a sense of geography. Heywood has not been studied for its addition – or indeed, construction – of this tradition, and this essay argues that the text becomes a textual portrait of More in the horticultural space of his Chelsea manor garden, resituating him in atemporal suspension. This paper will, therefore, explore how environments of enclosure and exposure shaped More's philosophy, first acting as a setting for his pursuit of salvation for the soul, and finally employed by Heywood to relocate him in a mode of prelapsarian absolution.

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Ellis Heywood's *Il Moro* was the first book about Thomas More ever published, and 'the first book (with one possible exception) ever written by an Englishman in Italian, not translated from the English, and published in Italy'.[1] Great-nephew to More and sympathetic to his Catholic convictions, Heywood (1529-1578) took the opportunity of the re-establishment of Roman Catholicism under Mary Tudor's reign (1553-1558) to eulogise the author in the form of a dialogue between More and six friends. Notably, he does so within the enclosed surrounds of More's garden, creating a hagiographic memorial of the author that resituates More both in time and geography. This essay is grateful to Roger Lee Deakins's first translation of the text from the Italian, which will be referred to for citations throughout.

Published amidst 'revived interest in Sir Thomas More' (*Il Moro,* xiii), the same year that the recently translated *Utopia* (1515; translated 1551) had been republished, *Il Moro* posthumously eulogises More. Heywood was familiar with the persecution and exile that accompanied the political and religious tumult of the period, coming from a family that 'walked carefully' (*Il Moro,* xii) among the conflict. He would himself encounter this upon the advent of Elizabethan Protestantism (1558), fleeing with his

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[1] Rhodes, Dennis E. "*Il Moro*: An Italian View of Sir Thomas More." *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. B. Trapp*. Edited by Edward Chaney, Peter Chaney and Joseph Burney Trapp. Woodbridge, Boydell, 1990, p. 69.

family to Belgium in 1564, then serving in a Jesuit community in Antwerp from 1566 'until his final days'.[2] *Il Moro* thus takes the opportunity to reconstruct a landscape of salvation, in which Heywood is able to memorialize More; Roger Lee Deakins subsequently denounces Heywood's More as being 'a figure of myth, not of history' (*Il Moro*, xiii). Leland Miles claims that the anachronism of 'depicting the just-retired Chancellor as if he were still the tolerant Christian humanist who wrote *Utopia*' manifests 'an eerie serenity' in the dialogue.[3] Heywood indeed merges the younger, more tolerant and idealistic More of 1515 with the elder More of the 1530s, and – this essay argues - accommodates for More's death by remembering his '*locus voluptatis'* (Gen 2, 10). Terry Comito reminds us that 'the Christian tradition has always…conceive[d] the whole economy of salvation in terms of man's return to this *locus voluptatis* (Genesis 2:10) – not merely a pleasant spot (the wording of the Vulgate invites conflation with the rhetorician's *locus amoenus*) but pleasure's own place, the place where man can achieve…fruition'.[4] It is, therefore, worth considering Heywood's setting as a return from exile and from death to this garden of fruition. His *'memento mori'* motif reiterates his intention to 'remember not death…but Mr. More' (*Il Moro,* 62), suspending More in a hagiographical textual portrait in his garden at Chelsea.

Nostalgic recollections of half-forgotten boyhood memories perhaps play into the site of *Il Moro*, which recalls More's 'beautiful and commodious home' where 'on one side stood the noble City of London; on the other, the beautiful Thames with green gardens and wooded hills all around' (*Il Moro,* 3-4).[5] It is somewhat irresistible to imagine the scene of John Heywood, nephew and protégé of More, escorting his young son, Ellis, to visit the house and gardens of More's Chelsea estate. Indeed, Heywood admits that he cannot presume to reproduce every element of the place, and 'must leave that undertaking to those who, having lived at Chelsea, have greater knowledge of it' (*Il Moro*, 3). Heywood was himself both spatially and temporally dislocated from the setting of his dialogue, writing the text two decades after the scene from his residence in Florence. Here he became secretary to Cardinal Reginald Pole, the last Roman Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury, exiled upon the accession of Mary Tudor. This detachment indicates an express purpose for returning to England and figuratively travelling down the Thames to the scene of More's Chelsea garden, reviving subsequently assigning signified meaning to the remembrance of this particular place.

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[2] See Flynn, Dennis. "Heywood, Ellis (1529–1578)." 2005. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 27 April 2016. <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/13180>.

[3] Miles, Leland. "Reviewed Work: *Il Moro: Ellis Heywood's Dialogue in Memory of Thomas More* by Roger Lee Deakins, Thomas More." *The Yearbook of English Studies* 5 (1975), p. 254.

[4] Comito, Terry. *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance*. Hassocks, Harvester Press, 1979, p. 32.

[5] Heywood, Ellis. *Il Moro: Ellis Heywood's Dialogue in Memory of Thomas More*. 1556. Translated and edited by Roger Lee Deakins. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1972, p. 3-4, (henceforward *Il Moro,* followed by page numbers in parantheses in the body of the text).

The Chelsea manor thus becomes the site of Heywood's hagiography, the garden the environment in which More nurtured his ideas in humanist discussion. John Dixon Hunt refers to this as the creation of the 'Morean myth', in reference to Rowland Lockey's (1593) [Figure 2] miniature of More and his family, noting the artist's feeling that the invocation of a garden was integral to this.[6] Indeed, in both portraits of *Sir Thomas More and His Family,* by Lockey and Hans Holbein the Younger (1527) [Figures 1], an outdoor prospect is included within the picture. Holbein's sitters are framed by a green curtain in the background, which Bruce Smith comments 'defines [Holbein's] book-filled studies', a surround that implies 'a place for privacy, reading, and contemplation'.[7] Noting the 1580 Arundel inventory, Smith infers that such hangings 'were woven with leaves, plants, and trees', constructing 'green enclosures' within the chamber of the Renaissance house.[8] Just like the open space of the 'green' that Francis Bacon advocates in 'Of Gardens' (1625) as the ideal addition to frame the main garden and house – 'a heath or desert going forth' – this expanse of colour acts as a backdrop to the 'book-filled' interior.[9] The garden is, therefore, invoked even in the enclosure of the house, with Bacon's 'green' brought into the surrounds of the room itself. Lockey's miniature, commissioned by Thomas More II as an adaptation on Holbein's original, unfolds this implication of indoor greenery, making visible through a window the Chelsea garden below. This prospect modifies the focus of the scene, showing the 'windowes properly made towards the Garden, whereby [the inhabitants] might the more fully view, and haue delight of the whole beautie of the Garden'.[10] Instead of facing inward on Holbein's enclosed chamber, the viewer is invited to perceive the layered dimensions of the Chelsea manor: the confined and curtained room; the walled Privy garden; the countryside and the spires of London beyond. Holbein's curtain evokes the greenery of the privy garden, and Lockey makes literal the evocation of the garden situation. It seems that when remembering More, space becomes expressive of his posthumous remembrance; Catherine Belsey remarks that while Holbein's sitters are 'unaware they are being watched', Lockey's have the gazes of 'the descendants of a Catholic martyr'.[11]

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[6] Hunt, John Dixon. *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture*. Cambridge, MIT Press, 1992, p. 307

[7] Smith, Bruce R. *The Key of Green: Passion and Perception in Renaissance Culture*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2011, p. 239.

[8] *Ibid,* p. 46.

[9] Bacon, Francis. 'Of Gardens', in *Bacon's Essays: with annotations*. Edited by Richard Whateley. London, John W. Parker & Son, 1857, p. 421.

[10] Hill, Thomas. *The Gardeners Labyrinth*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 2005, p. 24.

[11] Belsey, Catherine. "Disrupting Sexual Difference: Meaning and Gender in the Comedies." *Alternative Shakespeares*. Edited by John Drakakis. London, Methuen, 1985, p. 171.

Heywood gives voice to the horticultural '*locus'* of these silent Morean portraits, with the integration of conversation among the qualities of 'privacy, reading, and contemplation' that the green space supplies. Invoking the typical Renaissance preoccupation with the dialogue form, a classically-derived genre which emphasises discussion between peers as essential to learning, *Il Moro* captures 'the plurality of voices making themselves heard in an open forum'.[12] Heywood's setting engages with this format, depicting More's Chelsea garden as 'a true and perfect Academy' (*Il Moro,* 3), which echoes Erasmus's statement that 'you might call it another Platonic Academy',[13] thus resituating him in a space that was, for More and many of his humanist contemporaries, apposite to the discursive philosophical dialogues of their circle. Plato's Academy and other schools, such as Epicurus's Garden School, were similarly removed from the public sphere in their locations outside the city, becoming forums of enclosed paradise, or '*paradeisos'* in Greek, from the Persian '*pairideiza'* ('walled around').[14] The similarities of More's Chelsea garden render it an appropriate place to recapitulate the philosophical dialogue of the classical Academy: Heywood depicts the liminality of the garden's situation, where 'on one side stood the noble City of London; on the other, the beautiful Thames with green gardens and wooded hills all around' (*Il Moro,* 4).

This setting exemplifies what Justus Lipsius calls 'the true end and use of Gardens' in his *On Constancy* (1584), in which he maintains that the garden should be 'securely fortify'd against all that is external'.[15] Lipsius continues, delineating the potential effects of the garden setting:

> I retreat within my self, free from all sort of cares except this one, how I may subject this broken and subdued Mind of mine to Right Reason, and to God: And all other humane things to my Mind, that whensoever that fatal day shall come that must put a period to my Life; I may receive it with a compos'd, and unsadded countenance; and may so depart out of this life, not as he that is forc'd into exile, but as one that is set at liberty.
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> (*On Constancy,* 155)

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[12] Harrison, Robert Pogue. *Gardens: An Essay on the Human Condition*. Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 2008, p. 100.

[13] Erasmus, Disederius. *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami, 1532-1534*. Edited by Percy Stafford Allen. Vol. 10. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1941, p. 139.

[14] 'paradise, *n'*, etymology, *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (revised edition 2005), 27 April 2016. All subsequent references are accessed on this date and will be referred to henceforth as '*OED,* (date of [revised] entry): sense'.

[15] Lipsius, Justus. *On Constancy = De Constantia,* 1584. Translated and edited by John Stradling and John Sellars. Exeter, Bristol Phoenix Press, 2006, p. 155

Lipsius 'retreat[s]' to the garden and thus to his 'self', the synchrony of which is outlined by Heywood's remark that More was accustomed to 'withdraw' to his Chelsea home 'when he tired of the city' (*Il Moro,* 3); a perfect refuge for when he retired from his office as Lord Chancellor in 1532. As More himself wrote,

> [h]e, therefore irke and wery of worldly busines, giuing vp his promocions, obtained at last by the incomparable benefite of his most gentil prince (if it please god to fauour his enterprise) the thing which from a childe in a maner alwey he wished and desired, that he might have some yeres of his life fre, in which he little and little withdrawing himself from the busines of this life, might continually remember the immortalite of the lyfe to come.[16]

More's insistence that he requires 'some yeres of his life fre' to withdraw in isolated privacy is remembered in his writing two years later from the Tower of London. More repeats in *A Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation* (1534) the need for a 'secret solitary place in [a man's] own house, as far fro noyse & companye as he conveniently can' wherein he might 'some tyme secretely resort alone, ymagynyng hym selfe as one goyng out of the world' (*CW* 12, 164). If we consider the synonymity of the choice of verbs in these passages – 'retreat', 'withdraw', 'resort' – we notice a sense of repositioning: 'To draw back, take away, remove [a thing] from its place or position' (*OED,* 1928: sense 2[a]). However, it should not be suggested that More's 'withdrawal' from the 'irke and wery of worldly busines' was a disengagement from the active life,[17] or a rejection of the worldly in favour of the contemplative. Germain Marc'hadour's proposal that More may be classified as a mystic cites María Paloma Castillo Martínez, who herself 'does not hesitate to use the label Mystic'.[18] However, while Roper details the 'new building' that More built 'a good distance from his mansion house' where he would 'occupy himself in prayer and study',[19] More was no ascetic hermit, and this essay attests that an attempt to separate his active life from his spiritual contemplation is reductionist at best.

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[16] See More, Thomas. *The works of Sir Thomas More, Knyght, sometime Lorde Chauncellour of England, written by him in the Englysh tonge*. Edited by William Rastell. London, John Cawod, John Waly, and Richarde Tottell. 1557. 27 April 2016. <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2176/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=V15455>, p.1421.

[17] Or '*vita activa'* (see Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*. 1958. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1998).

[18] Marc'hadour, Germain. "Was Saint Thomas More a Mystic?." *Moreana* 46.177/178 (2009): 25-44, p. 26.

[19] Roper, William. *The Lyfe of Sir Thomas More, Knighte*. Edited by Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock. London, Oxford University Press for The Early English Text Society, 1935, p. 25-26.

More does frequently return to the image of man cultivating the garden of one's soul, certainly a trope of mystics: 'lyke the little grayne of mustered seede, whiche is of nature hote, sette [our fayth] in the garden of oure soule, all weedes pulled out for the better feding of our faith, then shall it growe, and so spreade vppe in height' (*CW* 12, 13). However, while the garden is literally removed from the 'irke and wery of worldly busines', the business of tending to the immortal soul involves considerable labour. He finds intellectual discussion in the garden setting conducive to this cultivation. As More expresses,

> If we get so weary of pain and grief that we perversely attempt to change this world, this place of labor and penance, into a joyful haven of rest…we cut ourselves off forever from true happiness.
>
> (*CW* 14, 19-21)

The difference therefore lies in the signification of 'irke', which implies 'tired…reluctant':[20] while there is 'labor, travail, penance, and bodily pain' in seeking the 'sweetness, comfort, pleasure, and gladness' of eternal life, one engages with this journey to be free of oppression and receive the liberty of God's love.[21] Just as the recess of the Platonic Academy was not an isolated environment of contemplation, but rather of education, More's withdrawal was a relocation to a place where he could cultivate knowledge and philosophy, employing the humanist metaphor of the 'teacher/gardener [who] could plan and cultivate the pupil's mental garden for greater profit'.[22] As Voltaire famously ends his *Candide* (1759), *'il faut cultivar notre jardin'* (we must cultivate our garden); a 'philosophical recommendation to horticultural quietism'.[23] While this aphorism carries implications of passivity, More pre-empted this 'horticultural quietism' with a proactive focus to *'cultivar'*. Contemporary humanist Thomas Elyot takes up this metaphor of cultivation in *The Boke Named The Governour* (1531), which proposes that education of virtue is 'a fyne and preciouse herbe', which will 'growe and be norisshed' in the 'fertile erth' of the garden.[24] This is an analogy that extends to More's studious employment at Chelsea, for

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[20] 'irk(e), *adj*.', sense 1 [a], 2001-2014, *Middle English Dictionary Online,* 27 April 2016.

[21] More, Thomas. "The Four Last Things". *The English Works of Sir Thomas More* Ed. W. E. Campbell. Vol. 1. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1931, p. 463-464.

[22] Bushnell, Rebecca N. *A Culture of Teaching: Early Modern Humanism in Theory and Practice,* Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1996, p. 76.

[23] Barnes, Julian. "A candid view of *Candide*." 2011. *The Guardian Online,* 27 April 2016. <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2011/jul/01/candide-voltaire-rereading-julian-barnes>.

[24] Elyot, Thomas. *The Boke Named The Governour.* 1531. Early English Books Online, 27 April 2016. <http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2176/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=V23526>, f. 16.

'when the political sphere no longer allows [political virtues] to thrive, it is all the more important for those…virtues to find asylum in special havens that were removed, but not detached, from the world'.[25]

It is within this setting that we can envisage More walking alone and with companions, through the walled garden court that C. Paul Christensen's study surmises was 'in all likelihood the area reserved by the family as their privy garden'.[26] The enclosure of the privy garden paradoxically facilitates free discussion, a benefit that inspired the Tudor habit to choose gardens for private conversations.[27] As David Coffin observes, 'until the eighteenth century houses were not planned to promote privacy. Corridors or hallways were scarce, as they were considered wasted spaces, so that communication proceeded directly from one room into another. Hence, anyone in private conversation might be unexpectedly overheard or interrupted by a passing servant or a rival courtier'.[28] In William Roper's biography of More, his father-in-law, he describes a visit from Henry VIII to Chelsea, where 'in a faire garden of [More's], [Henry] walked with [More] by the space of an houre, holding his arme about his necke'.[29] More's manor garden, the detached property with outward-facing prospect, thus becomes the physical manifestation of the private colloquy taking place within; discussion that would shape the public discourse of the court. In contrast to the rooms of the manor, the garden becomes a place of freedom of speech. This image of Henry VIII physically demonstrating his relationship with More as both friend and confidante recalls the Erasmian 'wish of reposeful, blithe, and yet serious intercourse of good and wise friends in the cool shade of a house under trees'.[30] The use of More's Chelsea garden as a place of discussion engages with this, situating itself as a part of what Paul Oskar Kristellar calls the Renaissance 'cult of friendship':[31] More famously declared that he 'lett [Rosemarine] run alle over [his] garden walls…because 'tis the herb sacred to remembrance and therefor to friendship…a sprig of it hath

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[25] Harrison, *Gardens: An Essay on the Human Condition,* p. 81.

[26] Christensen, C. Paul. *The Riverside Gardens of Thomas More's London*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2005, p. 76.

[27] A trope that Shakespeare drew upon for the dramatic possibilities of conversations being overheard - for example, *Much Ado About Nothing* (2.3 and 3.1), *Twelfth Night* (2.5) and *King Richard II* (3.4). Cf. Coffin, 1994, p. 59.

[28] Coffin, David R. *The English Garden: Meditation and Memorial*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1994, p. 58-59.

[29] Roper, *The Lyfe of Sir Thomas More, Knighte,* p. 20-21.

[30] Huizinga, Johan, *Erasmus of Rotterdam*. Translated by Frederik Hopman. London, Phaidon, 1952, p. 104.

[31] Kristellar, Paul Oskar. *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*. Trans. Virginia Conant. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943, p. 277.

a dumb language'.[32] If rosemary imbues the garden with its 'dumb language', then we see that language expressed in the confidential conversation of Henry and More.

The garden setting of *Il Moro* perpetuates this scene of companionship and conversation, with the 'company' of the 'rarest and finest intellects of the city' (*Il Moro,* 4). Their dialogue proves too rigorous to resolve in one evening, and the group returns to the garden the next night, when 'after a relaxed stroll, they returned to their little park' (*Il Moro,* 45). Their 'congenial spirits…[waxing]', the group's joviality is reinvigorated when 'Laurence began to smile to himself', and 'Peter noticed and smiled a little in return' (*Il Moro,* 3-5, 45). The pleasure of the garden scene is heard in the recurring peals of laughter interspersed within the dialogue: 'they laughed so hard that all their teeth could easily have been pulled'; 'everybody laughed so hard at this tale that they almost dislocated their jaws' (*Il Moro,* 19-20). Heywood's gathering therefore reimagines the factual garden of More's Chelsea manor within his fictional situation. This horticultural scene of friendly discussion also evokes the fictional '*locus'* of the 'Dialogue of Counsel' of Book I in More's *Utopia*: the Antwerp garden [Figure 3]. The narrator-More of *Utopia* adjourns to the garden of his rented house to converse with Peter Giles and Raphael Hythloday: 'in the garden, on a bench covered with turfs of grass, we sat down to talk together' (*CW* 4, 51). Figure 3 shows the nature of the 'turf benches' upon which the discourse takes place; constructed of grass sods laid upon earth, and retained within fencing. Above, the hanging arbor creates a grove that frames the conversation, and with the turf-benches, constructs a *mise en scène* in which the dialogue takes place. Wayne Rebhorn remarks that 'where the humanists thought of education as a kind of agriculture and longed for a world transformed at least metaphorically into a garden of innocence, More's artistic imagination treats these metaphors literally'.[33] More's dialogue is literally framed by the context of the garden, and in turn, Heywood's dialogue is framed by the invocation of More's *Utopia*.

The garden thus becomes the '*locus'* of the posthumous 'Morean myth', and Heywood renders this location as both More's utopia and his Gethsemane, extricating him from his enclosure at Lambeth and in the Tower. These latter locations have been examined for their Gethsemaneic metaphor by Louis A. S. M. Schuster, and this essay will not reproduce this concept in full. However, *Il Moro* repossesses this metaphor with his own rendering of More as the imitative figure of the Christ from his *De Tristitia Christi* (c.1534-1535) that scrutinises the 'Agony of the Garden'. He follows dinner by walking to 'the crest of a little hill', the domestic equivalent of 'the mount' to which Christ customarily withdrew, which More regards as a reminder to 'lift up our minds from the bustling confusion of human concerns

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[32] Quoted in Dendle, Peter and Alain Touwaide, eds., *Health and Healing from the Medieval Garden*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008, p. 180.

[33] Rebhorn, Wayne A. "Thomas More's Enclosed Garden: *Utopia* and Renaissance Humanism." *English Literary Renaissance* 6 (1976), p. 141.

to the contemplation of heavenly things' (*CW* 12, 9-11). Heywood's model of Gethsemane draws upon the freedom of the garden setting as a place to consider his own salvation, while in reality the garden becomes oppressive and More is forced to remain within. The interrogation at Lambeth Palace, for example, certified More's resistance to Henry's oath; it was here that he lingered in 'an old burned chamber that looketh into the garden', reluctant to go down 'because of the heat'.[34] Richard Marius surmises that 'his real reason for not descending was that the garden below swarmed with men who had sworn the oath, and More did not want to be in their company'.[35] Heywood's hagiography thus refuses to acquiesce the space of the garden to this transformation, and resituates More once again in the prelapsarian gardenscape that in which More planted the 'little grayne of mustered seede' of *'recti conscientia'*. Heywood's act of returning More to the Chelsea garden returns him to the company of friends and absolves him to an environment of prelapsarian happiness and wisdom; finally he is released and the garden is transformed from into a true '*paradeisos'* or utopia.

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[34] Quoted in De Silva, Alvaro. *The Last Letters of Thomas More*. Cambridge: W. B. Eerdmans, 2000, p. 58.

[35] Marius, Richard. *Thomas More: A Biography*. London: J. M. Dent, 1985, p. 462.

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APPENDICES

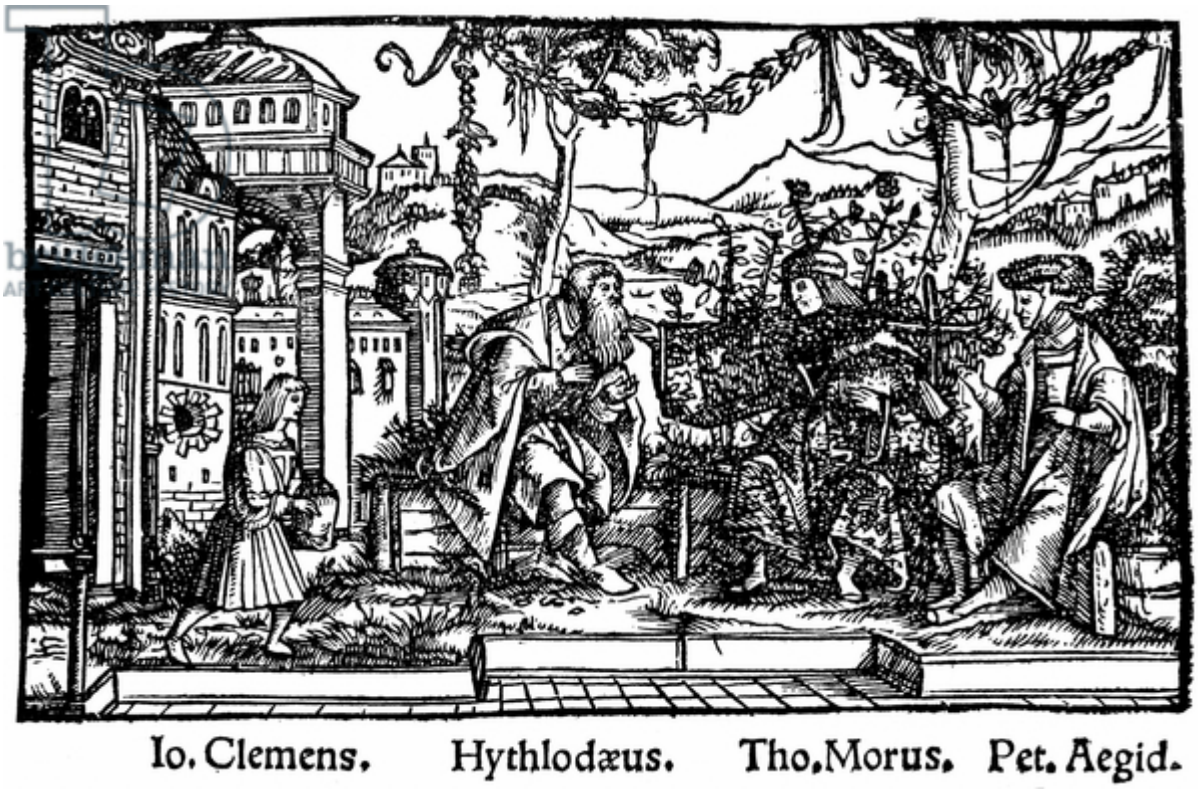
Figure 1:

Sir Thomas More and his Family, after Hans Holbein the Younger. Hans Hoblein the Younger and Rowland Lockey. Nostell Priory. 1593. 27 April 2016. <http://www.luminarium.org/renlit/moreimages.htm>

Figure 2:

Sir Thomas More, his household and descendants (portrait miniature). Rowland Lockey. The Victoria and Albert Museum: P.15-1973. 1593. 27 April 2016. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O8821/sir-thomas-more-his-household-portrait-miniature-lockey-rowland/>.

Figure 3:



Frontispiece woodcut engraving depicting Thomas More in discussion with Raphael Hythloday and Peter Giles in More's garden at Antwerp. Attrib. Ambrosius Holbein. Bridgeman Images: UIG532868. 1518. 27 April 2016. <http://www.bridgemanimages.com/>.