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TITUS LIVIUS'
ROMAN HISTORY,
TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,
AND
ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES,
CRITICAL, HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL,
FOR THE
USE OF STUDENTS IN HUMANITY.

BY WILLIAM GORDON,
AUTHOR OF THE UNIVERSAL ACCOUNTANT.

" Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter."
PER. SAT. I.

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TO HIS GRACE
ALEXANDER,
DUKE OF GORDON,

IN
TESTIMONY OF THAT VENERATION
AND DUTY, WHICH HE OWES
TO HIS ILLUSTRIOUS PATRON
AND GENEROUS BENEFACTOR;

THE FOLLOWING
TRANSLATION,

IS, WITH
GREAT SUBMISSION,
GRATITUDE, AND RESPECT,

INSCRIBED BY
HIS GRACE'S MOST OBEDIENT,
MUCH OBLIGED

AND
VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

WILLIAM GORDON.

TO THE PUBLIC.

TO reconcile Youth, in the early stages of their application to the study of the CLASSICS, to facilitate and promote their progress, and to enlarge their ideas in the English, as well as Latin phraseology, the use of literal translations hath been, of late years, most successfully adopted. The advantages arising from translations, constructed on a more liberal plan, at a more advanced period, after etymology, inflexion, construction, accent, and a sufficient stock of words have been acquired, will be equally considerable. To lay a foundation for good taste, and true criticism, is a point, of which we must never lose sight, in classical studies. The observations of a good teacher, in the course of his prescriptions, will be very important; but the practical art of arranging, classing, and disposing a liberal stock of phrases, with taste and judgment, will receive a surprising improvement from imitation.

By comparing the original with an elegant translation, and that translation again with the original, the student's style will be insensibly elevated, and he will quickly acquire a facility and readiness of expression in both languages, without which, all the time and labour spent upon study, would be in a great measure lost. But to one whose only assistant is his dictionary, a good translation must be still more necessary. The drudgery of scrambling the sense of an author out of a dictionary, is not only intolerably tedious, but requires an extraordinary degree of penetration to succeed to any purpose: a good translation, properly used, will render the study easy, expeditious, and effectual.

It was with this view that I employed some of my leisure hours in translating the *first five books of Livy*, to whose writings I have always been mightily attached, on account of the beauty and dignity of his style, and his luminous, intelligible, and agreeable manner. In translating, I have endeavoured to be spiritual and faithful, equally avoiding the closeness of a literal version, in

which the spirit of the author would have evaporated, and the freedom of a loose paraphrase, which would not have answered the purpose intended by it. In one word, I have endeavoured, as far as I could, to transfuse the sentiments and fire of Livy into a British body: but how far I have succeeded, I must leave to the impartial public.

To render the purchase easy, and that I may have the opinion of the public, before I should proceed farther, I have confined myself at present to five Books.—If these already translated be read with a proper degree of attention, a translation for the rest will not be perhaps necessary: however, should this specimen be well received, the rest may soon follow.

Although the work of TITUS LIVIUS have immortalized his name, he was too regardless of popular applause, or places of distinction, and too much delighted with philosophical retirement and humble privacy, to leave many vestiges of his rank, employments, adventures, or fortune. It is, however, generally agreed, that he was born at Padda, and descended of no obscure family, since it had the honour to give consuls to the Republic of Rome.—It is also known, that he lived in the Augustan age; * that he dedicated to Augustus, those Dialogues, which he published on the philosophical questions of the times, and that this made him known, and recommended him to the favour of that emperor: That he afterwards wrote a Treatise on Eloquence, inscribed to his son, of which Quintilian makes honourable mention.—We also know, that he began to write his history at Rome, where he might have recourse to such memorials and original papers, that had been preserved in the capitol, as were proper to set him to rights concerning the origin of the city, and to remove those intricacies and doubts, into which fabulous traditions had involved it. That after he was sufficiently master of his subject, he retired to Naples, where his labours might meet with fewer interruptions. That some time after this, he read some passages of his history to the emperor Augustus and Mæcenas, of which they formed so favourable an opinion, that the emperor

* T. Liv. lib. 1. cap. 19.

appointed him præceptor to his grandson Claudius, afterwards emperor.*

It is recorded by the younger Pliny, that the reputation of Livy had begun already to make so much noise in the world, that he received an honourable visit from the extremity of Spain, occasioned by the fame of his great and extensive genius which had found its way thither.†

After the death of Augustus, he returned to his native Padua, where he was received by his fellow-citizens with every demonstration of joy and mark of honour. He died there in the fourth year of the empire of Tiberius. Whilst he staid at Rome, and had the countenance and protection of Augustus, he had every opportunity of attaining whatever knowledge was necessary to his design; to the study of which he was so much attached, that he sequestered himself in a manner from the world and the pursuits of ambition, so that his life became thereafter more obscure: for, applying his whole attention to the great work he had undertaken, he shut himself up in his study, and consequently had very little intercourse with society. So vast and so great an enterprise, both in the plan and execution, certainly required the noblest effort of human genius; but the elevated and generous sentiments which so remarkably distinguish and stamp an uncommon beauty and excellency on 'Titus Livius' history, are derived from the nobleness of the heart, for which our author seems to have been illustriously conspicuous.

Any one who has read the works of Livy with attention, will be at no loss to pronounce him a man of worth and probity. The manner in which he speaks of himself, is peculiarly modest: vanity is a foible to which he seems to have been a perfect stranger. Of himself personally, he seldom or never speaks: nor in the whole course of his history does he mention the least thing that concerns him, save only that the temple of Janus was shut in his time. Nothing can be a greater proof of his natural turn of mind in this particular, than the strain of modesty which runs through the preface to his history. No author ever promised less, or performed

* Suet. in Claud. cap. 41.

† Lib. II. Ep. 3.

more. With what diffidence does he disclose his design? and with what distrust of his abilities to support with propriety so great an undertaking? But his fears are a proof of his wisdom; and he promises little, that his readers might be agreeably disappointed: So true it is, that a man's modesty is generally in proportion to his judgment. This is one reason why Livy attracts our admiration whenever we read his works: for, having promised nothing, we soon discover the clearness of his composition; the depth of his penetration; the extent of his genius; the fertility of his imagination; and, in fine, numberless beauties, elegancies, and excellencies, peculiar to himself, which, in the modesty of his Introduction, we were not taught to expect. What fund of wisdom, what politeness of manners were requisite to depress that pride, that self-appropriation, so natural to the human mind, and yet to do justice to his character?

If Livy's sincerity could have been possibly stifled, the respect shown him by Augustus, the favour to which he was elevated, and the estimation he was held in at court, might have corrupted him: yet none of these considerations prevented him from doing justice to the character of Pompey, and speaking respectfully of Brutus and Cassius, whenever an opportunity offered.* A conduct so generous, candid, and disinterested, Cremutius Cordus, according to Tacitus, thought he could never sufficiently praise.

Such was Livy in the qualities of his heart; and such were his personal endowments. And, without doubt, but for such an historian there would have been something defective in the glory, or rather the good fortune of a people, who by their military and political virtues, raised themselves to the highest pitch of terrestrial greatness. This gave rise to the famous inscription found at Padua, Anno 1413, in the church of St. Justina. *Ossa Titi Livii Patavini unius omnium mortalium iudicio digni, cujus prope invicto calamo, invicti populi Romani res gestæ conscriberentur.*

The end and design of history is to instruct and improve the present, by exhibiting a true picture of past

* Tac. Lib. iv. Annal.

ages: and when we consider the various accomplishments and requisites for executing it well, the reason why the most learned and polished nations have produced so few perfect historians, will be abundantly obvious. To complete this character, the philosopher, the politician, the general, the orator, and the man of the world, must all be united in one and the same person. To accuracy and diligence in his researches; symmetry, and proportion in the arrangement of his matter; elegance, and nervousness of diction; freedom and impartiality in his reflexions, he must join a thorough acquaintance with the constitution of the state whose history he writes, and the discriminating characters of its various ages; an intimate knowledge of the human heart; and above all, an honest, virtuous, steady, and unbiassed disposition. The more extended the subject, the greater variety of examples it exhibits, the more genius it requires to treat it with propriety, and the more extensive the advantages to be derived from it.

The subject upon which Livy treats, accurately considered in every circumstance, is perhaps the most beautiful and richest that possibly can be conceived. The Romans were a people, who from an origin the most obscure and inglorious, by correcting what was amiss in their manners, by prudence in their councils, by activity and address in the executing of their plans, by secrecy and fidelity in their negotiations, by strictness of discipline civil and military, and by their unshaken firmness and fortitude, amidst the most imminent dangers, arrived to a pitch of glory almost incredible, which they owed alone to the vigour of their constitution, and their virtuous principles: so that their history furnishes us with all that is great,—with all that is excellent,—with all that is truly noble.

In contemplating this mighty empire, the imagination must be highly delighted, when the virtues which promoted its elevation, and the vices which hastened its ruin, pass in review before it. It is here, where we can examine the most illustrious characters with candour and impartiality, unbiassed by prejudice, and undazzled by greatness. Can the understanding be more enlarged, or the judgment be better confirmed, than in living thus over past ages, profiting by their experience, and pene-

trating into the motives of every action, and cause of every event? Can there be a greater incitement to virtue, than from the example exhibited to us in the history of the antient Romans, for modesty, frugality, generosity, disinterestedness, patriotism, and all those shining virtues, which have rendered them the admiration of succeeding ages? It was in this view that Livy considered his subject, in which he saw so many opportunities of displaying his genius, and which he knew so well how to improve.*

In short, in the manner he has handled his subject, nothing seems to be above his merit. The beauty and elevation of his style, is equal to the glory and greatness of the people whose history he writes. He is everywhere luminous, intelligible, and agreeable: but when he enters into important affairs, he rises even above himself, to treat them with peculiar attention, and a kind of self-delight and complacency. The actions he describes, he renders present; he sets them before the eyes; he does not relate them, he shows them. He paints the genius and character of his *dramatis personæ*, from nature; and puts words into their mouths, which are always conformable to their sentiments and situations. In one word, he has the wonderful art of keeping his readers in so pleasing a suspense, by the variety of his events, and of engaging their curiosity so strongly, that it is impossible to quit his relation of any incident, till it is entirely at an end.†

It is reported of the celebrated Scotch historian, George Buchanan, that he read Titus Livius's history ten times over, to fix in his mind the stile and manner of that great author, before he attempted the work, which has justly placed him at the head of all the writers who have transmitted their sentiments to posterity in the Latin language, since the Augustan age. Nay, some have not scrupled to affirm, in drawing a comparison between Livy, and the celebrated Roman orator, Cicero; that if the latter had turned his whole attention from the bar, to

* Les Oeuvres du P. Rapin.

† Rollin's Roman history,

the writing of history, his appearance, as a historian, would rather have come short of Livy's.

Our author's Roman history originally consisted of 142 Books, extending from the foundation of Rome to the death of Dausus, A. U. C. 744; but the lamentable depredations which have been committed on the literary treasures of antiquity, by Goths and Vandals, Monks, worms, and that notorious *belluo librorum*, time, have deprived us of above 170 Books, the value of which may be estimated from the expectations which have been formed, the searches that have been made, and the rewards that have been proposed for recovering all the Books of this inimitable historian, which are wanted in our printed copies. Once indeed it was fully expected, that all the works of Livy would have been restored entire to the world. One Justiniani, a Greek merchant of the island of Chios, happening to be in France, in the year 1685, offered the French king all the works of Livy. He pretended, that at the great fire, which happened at Constantinople in the 1665, this valuable work was, among other books, thrown out a window, and picked up by a Turk, who sold it privately to a merchant, by whom he was commissioned to sell it. The bargain was struck; by which Justiniani was entitled to receive at the rate of 10,000 crowns instantly paid him, for every two Decades he could produce. But he never returned with the copy, which was an universal disappointment*.

Thus in all ages, since the works of Livy made their first appearance in the world, have they been universally admired, and sought after with the greatest avidity; and such was the veneration paid to their illustrious author, by Alphonso king of Naples, that he sent, in the year 1452, Panormita as his ambassador to the Venetians, in whose dominions the bones of Livy had been lately discovered, to beg a relic of this celebrated historian. They presented him with an arm bone; and the present is recorded in an inscription preserved at Padua, to this day †.

* Marhoff de Patavin. Liv.

† Vossius de historicis Latinis.

We shall conclude the character of this great Historian, with an extract from a modern Author*, who, having done justice to other Roman historians, does Livy the noblest homage, in the following elegant encomium:

OF mightier spirit, of majestic fame,
 With powers proportion'd to the Roman name :
 When Rome's fierce Eagle his broad wings unfurl'd,
 And shadow'd with them all the subject world,
 In bright pre-eminence, that Greece might own,
 Sublimer Livy claims th' historic throne:
 With that rich eloquence, whose golden light
 Brings the full scene distinctly to the sight:
 That zeal of truth which interest cannot bend;
 That fire, which freedom ever gives her friend.
 Immortal artist of a work supreme!
 Delighted Rome beheld with proud esteem,
 Her own bright image, of Colossal size,
 From thy long toils in purest marble rise.
 But envious time, with a malignant stroke,
 This sacred statue into fragments broke ;
 In Lethe's stream its nobler portions sunk,
 And left futurity the wounded trunk.
 Yet, like the matchless, mutilated frame,
 To which great Angelo bequeath'd his name.
 This glorious ruin, in whose strength we find
 The splendid vigour of the sculptor's mind ;
 In the fond eye of admiration still,
 Rivals the finish'd forms of modern skill.

* Hayley's poetical Essay on History.

Academy, Glasgow, }
16th January, 1783. }

TITUS LIVIUS'
ROMAN HISTORY,

FROM
THE BUILDING OF THE CITY.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE REGAL
GOVERNMENT OF ROME.

INTRODUCTION.

IN writing the history of the Roman people, from the very foundation of the city, whether I may offer to the public a work of merit, is a question I cannot well resolve; nor if I could, would I venture to do it, sensible as I am, that it is a trite and common thing, for every new author to imagine to himself, that he will state facts with a greater air of authenticity *than his predecessors*; or by the colourings of his style, throw a new light upon the shades of more ancient productions. Whatever may be in that, to me the reflection will be, however, agreeable, that I too have contributed my part, to perpetuate the memory of the achievements of a people who have become lords of the universe: And should I, in such a groupe of writers, appears less conspicuous, I shall still find some consolation in the lustre of those characters, who are superior to me in the annals of fame. Moreover, to write the history of so great a

people, for a period of more than seven centuries, must be a very laborious task; more especially as from a beginning the most inconsiderable, they raised themselves to a pitch of greatness which they are now hardly able to support. To the generality of readers, too, I doubt not, but the origin of the city, and what immediately followed, will be less interesting, whilst they hurry on to these latter times, when, for several years past, the power of this extraordinary people hath been engaged in working its own destruction.—On the other hand, should I have no other reward for my trouble, while my attention is totally engaged in reviewing those scenes of antiquity, I can at least withdraw mine eyes from beholding the raging wickedness of the times, and consequently be void of care, which, though it may not influence the mind of a writer, with respect to truth, can very sensibly hurt his feelings.

What happened before, and about the time the city was built, as the accounts are rather embellished with poetical fables than supported by incontestible authorities, I am resolved neither to affirm nor refute. It is an indulgence allowed to antiquity, the better to stamp a superior dignity on the original of cities, to blend things human with divine: And if any people on earth can possibly be allowed the privilege of consecrating their original, and ascribing it to the gods, such is the military glory of the Roman people, that when they claim a peculiar title to call Mars their author, and the father of their founder, all the nations bear it as cheerfully as they submit to their yoke. But these circumstances, and others of the same nature, however taken or considered, shall give me no concern. I shall only request the reader's serious attention to what respects the *lives* and *manners* of this people, the *men* and *measures*, in the cabinet and the field, by which their empire was founded and extended. Then let him still continue to observe, whilst the strictness of their discipline gradually relaxed, first a corruption of their morals, then a constant progressive decay, and at last a total degeneracy, till he arrive at the present age, when we can neither bear our political disorders, nor the application of a remedy.

In the study of history there is this peculiar advantage: There you have examples of every kind set before you, in a conspicuous point of view; whence you may set up models for your imitation, as an individual or a state, or beacons to warn you against base attempts, which end in disgrace. But either I am prepossessed in favour of the work I have undertaken, or there never was a state more respectable for its greatness, its sanctity, or variety of excellent characters. Never was there a state, into which luxury and avarice found their way so late, nor where poverty and frugality were held so long and so much in repute, that the less they had, the less they desired. Of late years, riches have introduced luxury, and a profusion of pleasures, a taste for extravagance in all the ways of riot and debauchery: but as complaints will not even then be agreeable, when perhaps they are necessary, let us at least drop them in the introduction to so great a work, or rather, were it fashionable with us historians, as it is with the poets, set out with more enlivening ideas, with good omens, and vows, and prayers to the gods and goddesses, that they would vouchsafe to grant success, adequate to the greatness of the undertaking.

CHAP. I.

ÆNEAS' arrival in Italy, and marriage.

Anno Mundi, 2282.

NOW first of all, it is abundantly evident, that after Troy * was taken, great havoc was made among all the Trojans, excepting only two, Æneas and Antenor, whom the Greeks exempted from the rigours of war, because they had always been for peace; and insisted that Helen should be given up:—That Antenor thereafter, having run through many adventures, arrived in the interior bay of the Adriatic sea, with a body of Heneti, who having, for seditious practices, been expelled

* A city of the Lesser Asia, its territories constituting part of Phrygia, lying between the river Simois and Scamander.

Paphlagonia*, were in search of a settlement and a leader, for their king Palymenes had fallen at Troy:—That the Trojans, in conjunction with the Heneti, having driven out the Euganei, who inhabited the country between the sea and the Alps, took possession of their lands. The place where they first landed was called Troy, and from thence the Trojan district. The people in general were called Venetians.—That Æneas, driven from his country by a similar disaster, but conducted by his fates, to enterprises more important, landed first in Macedonia, and moving thence in quest of a settlement, was carried to Sicily, whence he steered for the country of Laurentum†. This place was also called Troy. There the Trojans disembarking, and having nothing left, after their tedious and troublesome voyages, but their arms and vessels, fell to plundering the country. To put a stop to this violent proceeding in the strangers, Latinus and the Aborigines, who were then the proprietors, flocked out in arms from town and country.

The event of this affair is differently related. According to some authors, Latinus being defeated in battle, first made a peace with Æneas, which was afterwards confirmed by a matrimonial alliance: but others contend, that when both armies stood drawn up in order of battle, before the signal was given, Latinus advancing among his nobles, invited the leader of the foreigners to an interview. He then enquired who they were, whence they came, what had obliged them to leave their country, and what they wanted in the territory of Laurentum? After he had been informed that the people were Trojans, who under the conduct of Æneas, the son of Anchises and Venus, after their country was destroyed, had wandered in quest of a settlement, and a spot upon which they might build a city; admiring the majestic appearance of the man, the dignity of his family, and withal a soul equally prepared for peace or war, he confirmed to him a promise of future amity, by giving him the hand of friendship.

* Bounded by the rivers Parthenius and Halys, part of Gallogræcia and the Euxine sea.

† San Lorenzo.

Upon this, a treaty ensued between the chiefs, and a salutation between the armies. By Latinus, Æneas was hospitably entertained ; who, in presence of his household gods, to the public treaty added a family alliance, by giving him his daughter in marriage. This transaction secured to the Trojans a certain settlement, and a final adieu to roving : Then they built a city, which, in honour of his wife, Æneas called *Lavinium**. This marriage soon produced a son, to whom his parents gave the name of *Ascanius*.

C H A P. II.

ÆNEAS' grand Achievements.

NOT long after this, hostilities were commenced against the Aborigines and Trojans together. Turnus, king of the Rutullians†, to whom Lavinia had been promised, before the arrival of Æneas, provoked to see a stranger preferred to him, made war upon Latinus, and Æneas at the same time. Neither army left the field with much cause of triumph ; for the Rutullians were defeated ; and the Aborigines and Trojans, though they gained a victory, lost their leader Latinus. Then Turnus and his Rutullians‡, despairing of success from their own resources, applied to the Etrurians, a flourishing state ; and their king Mezentius, who, at that time, kept his court at Cære||, an opulent city : He beholding, with a jealous eye, the foundation of a new city ; and thinking, at that time, that the Trojan power was advancing too rapidly, for the safety of its neighbours, without much difficulty joined in a confederacy with the Rutullians.

Æneas, that he might secure the affections of the Aborigines, now that he was threatened with such a for-

* Situated where St. Potronillus's chapel now stands.

† They possessed the maritime part of Campagna di Roma, between the rivulet Numicios, now Rio di Nimi, and the Tiber.

‡ The country of the Etrusci lay between the Magra and the Tiber. It was divided by the Arno.

|| Now Cereteri.

midable junction, united both nations under one name as well as government, and called them both *Latins*: Nor from that moment did the Aborigines, in point of zeal and loyalty, show themselves, in any instance, less attached than the Trojans, to their king Æneas. Wherefore relying on the affections of his united subjects, who became more strongly cemented every day, although the power of the Etrurians was so considerable, that their fame was not only diffused all over the inland country, but also along the western coast, from the Alps to the streights of Messina; and, though he could have defended himself within his walls, he led his army out to the field. The Latins here were once more victorious; but Æneas was among the slain. By whatever name he has a right or title to be called, he was buried on the banks of Numicius *, and is invoked by the name of *Jupiter Indiges*.

CHAP. III.

The reign of Ascanius in Alba; of Æneas Sylvius, and the rest of the Sylvian family.

ASCANIUS, the son of Æneas, was too young to take upon himself the administration; notwithstanding of which, his dominions came unimpaired into his hands, when of age. For such were the abilities and address of Lavinia, that during his minority, Latium, and wherever his grandfather's or father's sovereignty extended, stood firm in his favour, under her regency. I question much, (for who would assert for truth, a circumstance of a date so ancient) whether this Ascanius was the son of Lavinia, or one born before him, of Creusa, before the destruction of Troy, which Julius Ascanius, his father's companion in his flight, the Julian family affect to call the author of their name?

This Ascanius, wherever, or of whomsoever born, is by all admitted to have been the son of Æneas. He finding Lavinium was overstocked with inhabitants, left that city, flourishing and opulent as it was, considering

* Rio de Nimi. It run close by Lavinium.

the times, to his mother, or step-mother, and laid the foundation of another new city for himself, at the foot of mount Alba, which, from its situation, being extended on the declivity of a hill, was called *Longa Alba*.*

From the time that Lavinium was founded, and the colony planted at Alba Longa, there was an interval of near thirty years. Yet so rapid was the progress of the Latin power, especially after the defeat of the Etrurians, that not even upon Æneas's death, nor thereafter, during the regency of Lavinia, and the first exhibitions of a juvenile administration, did Mezentius, or the Etrurians, or any other neighbouring power, dare to make the least attempt against it. A peace had been made on these terms, that the river Albula, which they now call the Tiber, should be the line of division, between the Etrurians and Latins.

Sylvius, by some accident born in a wood, succeeded his father Ascanius†. Him also his son, Æneas Sylvia succeeded, who transmitted the kingdom to his son Latinus Sylvius. This king planted several colonies, and called them ancient Latins. After him the name of Sylvius was assumed by all the succeeding kings of Alba. Alba was the son and successor of Latinus, Alys of Alba, Capys of Alys, Capetus of Capys, and of Capetus Tiberinus, who was drowned in crossing the Albula, and thereby left it a name famous among posterity.

Agrippa was the son and successor of Tiberinus, and Romulus Sylvias of Agrippa. He being killed by lightning, the kingdom devolved on Aventinus, who was buried on that hill, which is now part of the city of Rome, and called by his name. After him Proca reigned, the father of Numitor and Amulius. To Numitor, his eldest son, he left the ancient kingdom of the Sylvian family; but power was more prevalent than the will of a parent, or the deference due to seniority.

Numitor was expelled, and Amulius usurped the government. One crime followed upon the heels of another. He cut off all his brother's representatives of the male line; and that there might be no hopes of poste-

* Patazotta.

† Some say his brother.

rity from the female line, under pretence of doing honour to Rhea Sylvia, Numitor's daughter, he got her admitted a vestal virgin, which condemned her to perpetual virginity.

CHAP. IV.

Rhea Sylvia with child to Mars. Romulus and Remus born.

BUT, if I am not mistaken, we must look for the origin of so extraordinary a city, and the foundation of an empire, in power inferior only to that of the gods, in the records of fate. The vestal was surprised, forced, and delivered of twins; whom, either because she really thought so, or because a god was a more honourable cloak for her offence, she fathered upon Mars. But neither gods nor men screened her from the cruelty of the king: the vestal was put in close confinement; and the infants were ordered to be thrown into the Tiber, where the current was most rapid. By the interposition of some divinity, the river had, at that time, overflowed its banks; upon which the waters stood diffused in still pools, which rendered the channel quite inaccessible. They who were charged with the execution of the orders, thinking the water, however still, would be sufficient to drown the infants, laid them down in the nearest pool, where now stands the *Ruminalis ficus**; formerly, by tradition, the *ficus Romularis*, concluding, that they had now fairly done their duty.

The country was, at that time, a vast wilderness: and, it is said, that after the water had subsided and left the trough, or skiff, in which the infants had been exposed, upon dry ground, a thirsty she-wolf coming down from the neighbouring mountains, was led to the place by their cries, and bended with so much complacency to suckle them, that she was found by the king's shepherd gently licking them with her tongue. It is said the shepherd's name was *Faustulus*, and that he brought

* In some copies we find *Vicus Ruminalis*, which appears to be the true reading; for it is hardly probable that a fig-tree in Romulus' time, would be standing in the days of Livy.

home the children to his cot, to be nursed by his wife Laurentia. Some contend that this same Laurentia, was called Lupa among the shepherds, on account of her easy virtue, and that the miraculous story took its rise from that circumstance.

The children being thus born, and thus brought up, did not loiter about the folds, nor tend the flocks, even when they were yet young, but roamed and hunted in the forests; by which exercise, having acquired strength and courage, they not only encountered wild beasts, but attacked bands of robbers, loaded with plunder; and divided the spoil amongst the shepherds. Their corps becoming more numerous every day, they now began to keep festivals, and have rural sports together.

CHAP. V.

Amulius killed.

IT is asserted, that at this very time, the festival of the Lupercalia* was solemnized on mount Palatine, which, from Pallantium, a city of Arcadia, was first called Pallantium, and afterwards Palatium.—That there Evander, descended of these Arcadians, who for many ages before, had been in possession of that country, had instituted that festival brought with him from Arcadia. It was to be solemnized by young men, who were to run naked, making every attitude expressive of mirth and humour, in honour of Pan Lyceus†; to whom afterwards the Romans gave the name of Ionus.—That the robbers having learned when this festival was to be solemnized, and irritated for the loss of their plunder, lay in wait for them while engaged in these sports. Romulus by the gallantry of his defence, got clear off, but Remus fell into their hands, and was delivered to king Amulius, loaded with accusations attested by themselves.

* Two goats and a dog were sacrificed; and the foreheads of two young men of quality were touched with the bloody knife, whilst others wiped off the blood with wool dipt in milk. The goats skins were cut in thongs, with which the young men struck all they met, particularly young married women, who believed that such strokes contributed to easy conception and delivery.

† A surname given to Pan, because it was thought he protected the flocks from the wolves.

They were charged in particular, with making incursions on, and ravaging Numitor's lands, assisted by a band of young fellow scollocted for the purpose; in consequence of which, Remus was delivered over to Numitor to be punished. It is to be observed, that Faustulus from the beginning had some notion that the children he had been bringing up were of the blood royal, for he knew they had been exposed by the king's order, and the time he had taken them up, corresponded exactly with the date of the order: but he had no intention of discovering the secret unseasonably, before he found a proper opportunity, or was compelled by necessity. Necessity was his first motive: for, instigated by his concern for the safety of his ward, he makes a full discovery to Romulus. By chance too, when Numitor had Remus in custody, he had heard that he had a twin-brother; and by comparing their ages with their dispositions, which he found the very reverse of servile, he was struck with the idea of his grand-children; and upon farther inquiry, was almost determined to acknowledge Remus. Wherefore a plot is laid for the king on all sides.

Romulus, however, did not advance with his young adventurers in a body, as being, by open force, unequal to the attempt; but having ordered the shepherds, by different routs, to meet at the palace, at an hour concerted, he then forces his way to the king, whilst from Numitor's house, Remus advances with another party, which he had convened for his brother's assistance.

CHAP. VI.

The city Rome built by Romulus.

NUMITOR, at the beginning of the insurrection, under pretence that an enemy had invaded the city, and made their way good to the palace, called off the Alban youth to garrison and defend the castle. But when he saw his grand-sons advancing towards him, with loud huzzas, having done their business, he immediately called a council, laid open to them his brother's wicked proceedings against himself, acquaints them with the

history of his grand-sons, how they were born, brought up, and discovered; and also informs them of the murder of the tyrant, at the same time acknowledging, that it did not happen without his consent. Then the young princes, making their way through the middle of the crowd, with their attendants, saluted their grandfather king; of which the multitude echoing shouts of approbation, confirmed to him at once, the prerogative, as well as the title of king.

Numitor being thus recognized king of Alba, Romulus and Remus became passionately fond of building a city on the very spot where they had been exposed and brought up. A number, both of Trojans and Albans, could well enough be spared, and the shepherds had already acceded to the motion, who altogether were easily induced to hope, that in future times, Alba and Lavinia would only be looked upon as inconsiderable villages, compared with the city they were about to build. These views were afterwards interrupted by ambition, an hereditary evil, which though it was attended with no sort of acrimony at first, had an event sufficiently tragical.

As the brothers were twins, and the respect due to seniority could make no distinction, they agreed that the tutelar gods of the country should decide by Augury*, which of the two should give a name and laws to the new city, when built. Romulus choosed the Palatine, and Remus the Aventine mount, for making their respective observations.

CHAP. VII.

Remus killed.

REMUS, it is said, had the first omen, namely, six Vultures: but he had hardly made his report, when double the number appeared to Romulus; upon which

* *Ab avium gestu, vel garritu*, first invented in Chaldea, thence transmitted to Greece, thence to the Tuscans, and by them communicated to the Latins and Romans. In taking an Augury, the observer stood on a tower, with his head covered with a gown peculiar to his office, called *Læna*, and turning his face to the east, marked out the heavens into four temples, or quarters, with his litus or short rod, after which he stood waiting for the omen, which always gained most credit when confirmed by another similar to it.

each is saluted king by his respective followers. The one party pled a priority in point of time, and the other a superiority in point of numbers. Upon this high words ensued, which, being inflamed with passion, ended in blood. There Remus fell in the scuffle.

There is still another account of the matter, which meets with greater credit; namely, that Remus in ridicule of his brother, had leaped over his new wall, at which Romulus being highly incensed, put him to death; adding, moreover, in an ironical tone, "Thus let every one perish, who shall attempt a similar insult."—Thus the sovereignty devolved on Romulus alone, who called the new built city after his own name.

The first object of his attention was the Palatine mount, where he had spent his younger years, and that he fortified. In the worship of all the other gods, he observed the ceremonies of Alba; but in what respected Hercules, the ceremonies of Greece, as instituted by Evander.—They tell a story, that Hercules having killed Gerion, brought off with him some cows of surprizing beauty; and that having swimmèd across the Tiber, driving them before him, he lay down in a meadow full of grass, to refresh himself after the fatigue of his journey, and feed his cattle with the rich pasture. There, having eat and drunk plentifully before, when he had fallen fast asleep, a shepherd, named Cacus, who resided thereabout, being full of his strength, and quite charmed with the beauty of the cows, resolved to make free with them. And because the marks of their feet would have betrayed his retreat to their owner, had he driven them forwards, he drew the most beautiful of the whole herd, one by one, into his cave, backwards by the tail.

Hercules getting up, as soon as day appeared, and surveying his cattle, found some of them were gone; upon which he walked to the next cave, if possible, to trace them. But when he observed their footsteps all turned from it, and leading no where else, he was quite confounded: and having no other alternative, began to drive his cattle from the enchanted spot. Upon this, as it commonly happens, some of the cows, as he was driving them along, began to low for want of those they had left behind; nor did the cows in the cave fail to

answer them, which induced Hercules to turn back. As he was advancing to the cows, Cacus attempted to stop him with all the force he could muster; but Hercules, with a single stroke of his club, laid him breathless at his feet, whilst he vainly implored the protection of the shepherds.

At that time Evander, having fled from Peloponnesus,* had the government of this country, more out of respect to his superior merit, than any legal investiture. He was highly revered for his wonderful learning, a thing quite uncommon among men who were ignorant of every art, and still more for the supposed divinity of his mother Carmenta, to whom before the coming of the Sybil† into Italy, these nations, for her prophetic spirit, paid great veneration. This Evander was called upon by the shepherds, who crowded in great consternation about the stranger, and impeached him with open murder.

Having heard the crime, and the provocation fully explained, and observing a certain dignity in the air of Hercules, and his size rather above the human, he asked him who he was? The moment his name, his father, and his country were mentioned, "Hail, Hercules, (said he) son of Jupiter; my mother, a true prophetess, hath declared to me, that you will increase the number of the celestials, and that to you an altar‡ shall be dedicated here, which an empire, the most powerful upon earth, shall call the *greatest*." Hercules reaching him the hand of friendship, replied, "That he gladly accepted the omen, and would fulfil the pleasure of the fates, by raising and consecrating an altar accordingly."

Thus, for the first time, an heifer being selected for the purpose, the most beautiful in the whole collection, a sacrifice was made to Hercules; the Potitii and Pinarii, families of the first distinction in the country, performing the service, and partaking of the entertainment. It happened, however, that the Potitii were present at the

* Now the Morea.

† The Sybils were thought to have been divinely inspired, of which, the most considerable were the Persian and Cumæan.

‡ It stood in the Ox Market.

time, and had the entrails set before them; but the Pinarii, as the entrails had been eaten up, came only to the remaining part of the entertainment: For which reason, it was enacted, that the Pinarii should never in future be allowed to eat of the entrails at solemn sacrifices.

The Potitii, being instructed by Evander, continued priests of Hercules for many ages, till they gave up this solemn hereditary office, to be administered by public slaves, that the whole family became extinct.—This was the only foreign sacred rite, which Romulus adopted; and this too, out of deference to that immortality which is the perquisite of virtue, whither his own fates seemed to point.

CHAP. VIII.

The Senate chosen. A. N. C. 753. Rom. 1.

ROMULUS having, with all due solemnity, performed the duties he owed to religion, called an assembly of his people, to whom he prescribed laws and regulations, which alone bade fairest for uniting them in one community; and judging that these laws would have a greater impression on his uncivilized rustics, were he himself distinguished by ensigns of royalty, he rendered his appearance more majestic, by the richness of his dress, and particularly by twelve Lictors* who were to attend his person.

Some are of opinion, that the twelve Vultures, which had been the omen of his regal power, determined him to fix upon this number. But I rather imagine, according to others, that he copied the Apparitors,† as well as this kind of officers, and the number of them, from his neighbours, the Etrurians, from whom also he bor-

* *A Ligandis reis.* They carried each a bundle of rods tied up with an axe; the first for arbitrary, and the last for capital punishments.

† *Ab appareo,* being always ready to execute orders; such were the scribes, or public notaries, &c.

rowed the Curule chair,* and the *Toga prætecta*.†—What gave occasion to this number among the Etrurians, was the number of nations of which they consisted, each having a vote in the election of a king, to whom also each of them assigned a Lictor.

In the mean time, the walls of the city were extended, by including one place after another within their works; which they carried on more in hopes of an accession of inhabitants, than for the accommodation of the numbers they had at present. Thereafter, that this speculation might not be ærial, Romulus, in order to increase his numbers, adopting the policy of those ancient founders, who by drawing together an assemblage of people in low circumstances, and of mean extraction, pretended that men arose to them out of the earth, opened an asylum in that place, which is now enclosed, as you go down the hill between the two groves: thither, freed men and slaves, and whoever had a taste for novelty, fled in multitudes without distinction, from the neighbouring nations, which was the first accession to their infant power.

As they were now become a pretty formidable party, the next step was to put them under some proper regulation. For this purpose, an hundred Senators were chosen; either because that number was thought sufficient, or because no more were found, who could with propriety be elected. But it was surely out of respect, that they were called Fathers, and their children Patricians.

CHAP. IX.

War with the Sabines.

ROME was now powerful enough to cope with any of its neighbours; but for want of women, their duration as a state, could not be extended beyond the period

* An ivory chair, carved and placed in a chariot, in which the chief magistrates were carried into council.

† A white robe reaching down to the ancles, edged with a purple lace, wore by the chief magistrates and senators on festival days, as a badge of distinction.

of their own existence, having no partners at home, nor the means of procuring them from their neighbours. For this reason, Romulus, with the advice of the fathers, sent deputies through the neighbouring states, to solicit their alliance and connexion, by intermarrying with his new subjects: and urging, "That cities, like other things, rose from very small beginnings;—That those who were assisted by the gods, and their own industry, have in time become great and opulent.—That they might be very sensible, that the gods had countenanced the building of Rome; and that in point of virtuous industry, the citizens would not be deficient.—That therefore, he hoped, as they themselves were men, they would not refuse to mix their blood and families with men like themselves."

This embassy had a gracious reception nowhere, and at the same time that they were held in the utmost contempt, they were dreaded as a monster growing up in the heart of their country, to devour them and their posterity. They were therefore dismissed by most of the neighbouring states, with this insulting question, "Whether had they opened an asylum for female vagrants, for such only would be suitable matches for them?" The Roman youth were not a little piqued at this affront, and without doubt, began to meditate on a more violent mode of courtship. To give them time and opportunity for putting their designs in execution, Romulus, concealing his chagrin, makes preparations for celebrating solemn games in honour of Equestrian Neptune.* He calls them *Consualia*;† and orders them to be announced to all the cities around. They were celebrated with all the pomp and magnificence they could contrive or afford, that their splendour might not come short of the popular expectations. Great crowds assembled, particularly from the adjoining cities *Cænina*, *Crustumium*, and *Antemnæ*,‡ even out of curiosity to see the new

* Because he is said to have raised the first house from the earth by a stroke of his Trident.

† From *Consus*, the god of counsel, because this politic was the effect of great deliberation.

‡ Towns near Rome, but their modern names little known.

city. The whole nation of the Sabines* came, with their wives and children. Being treated with great hospitality in the different houses, when they had taken a view of the city, its situation, fortifications, and the prodigious number of houses it contained, they could not conceal their wonder at the rapidity of its progress in so short a time.

When the exhibition came on, their eyes and minds being equally fixed on that object, a tumult was set on foot, as had been concerted, and the signal being given, the Roman youth ran different ways to carry off the young women by force. A great part of them were borne away promiscuously, by those into whose hands chance had put them. Some of superior beauty, destined for the principal senators, were, by persons employed for the purpose, carried to their houses. A young lady, in her person and looks, far surpassing all the rest, it is said, had been seized by a party commissioned by one Talassius, who, to save her from rudeness, when the question was put, for whom was she intended? they repeatedly cried out, for Talassius; a word, which afterwards was adopted in the marriage ceremonies.

The consternation occasioned by this proceeding having interrupted the games, the parents of the young women in sorrow fled from the city, exclaiming bitterly against the Romans, for violating the laws of hospitality, and invoking the vengeance of that god, to countenance whose games they had come to Rome, betrayed under the specious pretence of religion and public faith. Nor were the hopes of the young women more sanguine, nor their resentment less poignant.

But Romulus, in person, went about and informed them, "That whatever had happened, was entirely owing to the pride of their fathers, who had refused to give them in marriage to their neighbours: but, that nevertheless, they should be joined by indissoluble ties to their fortunes and freedom, as well as to their persons. And, moreover, what would still be a more endearing connexion, they would be united with their husbands in the tender affection of parents of the same

* From Sabus their founder.

“ children:—that now they ought to soften their re-
“ sentiment, and surrender their hearts to those men, to
“ whom fortune had given possession of their persons.
“ —That from wrongs and injuries, love and friendship
“ had often proceeded; and that they would find their
“ husbands behave themselves with so tender an affec-
“ tion, as would leave them no cause to regret the loss
“ of either parents or country.”

To these soothing expostulations, we may add the caresses of the husbands, pleading in excuse the ardour of their passion and violence of their love; pleas, which seldom fail to operate with success on the female heart.

CHAP. X.

Opima Spolia presented to Jupiter Feretrius.

BY this time the passion of the ladies had greatly subsided; but their parents all the while were going about in a pitiful dress, endeavouring by tears and lamentations, to stir up their states to revenge: nor did they confine their complaints to their own country, but assembled from all quarters to Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines, to whom, as being the most conspicuous character in these countries, all embassies were addressed. The Cæninenses, Crustumini, and Antemnates, had their share in the indignity. To them Titus and his Sabines seemed slow and inactive, for which reason, having formed a triple alliance among themselves, they prepare for hostilities.

Still were the motions of the Crustumini and Antemnates too slow for the ardour and fury of the Cæninenses, so that they alone made an incursion upon the Roman territories; but Romulus meeting them with his army, as they were ravaging the country, in straggling parties, soon convinced them in a slight skirmish, that fury, unsupported by strength, is impotent in the extreme. Their army is defeated, routed, and pursued. Romulus killed their king with his own hand, and stripped him of his armour. Their general being slain, the city scarce stood an attack. Then Romulus returning with his victorious

army, and being now distinguished by his gallant actions, to which, in the representation, he could do great justice, bearing before him the spoils of the enemy's general, suspended on a frame nicely contrived for the purpose, goes up in state to the capitol, where he laid them down at the foot of an oak, sacred among shepherds. With the present, he delineated with his eye, the limits of a temple to Jupiter, giving him, at the same time, a surname; "O Jupiter Feretrius,*" says he, "to thee do I, the victorious king Romulus, bear these royal arms; to thee do I dedicate a temple, on that spot, which I have this moment traced out in my mind, to be the repository of these opima spolia,† which my successors, following my example, shall offer to thee when taken from kings, or generals of the enemy, whom they may have the honour to kill in battle." This was the origin of that temple, the first that was consecrated at Rome; and it hath pleased the gods, that neither should the words of the founder be uttered in vain, as to this repository of the opima spolia, nor that the glory of that achievement, should lose ought of its lustre by the number of those who should have the honour to attain it. Twice only,‡ in the course of so many years, and so many battles, were the opima spolia obtained, so rare was the acquisition of that honour.

CHAP. XI.

The Antemnates and Crustumini defeated and brought to Rome.

THEN, whilst the Romans were thus employed, a body of the Antemnates, taking the opportunity of this avocation, make an incursion into their country. A Roman

* From *ferire*, to strike.

† Some derive *opima* from *ops*, the earth; others from *opus*.

‡ Once by Cornelius Cossus, who killed Tolumnius king of the Veientes in the year of the city 318; and again by Claudius Marcellus, who killed Verдумaris, a king of the Germans, in the year of the city, 532.

legion * was quickly dispatched against them, and coming up with them by forced marches, cut them off, as they were dispersed in small parties over the country. Thus was the enemy routed at the first shout and charge, and their town also taken. As Romulus was returning in triumph from this double victory, his wife, Hersilia, wearied out with the importunities of the ravished ladies, requests of him to be reconciled to their fathers, and receive them into the city, for by such union, there would be, between them, a reciprocation of interest. This favour was easily obtained.

After this he marched against the Crustumini, who too had commenced hostilities: But here the resistance he met with was feeble indeed. The enemy was quite dispirited by the overthrow of their neighbours. Colonies were sent to each of these places: but on account of the richness of the soil, the majority enlisted for Crustumini. From them too there were frequent emigrations to Rome, consisting chiefly of the parents and relations of the ravished ladies. The last, but not the least war they had on this account, was with the Sabines, they were neither actuated by passion, nor love of plunder; nor did they threaten before they were ready to execute.

To expedite their designs, they had recourse to a stratagem. Spurius Turpeius was then governor of the citadel. With the promise of a sum of money, Tatius prevailed on a young lady, the governor's daughter, to permit his soldiers to enter the citadel in arms; by chance, at that time, she had gone without the walls to fetch water for some sacred purpose. They whom she admitted, either because they thought it more honourable, that it should appear the citadel was taken fairly, or to make her an example to posterity, that no faith should be kept with traitors, smothered her under their bucklers. Because the Sabines, on their left arms, commonly wore bracelets of great value, and on their fingers, rings set

* From *legere*, to chuse; because the Roman legion consisted entirely of chosen men. The number, which at that time constituted a legion, is not easily ascertained. Plutarch says, 3000 foot and 300 horse.

with jewels: they have added another circumstance, that she contracted with them for what they had on their left arms, and that instead of the golden bracelets, she was covered with their shields. Some also alledge, that in consequence of her bargain, she insisted for their arms, and thus seeming to have acted with duplicity, she got the reward she had urged.

CHAP. XII.

The Romans defeat the Sabines in battle.

THE Sabines, however, got possession of the citadel; but from thence, though the Roman army, the next day, was drawn up along the field, which lies between the Palatine and Capitoline hills, they did not venture into the plain, till the Romans, fired with indignation, and eager to recover the citadel, charged up to their front. The battle was begun by two principal officers, Mettius Curtius on the side of the Sabines, and Tullius Hostilius on the side of the Romans. He, in spite of the disadvantage of ground, supported the Romans, among the foremost ranks, by his spirited and intrepid conduct. The moment he fell, the Romans gave way, and fled to the old gate of Palatium.

Romulus too, being hurried along with the fugitives, lifting up his arms to heaven; "Jupiter, (cried he) commanded by thy birds, I laid the foundation stone of this city on the Palatine hill. These Sabines, by villainous bribery, are already in possession of the citadel. From thence they are pursuing us in arms, having already passed the middle of the valley. But, O father of gods and men, do thou at least enable us to drive the enemy hence, cure the Romans of this panic, and put a stop to their shameful flight. Here, to thee, Jupiter Stator, do I vow a temple, which shall tell it to posterity, that by thy present interposition, this city was saved."

Having finished his prayer, as if he had been convinced that his prayers were heard; "Romans, (he cried,)

" Jupiter, the best and the greatest, orders you from this moment, to stop, rally, and renew the engagement." The Romans obey, as if the order had come from heaven. Romulus himself, flies to the foremost ranks. Mettius Curtius had come galloping down from the citadel, driving the Romans before him, all along the forum; and when he was within a little of the gate of the Palatium, he bawled, " We have beat our perfidious hosts, —our cowardly enemies;—now they are convinced to their cost, that to fight with men, and run away with girls, are very different things."

Whilst he was vaunting in this insulting manner, Romulus charged him at the head of a party of gallant young fellows; and, as it happened, that Mettius fought on horseback, it was the more easy to drive him from his post. He is put to flight in his turn, and pursued. Another battalion of the Roman army, spirited up by the gallantry of their prince, routs the Sabines. Mettius was thrown into a swamp from his horse, rendered unmanageable from the noise of those who pursued, a circumstance, seeing their champion in danger, that alarmed the Sabines prodigiously. Animated by the cries and signs made to him by his party, he, however, escaped.—The battle was renewed on both sides, in the centre of a valley, between two hills; but fortune declared for the Romans.

CHAP. XIII.

The Sabine women interpose, and obtain a coalition.

BY this time the Sabine women, on whose account hostilities had commenced, with dishevelled hair and rent garments, their melancholy circumstances having rendered them superior to the fear common to their sex, threw themselves between the two armies among showers of darts, with a view to stop the effusion of blood, and suspend the fury of the combatants; beseeching their fathers, on the one side, and their husbands, on the other; " That they would not impiously, being fathers and sons-in-law, embrace their hands in the blood the one

“ of the other;—that they would not entail the reproach
“ of parricide upon their offspring, children of the one,
“ and grand-children of the other. If, (continued they)
“ you dislike the connection, or choice we have made,
“ let the weight of your resentment fall upon us. It is
“ we who are the cause of the war; it is we who have
“ shed the blood of our fathers and husbands. We had
“ better be dead, than left widows without the one, or
“ orphans without the other.”

This moving scene very sensibly touched the feelings of the army and generals. All was hush in a moment, when both leaders advanced with proposals for an accommodation. Matters were quickly adjusted, and an union of both cities and kingdoms effected. Rome was made the seat of the united government. By this coalition, the numbers of the cities being doubled, the Sabines were called *Quirites*, from Cures, by way of distinction.—As a monument of that battle, the place where Curtius's horse, springing out of a dry swamp, set him upon shallow water, was called the Curtian lake. This quick and happy transition to peace, from a very unnatural war, endeared the Sabine women to their fathers and husbands, more than ever; and most of all to Romulus, who, when he divided the people into *thirty Curia*, distinguished them by their names.

Though doubtless the number of the women exceeded that of the *Curia*, yet it is not said, whether they who gave names to the *Curia* were selected to that honour, for their seniority, superiority of their own, or husbands' rank, or by lot. At the same time, three hundred knights were enrolled, and from Romulus, were called *Ramnenses*; and from Tatius, *Tatienses*. Why, or how they were called *Luceres*, is yet a question. From this date, the associate kings ruled in common, on the most amicable footing.

CHAP. XIV.

The Fidenates routed.

SOME years after, the relations of Tatius behaved rudely to the ambassadors of the *Laurentes*, who when they

demanding satisfaction, were very little regarded by Tatius; for which reason the punishment of his relations recoiled upon himself; for the people at Lavinium, where he was attending some annual solemnity, rose up and killed him.—It was said of Romulus, that he gave himself less concern about this event, than it seemed to claim; whether it was, that associates in sovereign power are seldom firm friends, or that he really thought Tatius had met with the fate he deserved: however, no war followed. Only, to expiate in some measure the indignity done the ambassadors, and the murder of the king, the treaty between the two cities, Rome and Lavinium, was renewed. Though peace, of which there was little expectation, had been thus concluded with the Laurentes, another war broke out much nearer, nay, almost at the very gates of Rome.

The Fidenates finding the Roman power was growing too formidable in their neighbourhood, were for striking a blow before it should arrive at that pitch of greatness, which the rapidity of its progress seemed to point at. Wherefore, having let loose a body of youth in arms, upon the Roman territory, they laid waste all the country between Rome and Fidenæ. Then turning to the left, because they were prevented by the Tiber on the right, they continued their depredations; to the great terror of the country people, who flying in crowds from the country to the town, were the first to bring advice of the irruption.

Roused by this intelligence, Romulus instantly leads out his army; for the approaches of the enemy were too near to admit of deliberation. He encamps about a mile from Fidenæ. Marching out with the main body, and leaving only a small party for a guard, he orders a detachment to lie in ambush, in a place entirely covered with brushwood: then advancing with the greater part of the foot, and all the horse, he rode up to the enemy's gates in a disorderly and blustering manner; by which he provoked the enemy to sally out, which was all he aimed at.

The behaviour of the horse too, made the appearance of a sudden retreat seem less affected; for whilst they seemed through fear to hesitate whether they should

fight or fly, the infantry drew back also. Upon this, the enemy's gates instantly flew open, and out they rush from every quarter. The Roman army fled before them; and by their eagerness to pursue, and harass them in their retreat, were decoyed to the place where the party lay in ambush. The Romans, starting up all of a sudden, attack the enemy in flank; the guard which had been left in the camp, advancing at the same time, with colours flying, added to their consternation.—The Fidenates being thus alarmed, from every quarter, took to their heels, almost before it was possible for Romulus, and those who attended him on horseback, to wheel about: and fled in earnest back to the town, much faster than before they had pursued the pretended fugitives. But all could not save them; for Romulus keeping close at their heels, before they could shut the gates, entered among them with his army, as if they had all belonged to the same corps.

CHAP. XV.

The Veientes conquered.

THE sparks which issued from the war with the Fidenates, set the minds of the Veientes on fire. And, their relation, (for the Fidenates were also Etrurians,) added to their vicinity, should this warlike disposition continue with the Romans, to the molestation of their neighbours, blew it up into a flame. Wherefore, they made an incursion into the Roman territories; but it had more the air of a plundering match, than a regular expedition. For, without encamping, or waiting for an enemy, they returned to Veii, loaded with their plunder.

Romulus, on the other hand, finding the enemy had evacuated the country; being already prepared, and now determined to give them a decisive blow, crosses the Tiber. When the Veientes were informed that he had already encamped, and was on the point of advancing to their city, they chose rather to risk a battle, than shut up within, be obliged to fight from their houses and walls. There Romulus, without the least stratagem, by

the dint of superior strength, and the exertions of his brave veterans, obtained a complete victory; for he routed and pursued the enemy, to the gates of their city, which, however, as it was strongly fortified by nature and art, he did not attempt to take. In his return, he laid waste their country, not for the sake of plunder, but from motives of revenge. The Vejentes, no less humbled by these depredations than their late defeat, sent deputies to Rome to sue for peace. They were fined in a part of their territory; but obtained a truce for an hundred years.

These are the most remarkable transactions that happened in the reign of Romulus, both in peace and in war; none of which seem to discredit his divine original, or the divinity ascribed to him after his death: neither his courage in recovering his grandfather's kingdom, the wisdom of his plan in building, nor his œconomy in establishing his new city by arms and good policy. For by the strength it acquired, and the progress it made under him, it enjoyed profound peace for the space of forty years after. He was, however, a greater favourite with the people than the senate; but above all, particularly dear to the soldiers; of them, he chose three hundred to attend him in arms as a body guard, in peace as well as in war, and called them *Celeres* or light horse.

CHAP. XVI.

Romulus is carried out of sight, and deified.

ROMULUS having thus immortalized his name by the glory of his actions, as he was haranguing his army, at a review of his troops, in a plain beside the Goat's pond, a storm of hail and thunder rising all of a sudden, hid the king in so thick a cloud, as carried him quite out of sight. Nor did he ever after make his appearance among the people. The Roman youth, having at last got the better of their panic, and the day recovered its former calmness and serenity, when they observed the king's chair empty, although they had no doubt that he had been carried up in the air by the hurricane, as they had heard

from the senators that stood next him; yet struck as it were, with awe, for the loss of their father, a mournful silence for some time prevailed. Then a few of them leading the way, the rest in one voice supported them, ordering Romulus, their king, and founder of their city, the son of a god, to be addressed as a god. With earnest prayers they invoke his favour and gracious protection on all occasions, as they had the honour to be his own descendants.

I know it has been alledged, that he was torn in pieces by the senators; but that report was only retailed in whispers, and gained little credit. The present consternation, joined to the veneration they had for their king, stamped a currency on the first account of the matter, which was still more confirmed by the address of a single witness. One Proculus Julius, whilst the city was affected for the loss of their king, and far from being satisfied with the fathers, enters the assembly, with a prodigious air of gravity, as coming to deliver a message of singular importance. "Romulus," says he, "O Romans, the father of this city, suddenly descending from his celestial mansion, appeared to me early this morning. Whilst filled with sacred horror and reverential awe, I stood beseeching his permission to look upon him; Go, says he, tell the Romans, it is the will of the gods, that my Rome shall be the capital of the universe. Let them therefore cultivate the art of war: For they must know, and they may hand it down to posterity, that no power on earth shall be able to withstand the Roman arms."—When he had thus spoken, he ascended into heaven. The avidity with which this story was received, and the joy diffused through all ranks, from a belief of the king's immortality, are equally inconceivable.

CHAP. XVII.

The Fathers and people agree to choose a King.

IN the mean time, ambition and plotting about the succession to the throne, entirely engrossed the fathers. They did not form parties for supporting the claim of any

individual; for nobody among a people, so lately embodied, was conspicuous enough to have pretensions; the contest was among the orders. The Sabines contended that it was their turn to furnish a king, as on their part none had succeeded to Tatius as joint sovereign with Romulus; and thereby, their constitutional right was in danger of prescription.

The old Romans could not think of swearing allegiance to a foreigner. But however much they differed in these particulars, they were all agreed in one essential, that they must have a king; for they had not yet tasted the sweets of liberty. The fathers too were under no small concern, lest, whilst the city had no governor, and the army no head, they should be attacked by some foreign power, especially as their neighbours bore them no good will. Therefore they were determined to have some head, though in the choice neither party would yield to the other. For this reason, the hundred fathers came to a resolution of sharing the sovereign power among themselves. For this purpose, they divided their number into ten decuries, one being chosen in every decury, who should have the supreme direction of affairs: and though ten governed, only one of them was attended by the lictors and ensigns of government. Their power continued for five days, and regularly passed through the whole for the space of a year, that they had no king.

This interval of regal government from its own nature, was called an *interregnum*, a name it still retains. After this, the people began to complain, that their slavery was increased in proportion to the number of their masters, having now an hundred instead of one; and seemed determined, for the future, to obey but one king, and him too of their own choosing. When the fathers saw how matters were like to turn, thought it most prudent to make a voluntary resignation of what they must soon lose, and paid a compliment to the people, by yielding to them the supreme power, with this special provision, that they should not, by the concession, give up their own privileges. For they enacted, that the people should have the nomination, but that should only be valid, when ratified by the fathers. Upon this law, though it is now

obsolete, are founded the forms used in elections, and passing bills even at this day. For, before a single vote is taken up, a convention is called by the senate, who can know nothing of the event. Then, the assembly being met, the *inter-rex* addresses them thus: "Good, " fortunate and happy may it be! Elect, O Romans, " for yourselves a king. The senate give their consent; " and if you pitch upon a prince, worthy of succeeding " Romulus, will also ratify your choice." The people considered this a very high compliment; and that they might not be outdone in generosity, they only voted and enacted, that the election should be entirely left to the fathers.

CHAP. XVIII.

Numa appointed king.

THERE was, at that time, a man of great reputation for piety and justice, called *Numa Pompilius*. He resided at Cures, a Sabine city, and in the knowledge of all laws, divine and human, the age he lived in knew not his equal. Because they can pitch upon no other philosopher, they give out, but without reason, that he was a disciple of Pythagoras, the Samian, who, it appears, flourished above a century after him, in the reign of Servius Tullius, and had a number of young men attending him in their studies, in the remotest parts of Italy, about Metapontus, Heraclia, and Croton. From which places had he even been cotemporary with Numa, how could his fame reach the Sabines? By what communication of language, could he excite in any one an ambition for learning? Or, how was he escorted, travelling alone through so many nations, whose language and manners were so widely different?

I am rather of opinion, that Numa owed his extraordinary qualifications to the force of his own natural genius; and that he was not so remarkable for the acquisition of foreign knowledge, as he was a perfect master in the severe and rigid discipline of the Sabines, formerly in very high repute for its strictness and purity.

Upon hearing the name of Numa mentioned, the Roman fathers, although they saw that the balance of power would be in favour of the Sabines, should they take a king of that nation; yet none of them had the assurance to put himself or any of his party, or in fine, any of the senators or citizens in competition with him, so that to a man, they all agreed to confer the kingdom on Numa Pompilius.

Being brought to Rome, in imitation of Romulus, who before the city was built, was raised to the throne by Augury, he made it a point that the gods should also be consulted concerning his election. He was then led into the citadel by an Augur, (who ever after had the honour to perform that ceremony on public occasions,) and set on a stone with his face to the south. The Augur sat down on the left, his head covered with a veil, and a crooked rod in his right hand, without a knot, which he called *Lituus*. Having from thence taken a cursory view of town and country, and prayed for him, he marked out the quarters of the heavens, from east to west, calling that to the south, the right; and that to the north, the left; then looking forward as far as his eye could reach, he marked the bounds in his mind. Then shifting the *Lituus* to his left hand, his right hand being laid on the head of Numa, he prayed thus: "O father, Jupiter, if thou approvest of the choice of the Romans, in Numa Pompilius, whose head I hold, to be their king, I beseech thee, give us some sure and evident signs, expressive of thy pleasure, within the bounds I have marked out." Then he mentioned the omens he wished to appear; and these being seen, Numa is declared king, and comes down from the temple.

CHAP. XIX.

Numa builds the temple of Janus.

NUMA being thus raised to the throne, lays a plan by justice, laws, and wise regulations, to give the city a more solid foundation, than that which was laid by force of arms. But as he was extremely sensible, that it would

be quite impracticable, amidst the noise and confusion of war, to give minds already grown wild with the use of arms, a relish for the arts of peace, he resolved to soften and extinguish their martial ardour by degrees, and therefore builds the temple of Janus, at the end of the street Argiletum, to be the sign of peace and war: of war, when open; of peace, when shut. Twice only, since the reign of Numa has it been shut; once in the consulship of Titus Manlius, after the end of the first punic war; and a second time in the reign of the Emperor Cæsar Augustus, after the battle of Actium, which gave peace by sea and land; a happiness it hath pleased the gods to grant to our age.

Having made peace with all his neighbours, by treaties or alliances, the temple of Janus was shut; so having no apprehension of danger from abroad, to prevent licentiousness, the concomitant of idleness, in his subjects at home, whom fear of the enemy, and military exercises had always kept in order, he had recourse to religion; proper impressions of which, he conceived would be the most effectual means of civilizing a multitude, at that period rough and unpolished to a great degree. But as even these impressions could be but faint, unless they were accompanied with something supernatural, he pretends, that in the night time, he was admitted to hold conferences with the goddess Egeria, and instructed by her, he instituted such sacred rites as would be most acceptable to the gods; to each of whom he also appointed their respective priests.

And first of all, he made twelve lunar months the measure of the year. And because a lunar month does not consist of thirty days complete, and some days are wanting to complete a full solar year, he managed matters so, by inserting intercalary months, that twenty-four of these years taken together, should equal the same number of revolutions, and the days should return to the same point in the ecliptic. He likewise distinguished the days into lawful and unlawful; because on some days there would be no occasion for calling assemblies of the people.

CHAP. XX.

Numa teaches religious rites.

IN the next place, he set about the creation of priests, although many of these offices he performed in person, particularly in the department of priest of Jupiter. But as in a military state, he foresaw there would be more kings of the disposition of Romulus, than of Numa, who would head their armies in person; that the religious duties incumbent on the king might not suffer, in the mean time, he instituted a priest who should constantly attend on the service of Jupiter, and distinguished him by a rich robe and royal curule chair. To him he added two other priests, one for Mars, and another for Romulus. He likewise made an election of vestal virgins, an institution of Alban extraction, with which the founder of the city was materially connected. To these he appointed salaries out of the treasury, because their attendance in the temple admitted of no avocation. Their virginity, which was perpetual, and ceremonies attending their ordination, rendered their order venerable and sacred.

He likewise appointed twelve Salii,* for Mars Gradvus,† whose badge of distinction was an embroidered coat, and a breast-plate of brass to be wore above it. The business of this order was to carry the celestial arms, called *Ancilia*,‡ and to walk through the streets singing in concert, and dancing in the comic and serious stile. Then from the Patrician order he chose Numa Marcius, the son of Marcus, for high priest, to whom he delivered a system of religious ceremonies in manuscript, signed and sealed, ascertaining the sacrifices, the days when, and temples where they should be offered; and the funds whence money to defray the expence should be drawn.

All other things, public and private, respecting the worship of the gods, he submitted to the judgment of the high priest; that the people might never be at a loss

* From *Salvus*, the leader of a band of musicians, brought by Evander.

† From *Gradiendo*, denoting the regular march to an attack.

‡ From *Ancilla*.

for advice, or redress, should any innovation be made in their religious ceremonies, either by the neglect of their own, or the substitution of others of foreign growth. But, to preside over matters of religion was not the only business of the high-priest. He was also to instruct them in the manner of performing funeral obsequies, and appeasing the manes of the dead: what prodigies from thunder or other phænomena were to be considered as motives to action, or cautions against it. To gain this divine intelligence, he dedicated an altar to Jupiter Elicius * on the Aventine mount, where he consulted him by augury, in what acceptation the auguries should be taken.

CHAP. XXI.

Numa institutes an annual festival, and other sacrifices.

THE minds of the people were now so totally engrossed with these deliberations and expiations, that arms and acts of violence were rather an aversion: and being made sensible that the deity presides over all human affairs, from their constant practice of religious duties, their sentiments of piety were so sincere, that promises and oaths, in the government of the city, were as effectual as the terror of the laws and punishment. And now since the Roman citizens formed their manners upon the plan of their royal master, which all considered as the most perfect model; the neighbouring nations also, who before had viewed Rome, not in the light of a city, but a camp set down in the heart of the country to oppress them, were now impressed with so high an opinion of its sanctity, that to give the least disturbance to a state entirely devoted to the service of the gods they reckoned the highest sacrilege.

There was a grove constantly watered by a spring issuing from a dark cave, which ran through the middle of it. Because Numa often retired thither by himself, under pretence of meeting with his goddess, he consecrated the grove to the Muses, where he, they, and his

* From *Alicia-la*.

wife Egeria might meet in sweet council together. To the goddess Faith, he also instituted an annual festival. To that solemnity he ordered the priests to be carried in an arched chariot, drawn by two horses, having their hands, during the service, muffled up to the fingers; importing that Faith ought to be protected, and her seat made sacred, even in the right hands of men. He instituted many other sacrifices, and places where they were to be offered, which the priests call *Argei*.* But nothing showed him greater in his political abilities, or patriot virtues, than his address in preserving the honour of the crown, as well as the peace of the kingdom, during the whole course of his reign. Thus two successive kings improved and enlarged the state by different maxims, the one by force of arms, and the other by the arts of peace. Romulus reigned thirty-seven, and Numa forty-three years; during which, the state had not only acquired vigour, but a firmness of constitution, by warlike exercises, and wise regulations.

CHAP. XXII.

Tullus Hostilius succeeds Numa, and makes war with the Albans.

UPON the death of Numa, the administration once more returned to an interregnum. Then Tullus Hostilius, the grandson of that Hostilius who distinguished himself so nobly in the action with the Sabines, at the foot of the citadel, was declared king by the people, and the fathers confirmed their choice. Tullus was so far from resembling his predecessor Numa, that his turn for war was even stronger than that of Romulus; his youth, his vigour, and his grandfather's glory, serving as so many spurs to his native valour. Moreover, he thought the citizens, with respect to arms, had contracted a rust through dissuetude; and therefore was casting about on all sides for an object on which he might employ his arms. Very opportunely for his views, it happened that the Roman and Alban peasants had made mutual encroachments and reprisals on each other.

* From Argivi, Greeks.

Caius Cluilius presided then at Alba. To demand restitution, ambassadors were sent much about the same time, from both courts.

The Romans were strictly enjoined by Tullus, not to lose a moment in executing their commission, because being convinced they would meet with a refusal, he would thereby be furnished with a plausible pretence for declaring war. The Alban ambassadors were not so alert, they were received by Tullus with much civility and respect, and enjoyed themselves with him in all the pleasures of social festivity; the Romans, in the mean time, having first demanded restitution, and that being refused them, declared war within thirty days, and returned with the news to Tullus. Then the Alban ambassadors were admitted to an audience, when the design of their embassy was inquired into. Being ignorant of all that had past, they began with long apologies, "That it was with the utmost reluctance they should be obliged to express themselves in any manner disagreeable to Tullus, and that nothing could have laid them under that necessity, but the orders of their state.—In one word, they had come to demand restitution, and in case of refusal, to declare war."

Tullus answered: "Tell your master, that the king of the Romans appeals to the gods, whether Rome or Alba did first contemptuously dismiss the other's ambassadors demanding satisfaction, that upon that nation, they may heap all the calamities of this war." The Albans return and deliver the message.

Both parties now exert their utmost in making preparations for war;—a war indeed, that had the nearest resemblance to that carried on between factions of the same community, or rather of the same family: for both were of Trojan extraction, because Lavinium was of Troy, Alba of Lavinium, and the Romans were the race of the Alban kings. But the manner in which the contest was decided, prevented the effusion of much blood, for they never came to a general engagement: and both nations became one people, at the expence only of the houses of one city, which were demolished. The Albans were first in the field, and entering the Roman territory, with a prodigious army, encamped and entrenched

themselves, within five miles of the city. This intrenchment was called the Cluilian ditch, from the name of the general, for some ages, till the ditch and name together tell the victims of time.

In this camp, the Albans lost their leader Cluilius; and for his successor in the command, chose Mettus Fuffetius. In the mean time, Tullus, naturally brave, and animated still more by the death of Cluilius, gave out, that the great God of heaven, having already begun at the head, would not stop there, but take vengeance on the whole Alban nation, as the authors of this unjust war. Wherefore, passing the enemy's camp in the night, he marches into the territory of Alba, with a hostile army. This motion drew Mettus out of his camp, who, having led his army as near the enemy's lines as possible, dispatched a herald with his compliments to Tullus, and orders to tell him, that previous to any engagement, it would be for their mutual interest to have an interview.

Tullus did not decline the meeting; but suspecting it was only calculated to amuse him, draws out his army into the field, as did the Albans also. Whilst both armies stood drawn up in order of battle, the generals, escorted by a few of their principal officers, advance to meet in the centre between the armies, where the Alban delivers himself thus: " I think I have heard Cluilius
" alledge, as the grounds of this war, the damages received from Rome, and the refusal of satisfaction, in
" terms of the treaty: and, I doubt not, O Tullus,
" but on your side, the same plea will be urged: but, if
" instead of amusing ourselves with appearances, we
" state facts as they really are, it will not be denied that
" ambition and a thirst of empire, excite to arms two
" nations united both by blood and neighbourhood;
" whether justly or not, I shall not determine; that consideration belongs to the author of the war, the management of which, the Albans have committed to
" me as their general. Of one thing, O Tullus, I beg
" leave to remind you, that we are both, but you particularly, hemmed in by the powerful states of Etruria,
" and as you lie nearer them than we, you must be the
" more sensible of the propriety of this observation. By

“ land they are powerful, and mighty by sea. Re-
“ member, that the very moment the signal of battle
“ shall be given, they will become spectators, and will
“ not fail to attack the conquerors and conquered,
“ equally weakened and exhausted by fighting against
“ each other. Wherefore, if we are not destined to
“ destruction, since not satisfied with the liberty we
“ enjoy, we will run the hazard of empire or slavery ;
“ let us adopt a plan for ascertaining this point, with-
“ out much loss of blood, or prejudice to either.” The
proposal was not disliked by Tullus, though his native
courage and hopes of victory, inclined him more to a
battle. Whilst they were deliberating on the method
to be taken, chance pointed out a way agreeable to both.

CHAP. XXIV.

Treaty relative to the Horatii and Curiatii.

THERE were, at that time, in each army, three twin-
brothers, differing very little, either in point of years or
strength. That the brothers on the one side, were called
the Horatii, and the other the Curiatii, is admitted by
all ; nor can antiquity produce an instance of gallantry
more noble. Yet in the history, celebrated as it is, there
is still a doubt to which side the names respectively be-
longed. In this point, authors differ ; but most are of
opinion, that the Horatii were Romans, which I am in-
clinable to follow.

The generals on each side, propose to the brothers
respectively, to decide, by their swords, the fortune of
their countries ; and withal, to remember, that sovereignty
was to be the certain consequent of victory. Both
accepted with joy ; and the time and place is fixed for
the combat ; previous to which, it was confirmed by
treaty between the contending powers, that the nation to
whom the victors belonged, should command and govern
the other, by just and equitable laws. Other treaties
may have different clauses, but they are all expedient in
the same uniform method.

This treaty was ratified in the following form; and it is surely the most ancient record in history. A herald put the question to king Tullus, "Is it your pleasure, O King, that I enter into a treaty with the Pater Patratus of the people of Alba?" The king answering in the affirmative; "Give me then vervain, O king," continued he; "take it up pure," rejoined the king; the herald took up a pile of pure grass from the temple, and then put this second question; "Do you, O king, constitute me the royal ambassador of the Roman people?" "Do you appoint me an equipage and a retinue?" To which the king made answer, "Whatever I can do without prejudice to myself, or the Roman people, that I do." The herald was Marcus Valerius, who nominated Spurius Fusius, the pater patratus touching his head and hair with vervain.

It is the business of the pater patratus to administer the oath, by which the treaty is ratified, and this he does in a long form of words too tedious to mention: the several clauses and conditions being all read over; "Hear, O Jupiter," says he, "give ear, O pater patratus of the Alban people; and ye, O people of Alba, hear that the Romans shall not be the first to depart from these conditions, which, out of these waxed tables, without fraud or equivocation, have, from first to last, been read over in your hearing, in the real acceptance in which they are this day taken and understood. And if, by public authority or fraudulent design, they should be the first to break through these conditions, may thou, O Jupiter, that moment so strike the Roman people, as here, this day, I strike this hog; and may thy stroke, great Jupiter, be as much heavier, as thy power is greater."—Having thus spoke, he struck the hog dead with a flint. The Albans took their own oath, and went through their own forms, with their own dictator and priests.

CHAP. XXV.

The combat of the Horatii and Curiatii.

THE treaty being thus concluded, the three brothers on each side take arms, according to agreement. Whilst each party are animating their respective champions, by representing that their gods, their country, their fathers and mothers, the whole city and army had their eyes fixed on their swords and actions; the combatants, brave of themselves, and still more invigorated by such pressing exhortations advance to the centre between the two armies. The two armies were ranged on both sides round the field of battle, safe from danger for the present, but anxious for the future, because empire was at stake, depending on the exertions and fortune of so few. Wherefore, agitated with these reflections, and solicitous about the event, they turn their whole attention to a sight, which could not be very agreeable.

The signal is given, and the champions march boldly three and three against each other, themselves alone inspired with the courage of great armies. Both insensible of their own danger, having nothing before their eyes but the slavery or liberty of their country; the future destiny of which, must entirely depend upon their present exertions. The moment the clashing of their weapons is heard, and the glitter of their swords seen, the spectators seized with fear and alarm, whilst hopes of success inclined to neither side, continued motionless, and seemed to have lost the power of speech, and even of breathing. When they were thus fairly engaged, not only the motion of their bodies, and the brandishing of their weapons attracted the eyes of the spectators, but the wounds and blood running from them. Two Romans dropped dead at the feet of the Albans, who were wounded all three. Their fall was instantly announced by the loud and joyful shouts of the Alban army, whilst the Roman legions remained without hope, but not without anxiety, trembling for the single Roman, who now stood surrounded by the three Albans. Happily he was not wounded.

Thus, though he was no match for them altogether, he was more than a match for any one of them singly. Therefore, to separate his opponents, he takes to flight, being persuaded they would follow him, with more or less expedition, as their strength; after so much loss of blood, would permit them. Having now got a little way from the seat of action, he turned and saw the Curiatii pursuing him at considerable distances from each other, and one of them not far behind him. Upon him he turns with all his force, and while the Alban army were crying out to his brothers to assist him, Horatius having already dispatched his man, runs to a second engagement. It was then the Romans animated their champion with great shouts, such as generally proceed from unexpected joy, whilst he, on the other hand, made haste to finish his business; and before the other, who was at no great distance, could come up to assist his brother, he laid him breathless at his feet,

The number on each side was now equal, but their strength and hopes very different. The Roman, yet without a wound, and flushed with his double victory, advanced with great spirit to the third combat. His antagonist, on the other hand, weakened with the loss of blood, and spent with running, could scarce stand upon his legs; and being already vanquished in the fall of his brothers, encounters the victor. But this could not be called a combat. The Roman then cried out with an air of triumph, "The two first I have sacrificed to the manes
" of my brothers, the third I am now to sacrifice to the
" honour of my country, that Rome may give laws
" to Alba." Curiatius could scarce stand up under his arms, so the other plunged his sword in his bosom, and stripped him as he lay dead.

The Romans receive Horatius into their camp with expressions of joy and acknowledgments, proportioned to the risk they had run. After this, both parties apply themselves to bury their dead; but with minds widely different; the Romans having acquired a considerable accession of power, whilst the Albans were become their subjects. Their tombs are still to be seen on the very spot where each of them fell: These of the two Horatii

nearer Alba, and of the Curiatii towards Rome; but on different spots, where they respectively fell.

CHAP. XXVI.

Horatius arraigned and acquitted.

BEFORE they left the ground, Mettus went up to Tullus, and in terms of the treaty, asked his commands. Tullus orders him to keep the youth in arms, as, in case of a war with the Veientes, he might have occasion for their assistance. After this both armies returned home.

Horatius marched at the head of the Romans, bearing before him the triple spoils he had so gloriously obtained. His sister, promised in marriage to one of the Curiatii, came out to meet him at Porta Copena. Perceiving on her brother's shoulder, a military cloak wrought with her own hands, and presented to her future spouse, she tears her hair, and sheds a torrent of tears, in mournful accents, calling upon her lover now no more. The young conqueror offended with his sister's lamentations, amidst the public joy, and his triumph, stabs her in the transport of his passion. with these severe reproaches, "Go, unnatural sister; go to thy lover with thy unseasonable passion; thou who forgettest thy dead brothers, thy living brother and thy country. Thus let her perish, who shall ever dare to lament the death of an enemy to Rome."

To the senate and people of Rome, this seemed a nefarious deed; but the lustre of his recent victory pleaded strongly for the offender. He was dragged, however, to stand his trial before the king; who to avoid passing a sentence in so dismal and unpopular an affair, or ordering execution, after sentence should be pronounced, having called an assembly of the people, "I appoint Duumvirs, (says he,) to try Horatius according to law. The law was of a horrible tenor. Let the Duumvirs judge of the felony; if the pannel appeal from their sentence, let his appeal be received: If their sentence be confirmed, let him be hood-winked, and hanged with a rope upon an accursed tree, having been first scourged, either within or without the Pomærium."

Thus were Duumvirs appointed, who thought, according to the letter of the law, they could not acquit him, even had he been innocent. Wherefore, having found him guilty, one of them condemned him in these words: "Publius Horatius, I judge thee guilty of murder; Go, Lictor, bind his hands." The Lictor had come up, and was fastening the rope, when Horatius, by the advice of Tullus, a mild interpreter of the law, cried out, "I appeal;" upon which the cause was carried before the people.

During the trial, the judges were moved with compassion, especially when old P. Horatius cried out, "That it was his own opinion, his daughter had justly merited her fate; for had he thought his son criminal, he would, by his paternal authority, have punished him." Then having recourse to entreaties, conjuring them not to render him childless now, whom but a little before, they had seen blessed with an excellent progeny. In the mean time, the old man embracing his son, and pointing to the spoils of the Curatii, deposited in that place, which they now call *Pila Horatia*: "Is it possible, (continued he,) O Romans! that you can tamely behold this brave champion, who but a little while ago, walked in your sight, glorious and triumphant, adorned with the spoils of your enemies, bound to an infamous stake,—expiring amidst scourging and tortures? A spectacle so shocking that even the Albans could hardly bear! Go, Lictor; bind those victorious hands, which so lately, in arms, acquired empire for the people of Rome; veil the head of the deliverer of this city; hang him on an accursed tree; scourge him either within the Pomœrium, so it be done amidst the *Pila Horatia*,* and spoils obtained by his valour, or without the Pomœrium, provided it be among the tombs of the Curatii: For which way can you lead this youth, where he shall not find in the monuments of his glory, a protection against the ignominy of such a punishment."

The people could not hold out against the tears of

* A square pillar built of stone.

the father, nor sufficiently admire the undaunted spirit of the son, which was proof against every danger. He was therefore acquitted, rather out of a regard to his bravery, than from a conviction of the justice of his cause. But not to leave so manifest a murder wholly unpunished, the father was ordered to make satisfaction for him out of the public treasury. At the same time, having made some expiatory sacrifices, which were ever after kept up in the Horatian family, he set up a gallows in the high-way, under which his son behoved to pass, hood-winked, as if he had passed under the yoke. The remains of the gallows may be seen at this day, repaired at the public expence, known by the name of the *Sister's Rafter*. A tomb of square stones was erected for Horatia, in the place where she was killed.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Albans revolt.

THE peace with Alba did not hold long. The people were highly offended, that the fate of the whole nation had been committed to the arms and gallantry of three combatants, which put the fluctuating genius of the dictator upon new schemes, with a view, since good policy had not succeeded with him, to recover the esteem and confidence of his citizens, by the most perfidious designs. Wherefore, as but lately he had courted peace, when he had war for an alternative, so now, in peace, he wishes for war. And conscious that the power of the Albans was by no means equal to their inclination, he makes it his business to stir up other states to make war openly and avowedly, whilst he and his people, under the mask of allegiance, should act as traitors.

The Fidenates, a Roman colony, in concert with the Veientes, their allies, assured of the revolt of the Albans, take the field. The Fidenates having thus openly declared themselves, Tullus sends for Mettus and his army from Alba, and marches against the enemy. Having crossed the Anio, he encamped at its conflux with the Tiber; between which place and Fidenæ, the Veientes had crossed the Tiber. They draw up on the right towards the river, and the Fidenates on the left, towards

the mountains. To the Veientes, Tullus opposes his Romans, and to the Fidenates, the Albans. Mettus, as destitute of courage, as of honour, durst neither maintain his post, nor pass over at once to the enemy, but withdrew imperceptibly up the hills; till finding he was sufficiently remote, that he drew up on the eminence; and to spin out the time, whilst he was still in suspense, he extended his line. His purpose was, whatever way fortune should flow, to follow the tide.

The Romans, who were posted next them, were struck with amazement at first, when they saw their flanks left exposed, by the desertion of their friends; and they instantly dispatch a trooper, at full gallop, to inform the king, that the Albans were retiring. Tullus, amidst this consternation vows twelve Salii and temples to *Pallor* and *Pavor*. Then rebuking the trooper, with a voice loud enough to be heard by the enemy, he orders him back to his post, telling him, that he had nothing to fear, for it was by his orders the Albans had made a circuit, that they might fall on the unguarded rear of the Fidenates. He also orders the cavalry to carry their spears high; by which expedient the greatest part of the Roman foot saw nothing of the motions of the Albans. They who observed them, thinking only of what they had heard from the king, fought with the greater ardour. The panic was now transferred to the enemy; for they had heard distinctly what the king said, and most of the Fidenates, as being a Roman colony, understood Latin. Wherefore, that their retreat from the town might not be cut off by the sudden descent of the Albans, they made the best of their way. Tullus pursues: and that wing where the Fidenates were posted being thus routed, he falls with redoubled fury on the Veientes, who were already disheartened by the flight of their allies. Nor could they stand so vigorous a charge: The river, however, which was in their rear, obliged them to keep in a body. At last when they could stand it no longer, many of them quitting their arms, threw themselves headlong into the river; others, whilst they were deliberating on the banks whether to fight or fly, were cut to pieces.—This perhaps was the hardest work the Romans ever had.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Mettus Fuffetius punished.

THEN the Alban army, who had only been spectators of the action, were led down into the plain. Mettus congratulates Tullus on his victory, and Tullus returns the compliment with a good grace. He then orders the Albans to join their camp to his, and wishes much prosperity to follow the junction. Preparations are made for a sacrifice of purification against next day.

All things being prepared, as usual, both armies are summoned to an assembly. The heralds beginning at the outmost lines, gave the first intimation to the Albans, who instigated with curiosity, crowded round the king to hear his speech. The Roman legion stood round the Albans, as previously ordered, in arms; and the centurions were appointed to see the orders put in immediate execution.

Then Tullus addresses himself as follows: "If ever
" O Romans, in any war, you had reason first to thank
" the gods for their protection, and to congratulate yourselves, on your own bravery, it was certainly in yesterday's action. For you had to contend not only
" with your enemy's forces, but what is much more
" dangerous and terrible, with the treachery and perfidiousness of friends. For, be no longer deceived, it
" was not by my orders, the Albans retired to the hills.
" I suffered you to believe, and even declared aloud, that it was my command, that you might not take the
" alarm at being deserted, and to spread terror among
" the enemies, who thought they were to have been attacked in the rear. But all the Albans are not culpable. They followed their leader as you would
" have done, had I given you the like orders. It was
" Mettus drew them after him: It was Mettus who was
" the contriver of this war: It is Mettus who is the violator of the Roman and Alban treaty. Let any one
" copy after him, if I do not make him this day a notorious example to all mankind." At that instant, Mettus was surrounded by the Centurions in arms, and

then the king proceeded in continuation. "For the advantage, prosperity, and felicity of the Roman people; for my own, and for yours, O Albans, I am resolved to remove all the inhabitants of Alba to Rome, to make the people citizens, and the nobles senators. In one word, to unite the two nations in one city, and one commonwealth, that as Alba once formed two nations of one, she may now return to unity again."

The Alban youth, at these words, were variously agitated in their minds; but seeing themselves surrounded with armed soldiers, they were all impressed with the same common fear, which kept them silent. Tullus, then turning to Mettus resumed his discourse, "If," said he, "you could learn to be true to your word, and faithful to treaties, I would suffer you to live, and be myself your instructor! but as I see your disposition is incurable, you shall, by your punishment, teach mankind, to hold those things sacred and inviolable, which you have disgracefully infringed. As therefore in yesterday's action, you kept your mind divided between Rome and Fidenæ, so shall you to-day, give your body to be divided and torn asunder."

Then he ordered two chariots to be brought, drawn by four horses, and Mettus to be tied thereon, stretched at full length. The horses were then drawn different ways, and his body torn in pieces, each chariot carrying along with it the members which had been tied to it. The spectators could not stand the shocking sight, but turned away their eyes.—This was the first and last punishment among the Romans, that seemed inconsistent with the laws of humanity. In all other instances, they could boast that no other nation punished with less severity.

CHAP. XXIX.

Alba destroyed.

IN the mean time, the horse had been previously dispatched to Alba, to bring the people to Rome; and after that, the foot, to demolish the city. Their entry there, was not attended with that tumult and confusion, which generally accompany the taking of towns, when the

conquerors, breaking open the gates, battering down the walls, or forcing the citadel, spread themselves through every quarter, and with dreadful cries destroy all with fire and sword. But here a mournful silence and sullen grief had so arrested every faculty, that through fear, they forgot what they had left behind, or should carry with them, listless and absent, often asking one another the same questions. One while they stood motionless at the doors of their houses, and another ran through them in distraction, only to see them for the last time. But when the horsemen became clamorous and urgent for their departure, when they now heard from the remotest corners of the city, the noise of the falling houses, when the dust, rising in different places, had darkened the horizon; then snatching up what they could, they march away, leaving behind them, household gods, country gods, and the roofs under which they had been born and brought up.

Already had a long train of emigrants lined the streets. The mutual sight of their calamities, by a natural sentiment of compassion, made tears of sympathy flow afresh. Lamentations and mournful cries were heard, especially of the women, when in passing their august temples, they saw them beset with armed men, and left their gods, as it were, prisoners of war. When the Albans were all out, the Roman soldiers levelled to the ground, all the buildings, public and private. Thus, in one hour, the work of four hundred years, the time Alba had stood, was entirely demolished, and razed to the ground. The temples, however, by the king's express order, were spared.

CHAP. XXX.

The Albans made citizens of Rome. War declared against the Sabines.

ROME, in the mean time, improved greatly upon the ruins of Alba. The number of citizens was doubled. It was then that mount Clælius was added to the city; upon which Tullus built a palace for himself, and resid-

ed ever after, to encourage others to build there also. He admitted among the patricians, the principal families of Alba, such as the Julii, Servilii, Quintii, Geganii, Curiatii, and Clælii, that the patrician order might be increased in proportion: and upon this accession to the order, he built a temple for a senate-house, which our fathers knew by the name of Hostilia. And that every order might derive some additional strength from the accession of the Albans, he formed from among that people, ten centuries of knights. With them also he recruited the old, and formed new legions.

Being now confident of his strength, he declares war against the Sabines, a nation, at that time, next the Etrurians, the most populous and powerful of all their neighbours. Encroachments had been made, and satisfaction demanded by both parties, to no purpose. Tullus complained, that some Roman merchants had been seized at a public market, near the temple of Feronia: the Sabines, that some of their people were detained at Rome, although they had fled for protection to the asylum.

From these injuries, the war is said to have originated. The Sabines, being well aware, that their strength had suffered a considerable diminution, in the party incorporated by Tatius, with Rome; and that the Roman power had been considerably increased by the accession of Alba, thought proper to look about for foreign aid. Etruria lay next them; and of that country the Veientes were their nearest neighbours. From thence they drew volunteers, who, when the ashes of former wars were raked up in their minds, were easily prevailed on to revolt. Vagrants too among the poorer sort, enlisted in their service for pay; but by public authority, they had no assistance: for the Veientes strictly observed the treaty made with Romulus; and it is not surprizing that they were joined by none of the other powers.

Both parties having made all possible preparations, and nothing remaining now, but to strike the first blow, Tullus begins to march his army into their country. A bloody action ensued, near the malefactor's forest, in which the Roman army proved far superior not only in the weight of their infantry, but also by the late aug-

mentation of the horse. It was by a vigorous charge of the Roman horse, that the ranks of the Sabines were first broke; after which, they could neither fight nor fly, without being exposed to a most dreadful slaughter.

CHAP. XXXI.

Tullus killed by lightning.

AFTER this defeat of the Sabines, when the administration of Tullus was in high repute, and the Roman affairs in a most flourishing state, news were brought to court, that it rained stones on mount Alba. As the thing seemed incredible, proper persons were sent to examine into it more minutely, who saw them fall thick from heaven, like hailstones driven by the wind in balls along the ground. Moreover, they thought they heard a voice thundering from the grove on the summit of the hill, enjoining the Albans, in sacred matters, to observe the rites of their country, which they had totally overlooked, as if they had abandoned their gods with their country; having either conformed to the religion of Rome, or, being dissatisfied with fortune, had given themselves no trouble about religion, as often happens in such cases.

Upon account of this prodigy, the Romans too, either instigated by the voice thundering from mount Alba, for that is also alledged; or by the advice of the Aruspices, instituted expiatory sacrifices, which lasted nine days: Certain it is, that the same kind of solemnity is yet in use; for, whenever the city has been alarmed with any similar prodigy, nine days have always been employed in such expiations.

Not long after, the plague raged among them; which, though it checked their military ardour, Tullus, who breathed nothing but war, gave them no respite from arms: pretending, that the youth had a better chance in action abroad, than in idleness at home; till, at length, he was himself seized with a lingering distemper. Then his spirits, great as they were, fell so low, and his body so weak, that he, who hitherto had thought it a weakness unbecoming a king, to mind the ceremonies and observances of religion, all at once became a slave to the

lowest and most childish superstitions; and, by his example, the people were also infected. For the Romans, in general, returned to the same spirit that prevailed under Numa, persuaded that no other means were left them of escaping from the present calamity, but recourse to the gods, and appeasing their wrath with sacrifices.

It is also said, that the king himself, in examining the register of Numa, found that there were certain private sacrifices offered annually to Jupiter Elicius, which he shut himself up to perform. But something being wrong, either in point of time, or mode of execution, he saw no sign from heaven of its acceptance; and besides, Jupiter was so provoked at his mistaken zeal, that he and his house were consumed with fire from heaven.*—Tullus reigned with great glory for thirty-two years.

CHAP. XXXII.

Ancus Martius renews the institutions of Numa. A. R.
114.

ON the death of Tullus, the administration, agreeably to the constitution, devolved on the Senate. They named an *inter-rex*, who, having called a convention, Ancus Martius was declared king by the people, and the Senate confirmed their choice. He was the grandson of Numa, by a daughter. The new king, mindful of his grandfather's reputation, found, that however glorious the last reign had been in other respects, in the worship of the gods, either in point of frequency, or mode of performance, there had been a prodigious neglect. Therefore, to avoid all innovations, he resolved to restore the institutions of Numa; and for that purpose, he orders the high priest to collect them from the royal register, and transcribe them upon tables, to be exposed to public view.

From this specimen, his own subjects fond of ease, and the neighbouring nations too, gladly hoped, that the king would implicitly follow his grandfather's plan in civil, as well as religious matters. In this confidence, the Latins, with whom Tullus had settled all things by treaty, began to pull up a spirit; and, having made an incursion upon the Roman territory, treated with inso-

* The fire from heaven is ascribed to Ancus Martius.

lence the Roman ambassadors sent to demand satisfaction, imagining, that the Roman king would waste his time in indolence among the chapels and altars.

The spirit of Ancus seemed to partake equally of the genius of Numa and Romulus. He easily saw that pacific measures, in the reign of his grandfather, when the people, naturally fierce, had been but lately settled, was the best policy; but now, it would be no easy matter for him, to enjoy the peace which had distinguished his grandfather's reign, unless he should resolve tamely to put up with insults; that his patience had been already tried, and his good nature despised; for which reason, to Rome, at present, a Tullus was more necessary than a Numa.—However, as Numa, in time of peace, had instituted the ritual, with respect to religion, the ceremonies, with respect to war, should be his care; that war might neither be proclaimed, nor carried on, but in proper form. From the ancient nation of the Equicolæ,* he borrowed that ceremony, observed by the heralds, even at this day, when satisfaction is demanded. The ambassador, the moment he reaches the frontiers of that people, upon whom he is to make the demand, his head being covered with a woollen cap, cries out, "Give ear " O Jupiter; hear ye confines, [naming the country;] " let justice hear. I am the public ambassador of the " Roman people; I come with a legal and just commis- " sion; let credit be given to what I say." Then he makes his demand, and takes Jupiter to witness. " If I " with any fraudulent, or wicked intent, demand these " persons and these effects to be restored to me, then " may I never return to my country again."

These words he repeats, as he enters the frontiers, to the first man he meets, as he enters the gates of the city, and as he goes into the market place, with the variation of a few words in the form of the speech and oath. If his demand be not satisfied, in thirty-three days after such requisition, for so many days are allowed, he then declares war, in words to the following effect: " Hear, " O Jupiter; and you, O Juno, Romulus, and all ye " gods in heaven, in earth, and hell, give ear; I take

* A highland people, inhabiting the hills above the Tiber.

“ you to witness, (naming the people, whoever they are,) that this is an unjust people, who act not agreeably to the principles of equity. But we will consult the fathers in our own country, how we may best compel them to make restitution.”

Upon this he returns to Rome for advice; when the king lays the matter before the senate, in words, nearly as follows: “ Concerning such matters, disputes, and quarrels, as the *Pater Patratus* of the Roman people, hath declared to the *Pater Patratus* of the ancient Latins; and such things, as ought by the ancient Latins to have been yielded, granted, and done; and the which, by them, have not been yielded, granted, nor done. Say,” continued he, addressing himself to the person whose opinion he first asked; “ give me your opinion. I think, (returned the other,) that they should be compelled to make restitution, by fair and open war; for this I declare myself, and give my vote accordingly.”—Then the vote went round in order.

When the majority present declared themselves of the same opinion, war was then said to have been unanimously determined on; when the herald, bearing a lance headed with iron, or dipped in blood, and burnt at the end, went to the confines of the offending power, and in the presence of three witnesses, each at least fourteen years of age, cried out, “ Because of the injuries done to, and committed on the people of Rome, by the people of the ancient Latins, and the ancient Latin men. Because the people of Rome have commanded that war should be made upon the Latins; and the senate of the people of Rome hath voted, agreed, and determined, that war should be denounced against the ancient Latins; I and the people of Rome do hereby war proclaim, denounce, and make upon the people of the ancient Latins, and ancient Latin men:” and with these words, he darted a lance against the enemies lands.—This then was the mode of demanding restitution, and proclaiming war against the Latins, which posterity have ever after adopted.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Latins conquered, and made free of the city.

ANCUS having committed the care of religious matters to the Flamens and other priests, and having levied a new army, marched against Polytorium, and took it by storm.

Then, following the example of his predecessors, in adding to the population of the city, by admitting the conquered nations, he transported all the inhabitants to Rome. And because all the ground about the Palatium had been assigned to the ancient Romans, that about the capital and castle to the Sabines, and mount Cælius to the Albans, the Aventine mount was appointed for the new people. Soon after, another set from Tellini and Ficana also taken, were stationed in the same quarter. Polytorium suffered a new siege, some time after this, having been a second time peopled by the Latins. For this reason it was razed to the ground, that it might not be a place of refuge for the enemy.

After this, Medulla became the seat of the war, where several battles were fought with various success, in which neither party had much advantage; for the town was defended by strong works, and an able garrison; and the Latin army, being encamped in the open plain, had several skirmishes with the Romans. At last, Ancus mustering all his force, for the first time, obtained a complete victory, and returned to Rome with a considerable booty. On that occasion too, many thousands of the Latins were received into the city, and accommodated with ground to build upon near the temple of Murcia, in order thereby to join the Aventine and Palatine hills. Janiculum was also added, not for want of room, but lest at any time it should become a lodgement to the enemy. He thought proper also to join it to the city, not only by a wall, but also, for the convenience of travelling, by a wooden bridge; the first that was ever thrown over the Tiber.

The *Fossa Quiritium*, which rendered the city less accessible from the lower grounds, was also the work of

Ancus. The number of inhabitants being so considerably increased, in such a multitude, to distinguish between a good action and a bad, was no easy matter; so that many secret acts of villainy were committed. Wherefore, to check such growing licentiousness, he built a prison in the heart of the city, overlooking the forum.—Under the auspices of Ancus, the city was not only enlarged, but the Roman territories extended.

The forest *Masia* was taken from the Veientes, the Roman domain carried out to the sea, Ostia built at the mouth of the Tiber, salt-pits dug about it; and, in gratitude for his extraordinary success, he enlarged the temple of Jupiter Feretrius.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Lucumo comes to Rome.

IN the reign of Ancus, Lucumo, a man of great substance and address, came to settle at Rome. Ambition, and the hopes of rising to honours in the state, a thing he found quite impracticable in his native Tarquinii, as his father was a foreigner, were the leading motives to this measure. He was the son of Damaratus of Corinth, who having fled from his country for seditious practices, happened to settle at Tarquinii, where he married, and had two sons, Lucumo and Aruns. Lucumo survived his father, and succeeded to his estate; but Aruns died before him, leaving his wife pregnant. The father did not long survive him, and being ignorant of the circumstance of his step-daughter's pregnancy, made no provision for it in his will. The posthumous grand-child, having been disinherited before he was born, was, from that very circumstance, called Egerius.

Lucumo, on the other hand, having now become sole heir of his father's fortune, and his spirits rising with his circumstances, became still more elevated upon his marriage with Tanaquil, a lady of great distinction, who could not easily bear the thoughts, that the rank of the man she had married, should be below what her birth and high connections entitled her husband to have. In short, disdaining to live in her native city, where her husband was not respected according to his merit, be-

cause he was the son of an exile, she persuades him to leave Tarquinii. Rome, of all others, seemed to be the most eligible retreat. In a new state, where nobility is the perquisite of merit, and but of short standing, a man of courage and address would bid fair for distinction. Tatius, though a Sabine, was raised to the throne. Numa was called to the same dignity from Cures. Ancus was born of a Sabine mother, and had no other badge of nobility, than a single statue of Numa.

Her arguments prevailed with Lucumo, who was naturally ambitious, and attached to Tarquinii, from no other consideration, but that it gave birth to his mother. Wherefore, having sent off their effects, they set out for Rome. They happened to stop at the Janiculum, where, as he sat in the chariot with his wife, an eagle, falling gently with spread wings, took off his cap, and fluttering over the chariot with a prodigious noise, as if sent down from heaven on purpose, replaced it orderly on his head, and then soared aloft. It is said, that Tanaquil received the omen with raptures, being much versed in celestial prodigies, as the Etrurians generally are, and embracing her husband, encourages him to look up for great honours and preferment; assuring him, "That the bird had come from a quarter of the heavens peculiar to Jupiter himself, whose messenger he was. That it had taken the omen from the vertical point of man, and lifted the ornament of the human head, to replace it there by command of the gods."—Full of these thoughts and expectations, they entered the city; and having purchased a house, he went under the name of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. Being a foreigner and very rich, he soon became conspicuous at Rome; where, by the affability of his demeanour, frank invitations, and obliging manner of conferring favours, he procured himself friends, and promoted his interest; insomuch, that at last, he came to be mentioned at court, where, by discharging his duty about the king with assiduity and politeness, he soon became a very great favourite, and was admitted a privy counsellor: And having, on all occasions distinguished himself by his integrity and abilities, he was at last appointed guardian to the royal family, by the king's last will.

CHAP. XXXV.

Lucumo succeeds Ancus.

ANCUS reigned twenty-four years, inferior to none of his predecessors, in the arts of peace or war. His sons had now almost reached the age of fourteen, for which reason, Tarquin pressed to bring on the election of a new king, with the utmost expedition. An assembly of the people being called, he sent out the princes on a hunting match, at the time of their meeting. It is remarked of him, that he was the first, who openly solicited for the crown, and had a public harangue, calculated to secure his interest with the people; telling them, " That he did not ask a thing unprecedented or uncommon, as he was not the first, but the third foreigner, who had aspired to the sovereignty of Rome, so that none need wonder, or take offence at his presumption. That Tatius was both a foreigner, and an enemy, when he was made king; and Numa, a stranger to the city, was called without soliciting it, to that high office. That he, the moment he could dispose of himself, had removed to Rome with his family and fortune, where he had spent a greater part of his life, than where he drew his first breath, and a part too best calculated for the discharge of civil offices. That he had studied the Roman laws, both sacred and civil, in peace and in war, under king Ancus himself, a master of whom he had no reason to be ashamed. For loyalty and respect to his sovereign, he was second to none; and for generosity and beneficence to others, not even to the king himself."—Whilst he was enumerating these circumstances in his favour, which, by the bye, could not be disputed, he was declared king by a great majority of the people.

The same ambition which actuated Tarquin, a man in other respects, of an unexceptionable character, in canvassing for the crown, he also discovered after he had obtained it. For, being no less attentive to the establishing of his own authority, than the aggrandizement of the state, he created an hundred new senators, who from that time, were distinguished by the title of *Senators*.

tores minorum gentium: a party, no doubt, that would continue firmly attached to the prince, by whose favour they were raised to that dignity.

The first that felt the weight of his resentment, was the Latins. From them he took Appiolæ by storm; and, having returned with much more booty than could have been expected, from an expedition so inconsiderable, he celebrated his games at an expence, and with a magnificence, above any of his predecessors. The place for the Circus, now called *Maximus*, was then first marked out, and divisions made for the senators and knights, where they might erect scaffolds for their accommodation during the games. These scaffolds were called *Fori*, and supported by forked posts, twelve feet high. The games consisted chiefly in horses, and boxers, brought from Etruria; and, from that period, have continued to be celebrated every year, being sometimes called the Roman, and sometimes the great games. To private families also the prince let out the ground about the Forum, for shops and piazzas.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Tarquin makes war with the Sabines.

HE was making preparations for raising a stone wall round the city; but a war with the Sabines interrupted his designs. The incursion was so unexpected, that before the Roman army could march out to stop their progress, they had crossed the Anio. Wherefore, great was the alarm at Rome, and in the first engagement, though numbers fell on both sides, the victory was disputed.

After this battle, the enemy returned to their camp, and the Romans got time to recruit. Tarquin, sensible that his army suffered much for want of horse, resolved to add other centuries to the Ramnenses, Titienses, and Luceres, and to distinguish them by his own name.

As Romulus had instituted this order by augury, Attus Navius, at that time much celebrated for his skill in the art, contended that no alteration, or new appointment could be made, without the approbation of the birds. At this, the king flew in a passion, and in ridicule of the

art, as it is said, "Come, you conjurer," says he, "tell me by augury, whether, what I just now conceive in my mind, can be effected?" The other, when he had consulted his birds, returned and told the king, it could surely be done. "Truly then," says the king, "I was just thinking within myself, whether it were possible to cut this flint with this razor: do, take them, and perform what your birds say is possible." In a moment, they say, he cut the flint.—A statue of Attus, with his head veiled, was erected in the Comitium upon the stairs, on the left of the senate house, where the affair happened. They likewise add, that the flint was deposited in the same spot, where it might remain, as a monument of the miracle to posterity.

This affair brought so much credit on augury, and the college of augurs, that no matter of any moment, in peace or war, was ever after carried into execution, till the birds were consulted. Assemblies were broke up, armies disbanded, and negotiations, the most important, broke off, when the birds were averse.

Tarquin, at that time, made no alteration in the centuries of horse, save only, that he doubled the complement of men in each corps; so that the three centuries consisted of one thousand eight hundred knights.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Tarquin beats the Sabines.

HAVING thus augmented his cavalry, he had another brush with the Sabines: and, although his army had been considerably reinforced; yet, with all the secrecy he could, he put in practice the following stratagem. He dispatched a party to set fire to a heap of timber, as it lay on the banks of the Anio, and afterwards to throw it into the river. The timber thus set on fire, and driven by the wind, caught hold of the piles and boats, and so set the bridge in a flame. This contrivance damped the Sabines not a little in time of action; and, after they were routed, greatly retarded their flight; so that many of them, who might have made good their retreat, were

drowned in the river, which carried their arms floating with the current, to publish this signal victory at Rome, before the arrival of the express.

The principal honour, in this action, was due to the horse; for, as they were posted in the two wings, and observed the infantry, which composed the main body of the army, already giving way, it is said, they charged so briskly in flank, that they not only gave a check to the Sabine legions, who were carrying all before them, but obliged them to retreat with precipitation. The Sabines fled to the mountains in great disorder, which only few of them reached! the greatest part, as formerly observed, having been pushed by the cavalry into the river.

Tarquin determined to make the most of their terror, sent the prisoners and booty to Rome; and having piled up and set fire to the spoils, which he had vowed to Vulcan, advanced with his army to the Sabine territories. Although the Sabines had got a severe check, and could see no prospect of being able to retaliate; yet, as there was no time for deliberation, they came out with an army tumultuously assembled; but they were routed again; and being reduced to the last extremity, sued for peace.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

He builds a wall round the city, and drains the water from the vallies.

COLLATIA and the country about it, in consequence of this victory, was ceded to the Romans, and Egerius, the king's nephew, left governor of the place. It is, however, affirmed in history, that Collatia capitulated, and surrendered in the following form: The king put the "question, "Are you delegates and deputies commissioned by the people of Collatia, to surrender yourselves and them? We are. Are the people of Collatia their own masters! They are. Do you then surrender yourselves, the people of Collatia, their city, their lands, their water, their marches, temples, utensils, and every thing sacred, or civil, belonging unto them,

"into my power, and that of the Roman people? We have done it. And I receive them."

The Sabine war being thus concluded, Tarquin returned to Rome in triumph. Then he made war upon the ancient Latins; and without coming to a general engagement, by appearing before their towns, one after another, he subdued the whole nation. The cities, Corniculum, Old Ficulnea, Cumeria, Crustumium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, were either taken from the Latins themselves, or from those who had revolted to them. Now there was peace, when he turned his mind upon carrying on the works he had begun in it, even more keenly, if possible, than he had done the war, that the people might have no more idle time at home, in peace, than abroad in arms. For he not only made preparations for drawing a stone wall round that part of the city which had not been fortified, the beginning of which had been interrupted by the Sabine war; but because the water could not be easily carried off from the flat grounds, he drained the low places of the city about the Forum, and the other vallies lying between the hills, by common sewers, which were drawn sloping to the Tiber. Moreover, he levelled an area, for laying the foundation of a temple to Jupiter, in the capitol, which he had vowed in the Sabine war, anticipating even then in idea, the future greatness of the place.

CHAP. XXXIX.

A strange phenomenon.

ABOUT this time, a very surprising phenomenon, followed by an event no less so, happened in the palace. The story goes, that in presence of many, the head of a boy, called Servius Tullius, seemed all in flames, whilst he was asleep. The prodigious noise occasioned by this strange appearance, awaked the royal family, and when one of the servants was fetching water to extinguish the flame, he was stopt by the queen, who, after the confusion was over, ordered that nobody should stir the boy, till he should awake of himself. Very soon the flame

disappeared with the child's sleep. Then Tanaquil taking her husband aside, "See you that child," said she, "whom we educate so meanly; Let me tell you, he will one day be a light to us in our distress, and a protection to our house, when we need it most. Let us, therefore, from this moment, train up this youth with the utmost care, for whom, in a public as well as private capacity, great honours are reserved."

From that moment he was treated as their own, and instructed in every science, calculated to excite men of spirit to aim at high fortune. What Heaven is pleased to countenance, requires little cultivation from man. Servius soon discovered a princely disposition; and when they looked about for a son-in-law to the king, was there one among all the Roman youth, who could in any qualification, bear a comparison with him. The king therefore gave him his daughter in marriage.

Whatever it was that raised him to this honourable distinction, it certainly discredits the conjecture, that he was either born of a slave, or that he himself, when a child, had ever been in the servile line. I am rather of their opinion, who think, that after the capture of Corniculum, the wife of Servius Tullius, who had been a grandee in that city, was left pregnant, when her husband was killed; and that when she came to be known among the rest of the prisoners, in consideration of her rank, was rescued from slavery by the Roman queen, and was delivered at Rome in the royal palace.—That the child, having been brought up at court, from his infancy, had been much caressed and esteemed there; an extraordinary friendship between the ladies having taken place upon so signal an indulgence; and that the mother's estate, which, after her country was taken, became the perquisite of the conquerors, gave rise to the surmise that he was the son of a slave.

CHAP. XL.

Tarquin killed by a plot of the sons of Marcius.

TARQUIN having reigned now upwards of thirty-seven years, Servius Tullius had not only by far the greatest share of the royal favour, but also stood very high in the esteem of both senate and people. About this time also, the two sons of Marcius, who had always reflected with indignation that their guardian had artfully tricked them out of their father's kingdom, and secured it to himself, a stranger descended of no family in Rome, nay, not even in Italy; when they observed that the kingdom was not like to revert to them, even after the death of Tarquin, but to become the perquisite of the refuse of mankind, set no bounds to their resentment. "What! said they, shall the Roman state, a century after Romulus, its founder and sovereign, while on earth, whose extraction was divine, and himself ranked among the gods, be given to a slave?—the son of a slave, to reign over it, while we, the sons of Aucus are living? Shall the Roman throne lie open not only to strangers, but even to slaves? Would not this be a reproach to the Roman name, and an indelible stain on that illustrious house, which can never be wiped off?"

By the sword, therefore, they resolve to do themselves justice. But their indignation for the injuries they had received, was rather excited against Tarquin than Servius; as the revenge of a king was more to be dreaded than that of a private man: moreover, should they destroy Servius, Tarquin might provide himself in another son-in-law, who could also succeed him; for these reasons the plot was laid against the king himself. Two of the most resolute among the shepherds were chosen for executing their villainous purpose. They had each such iron instruments as they used to carry in the country; and pretending to quarrel at the gate of the palace, made such a prodigious noise, that they brought all the officers of the court about them. Then, when they both appealed to the king, the noise they made reaching the

inmost rooms of the palace, they were called and accordingly went before the king. Upon their first appearance, they bawled out both at the same time, the one striving to interrupt the other; but, when checked by the Lic-tor, and ordered to speak each in his turn, they gave over their railing. One of them then, as had been concerted, began to tell his story; to which, while the king was all attention, the other lifting up his hatchet, threw it against his head, and leaving the weapon in the wound, both ran instantly out of doors.

CHAP. XLI.

Tarquin succeeded by Servius Tullius.

WHILST some of the company hastened to assist the wounded king, the lictors pursued the ruffians, and seized them. By this time there was a great noise, and concourse of people about the palace, wondering what could be the matter. During the confusion, Tanaquil orders the palace gates to be shut, and having cleared it of the crowd, she carefully gets every thing ready for the cure of the wound, as if there had been hopes of her husband's recovery: at the same time, should no hopes remain, she plans other expedients for her security. Servius being called, in all haste, she carries him to her expiring husband, and taking his right hand in her's, she conjures him, that he would not suffer his father-in-law's death to pass unrevenge'd, nor his mother-in-law to be exposed to the insults of her enemies. If you are a man, Servius, " continued she, the crown is thine, not theirs, who, by " the hands of assassins, have committed the most execrable villainy. Take courage then, and follow the " gods thy conductors, who foretold thy future glory by " the divine fire which shone around thy head: let that " celestial flame now warm thee. Rouse thyself now in " earnest. We who were strangers have reigned here. " Consider, who, not of whom, thou art. If your own " counsels are at a stand, by reason of this unexpected " blow, follow mine."

When the noise and pressure of the mob became intolerable, Tanaquil addresses the people from a window

in an upper storey, opening to the new street : for Tarquin's palace stood near the temple of Jupiter Stator : telling them, " to make themselves easy :—that the king " had been stunned with the sudden blow, but that the " wound was not deep :—That he had now come to " himself :—That the wound had been searched, and " the blood washed away ; and she hoped matters were " in such a train that they would see him soon. In the " mean time, it was his orders, that they should obey " Servius Tullius, who would administer justice, and perform every other office incumbent on the king."

Servius, upon this, went out dressed in the *Trabea*,* attended by the Lictors, and being seated on the throne, determines some causes, and leaves others undetermined, till he should consult the king. Thus, therefore, though Tarquin had been already dead, by concealing that event for some days, he had an opportunity of strengthening his interest, under the pretence of acting by deputation from his father-in-law.

When at last the event was made public, and the lamentations set up in the palace, Servius, surrounded with a strong guard, was the first who was advanced to the throne by the senators, without waiting for the consent of the people.†—The sons of Ancus having now been informed, that the assassins they employed were seized, that the king was still alive, and Servius's party so very strong, went, of their own accord, into banishment, to Suessa Pometia.‡

CHAP. XLII.

Tullius routs the Veientes, and constitutes the Census.

SERVIUS not only strengthened his interest by his attention to public business, but also by plans concerted in private ; for, that the sons of Tarquin might not be actuated by the same spirit of resentment against him,

* The *Trabea* was the ordinary habit of the Roman monarchs ; and differed from the *Toga*, in this particular, that it was adorned with stripes of purple, at proper distances from each other, on a white ground.

† A. U. C. 176.

‡ Now Cisterra Pontinae.

which the sons of Ancus had discovered against his predecessor, he gave his two daughters in marriage to the two young princes, Lucius and Aruns: yet this precaution could not prevent the unalterable decrees of fate, nor secure him against the envy attending a crown, which was productive of the blackest treasons, and scenes of the grossest barbarity, even in his own family.

Very seasonably for the present tranquillity, war was undertaken against the Veientes (the truce with them being now expired,) and the other states of Etruria. In that war, fortune conspired, with his own native gallantry, to ennoble Tullius: for, having routed the enemy's prodigious army, he returned to Rome, sovereign of the affections of senate and people. After this, he sets about the works of peace, which, of all others, are the most salutary: and as Numa had been the author of the religious polity of Rome, that posterity might have reason to mention Servius with respect, as author of the several orders and ranks in the state, whereby the different degrees of dignity or fortune are ascertained, he instituted the census; the effects of which were most salutary in a state, that promised to arrive at such a pitch of greatness: for by it the charges of peace and war were not levied by the head as before, but in proportion to their estates respectively. He then divided the people into classes and centuries, according to his census; a regulation very proper both in peace and war.

CHAP. XLIII.

He divides the people into classes and centuries.

OF those whose fortune amounted to, or exceeded 100,000* asses of brass, he made up eighty centuries: one half whereof were of the aged citizens, and one half of the younger. These together were called the first class. The design of the elder part was to have them always at hand to guard the city; of the younger, to carry arms abroad. The arms assigned them were a helmet, a round shield, boots, a coat of mail; all of brass. These

were designed for defence ; a spear and sword were also given them as weapons of offence. To this class were added two centuries of mechanics, who were to serve without arms, and to be employed in carrying the military engines.

The second class comprehended those whose estates amounted to 75,000 asses of brass,* and upwards to 100,000 ; and of those including old and young, were made up twenty centuries. Their arms were in every respect the same as those mentioned above, excepting that they had an oblong shield, instead of a round one, and no coat of mail.

The third class he appointed to consist of those who were rated at 50,000 asses.† These again, with respect to difference of age and number of centuries, were distinguished in the same manner as the second ; nor was there any alteration in their arms, but that they had no boots.

In the fourth class, the valuation was estimated at 25,000 asses,‡ and the centuries the same as in the third. This class had no defensive arms ; but their offensive were a spear and a long javelin.

In the fifth class, the centuries were increased to thirty ; and were armed with slings and stones. Among them were reckoned the Accensi,|| the blowers on the horn, and pipers, divided into three centuries. This whole class consisted of those who were rated at 11,000 asses.§

The sixth class comprehended all such as were below the last rate, and of them one century was made up, which was exempted from carrying arms.

The infantry being thus arranged and accoutred, he raised twelve centuries of horse from among the principal citizens ; and to the three centuries instituted by Romulus, he added six others, by the same names assigned them at their first institution. Ten thousand asses** were given them to lay out upon horses, out of the treasury ; and for the maintenance of these horses, the

* £ 242 : 3 : 9d. † £ 161 : 9 : 2d. ‡ £ 80 : 14 : 7d.

|| Supernumerary officers ; or, according to Varro, aids-du-camp to the generals and tribunes.

§ £ 35 : 10 : 5d.

** £ 32 : 5 : 10d.

widows were taxed in 2000 asses * yearly. All these burthens were taken off the poor, and laid on the rich; upon whom, to balance the account, was conferred an addition of honours: For they did not now vote by poll, as instituted by Romulus, and followed by his successors, nor were their suffrages of equal weight; but a subordination was established, by which none seemed to be deprived of the right of voting, and at the same time, the balance of power lay entirely on the side of the principal citizens.

The knights were first called, then the eighty centuries of the first class. If they happened to differ, which was rarely the case, the second class was called; and it was seldom known, that they ever came so low as the last class. It needs be no matter of wonder, that the present regulation, since the increase of the tribes to thirty-five, should differ from the number of centuries of young and aged citizens, instituted by Servius Tullius, since they are now double the number of what they were at that time. For, having divided the city into four parts, according to the quarters and hills which were then inhabited, he called these divisions *tribes*, I fancy, from the tribute they paid; for, he made out a scheme for levying the taxes, according to the valuation of estates, so that these tribes had not the least relation to the number and division of the centuries.

CHAP. XLIV.

Enlarges the Pomarium and adds several hills to the city.

THE Census being thus completed, which the dread of the fine enacted against those who should neglect to enrol themselves in the censor's books, had greatly accelerated, he published an edict, requiring all the Roman citizens, horse and foot, ranged according to their respective centuries, to appear in the Campus Martius, by break of day, under the pain of imprisonment and death. Then, having drawn up his whole army, he purified them

by the sacrifice of a sow, a sheep, and a bull; and this was called the finishing stroke of the lustrum, because then the census was completed.

It is computed, that eighty thousand citizens were enrolled in that census. Fabius Pictor, the oldest historian we have, adds, "That this was the number of "citizens fit to bear arms." To accommodate this great number of people, it was thought necessary to enlarge the city: in consequence of which he added two hills, the Quirinal,* and Viminal,† and soon after, the Esquiline;‡ where, to give a reputation to the place, he dwelt himself. He fortified the city with a rampart, ditches, and a wall quite round it; and consequently enlarged the Pomœrium.

They only who have a regard to the natural signification of the word, will have the pomœrium to be a space of ground without the walls; but it is rather a space on each side of the wall, which the Etrurians formerly, in laying the foundation of cities, consecrated by augury, extending to certain lines on each side of the wall they intended to raise; so that the houses might not be joined to it on the inside, as they do generally at present, and that on the outside there might be some ground left untilled. This space, which could neither be ploughed, nor built upon, is by the Romans called *pomœrium*,§ not more because it lies without the walls, than because the walls lye without it. And, on all occasions, when the city was enlarged, in proportion as the walls, so this consecrated ground was also extended.

CHAP. XLV.

Builds a temple to Diana, in conjunction with the Latins,

THE state being thus improved, the city enlarged, and every thing in it modelled to the best advantage, for the practical purposes of peace and war, that they might not always depend upon arms for their resources, he endea-

* Three miles round.

† Four miles round.

‡ Two miles and a half round.

§ Post murum, aut mœrum.

voured to extend his empire by good policy, at the same time that he added to the dignity of the city.

At that time, there was a temple of Diana at Ephesus, much celebrated. It is reported to have been built by contributions from all the states of Asia. Servius took occasion to commend these people very highly, for their unanimity in matters of religion, before the Latin nobility, with whom, both in his public and private capacity, he had studied to live on the most friendly footing; and by resuming the subject frequently, he at last carried his point so far, that the Latins joined with the Romans, in the expence of building a temple to Diana. This was a plain acknowledgment, that Rome was their capital, a point, which they had often disputed with their swords.

Although the Latins now seemed to have dropped all concern about what they had so often attempted to establish in vain; fortune seemed to point out to one of the Sabines, an opportunity of recovering the superiority to his country, by a private scheme of his own. A certain Sabine had a heifer brought forth among his cattle, remarkable for her size and beauty. Her horns, which were hung up in the porch of the temple of Diana, remained for many ages, a monument of her enormous bulk. The thing was considered, and it could not well be doubted, in the light of a prodigy, and the sooth-sayers had foretold, that the man who should sacrifice this heifer to Diana, should certainly fix the sovereignty of his country. This prediction had also reached the ears of the high priest of Diana. The Sabine, on the first day that seemed proper for the sacrifice, drove the heifer to Rome, led her to the temple of Diana, and set her before the altar. Then the Roman priest, struck with the extraordinary size of the victim, which had been so much celebrated by fame, at the same time, recollecting the prediction, thus addresses the Sabine: "What do you propose, friend?" says he, "to offer sacrifice to Diana, with unclean hands? why do you not first wash yourself in running water? The Tiber runs in the valley below."

The stranger being impressed with a scruple of conscience, and wishing that every thing might be in such a train, that the event might turn out agreeable to the

prodigy, immediately repairs to the Tiber. In the mean time, the Romans sacrificed the heifer to Diana, which gave universal satisfaction to the king and all the city.

CHAP. XLVI.

Tullius accused by young Tarquin.

ALTHOUGH long possession had now established Servius on the throne; yet, because he heard that young Tarquin was sometimes giving out, that he had usurped the sovereignty, without the consent of the people, having first secured their good will, by dividing among them, impartially, the conquered lands, he then ventured to put the question, "Whether they willed and commanded him to be their king?" Upon which they recognized him king, with an unanimity scarce ever known before. But this was so far from discouraging Tarquin or giving a check to his ambition, that it only confirmed his hopes: for, besides the impetuosity of his own temper, he was constantly dunned with the solicitations of his wife Tullia; he was not ignorant, that the division of the conquered lands among the people, was not agreeable to the fathers, and therefore, he concluded, that he had a noble opportunity, in accusing Servius to the senate, of raising his own reputation.

This produced a scene of the most inhuman and savage cruelty in the court of Rome: That the people disgusted at monarchy, might the sooner enjoy the sweets of liberty, and that he should be the last king, who should usurp the title, by the commission of the work of crimes, this Lucius Tarquinius, (whether he was the son or grandson of Tarquinius Priscus, is a question; but out of respect to most authors, I shall call him his son) had a brother called Aruns Tarquinius, remarkable for sweetness of disposition. To these brothers, as we have formerly observed, the two Tullias, the king's daughters, who were also very different in their tempers, had been married. It had so happened, by the good fortune, very probably, of the Roman people, that the two violent tempers were not united, by which means the life of Servius was prolonged, to form the morals of the state.

The savage Tullia was prodigiously fretted, that she could find in her husband no spark of spirit or ambition; for which reason, she was all in raptures with Lucius; him she admired; it was he that deserved the name of a man:—he was indeed of the blood royal. Her sister she despised, who, though she was matched with a man of spirit, had not the resolution of a woman. A similitude of tempers soon produced an intimacy between them; for the wicked are the fittest company for each other.

However, this ambitious woman laid the foundation of all the tragical scenes that ensued. She had been in use to have private conversations with her sister's husband, when she threw out the bitterest invectives against her husband to his brother, and against her sister to her husband; and insisted that it were better they were both free, than so improperly matched, to be obliged to languish in obscurity, owing to the deadness of those with whom they were respectively connected. If the gods had given her the husband she merited, she would soon have seen the sovereign power in her own family, which she now sees in her father's.

By such insinuations, the young man quickly imbibed all the venom of her malignant soul. Aruns Tarquinius and the younger Tullia, were buried almost at the same time, to make way for a new connection, which accordingly happened, rather without opposition from Servius, than with his consent.

CHAP. XLVII.

Tarquin usurps the throne.

FROM this period Tullius's old age became every day more burthensome, and his throne more uneasy. For, after one crime, this fury immediately set about contriving another. Neither night nor day did she suffer her husband to rest, lest the parricides they had committed should lose their intended effect. "What!" said she, "do you think I wanted a man merely to be my husband, with whom I might live a slave in obscurity?" "No; give me a man who thinks he is not unworthy of

" a kingdom; who remembers that he is the son of a
" king; and one who would rather be in possession now,
" than look for a kingdom. If you are the man, whom
" I think I married, I must call you both husband and
" king; if not, I have made a miserable change, because
" I have got a coward in a murderer. Why do not you
" bestir yourself? You have no occasion, like your father,
" to come from Corinth, or Tarquini, in quest of a king-
" dom amongst foreigners; your household gods, the
" gods of your country, the statue of your father, the
" palace where you dwell, the regal throne in that pa-
" lace, and the very name of Tarquin, create and call
" you king. But, if none of these things can rouse you
" to action, why do you deceive the expectations of the
" people, why do you suffer them to regard you as a man
" of a princely soul? Go, coward; get you hence to Tar-
" quini, or Corinth, and sink into the former obscurity
" of your family, since you have more in you of your
" brother, than your father."

By these, and such reproaches, the young man's mind was set on fire; nor could she be at rest herself. " If
" Tanaquil," thought she, " who was a foreigner, had the
" address to dispose of the kingdom twice successively,
" first to her husband, and then to her son-in-law, shall
" I, who am born a princess, have no influence what-
" ever, in taking away or bestowing a crown?"

Tarquin, impelled by the reveries of this mad woman, renewed his intrigues among the senators, particularly those of the last creation, putting them in mind of his father's favours, for which he now was soliciting a return. The young men he engaged to his interest by presents, promising to do wonders in his administration; and wherever he went, charging the king with the blackest crimes. At last, when he found a proper opportunity for putting his design in execution, surrounded with a body of armed men, he forced his way into the forum; and whilst all present were struck with terror, placing himself on the throne in the senate-house, he ordered the fathers to be summoned to attend king Tarquin, in the house, by the public crier. They immediately obeyed; some because they were in the plot, others through fear that their absence might be made

a crime, being astonished at the surprising revolution, and fully convinced it was all over with Servius.

Then Tarquin began his invectives against the king, with the obscurity of his birth: "That being a slave, and the son of a slave, he had, after the cruel murder of Tarquin his father, possessed himself of the kingdom; not after an *inter-regnum*, according to custom, nor by the free voices of the people, nor the approbation of the senate, but by the mere artifice of a woman. Thus descended, and thus created king, he had ever been the favourer of mean wretches like himself; and, out of hatred to the Patricians for their noble birth, he had stript them of their estates, to distribute them among the vilest of the people: That the burdens, which before were common to all, he had heaped on the nobles alone: That he had instituted the census, that the fortunes of the rich might be more visible to the eye of envy, and be ready, whenever he had a mind, to throw them away among beggars."

CHAP. XLVIII.

Tullius murdered by L. Tarquin, at the instigation of Tullia.

WHILST he was yet speaking, Servius appeared, having been alarmed with the news of what was going on, and immediately from the porch of the senate-house cries out with a loud voice, "What is it you mean, Tarquin? What is it that has made you so audacious, to convene the senate and take possession of my throne, while I am alive: I only take possession, replied he sternly, of my father's throne, to which, I am surely much better entitled than my father's slave, a slave that has been too long permitted to insult his masters." The partizans on both sides set up a shout, and the people crowded into the senate-house; it seeming now to be past a doubt, that the sovereign power would follow the victory in this struggle.

Then Tarquin, compelled by necessity to out-brave every difficulty, having much the advantage in youth and strength, seized Servius by the waist, and carrying

him out of the senate-house, threw him from the top to the bottom of the stairs, and then returned to hold the senate. The king's officers and attendants made the best of their way. He himself quite faint, was returning home, supported by a small retinue, half dead with fear, and had got to the top of the Cyprian street, when he was overtaken and slain by a party sent out by Tarquin for that purpose.

This happened, it is thought by Tullia's advice; as she had been deeply concerned in all the other villainous plots: One thing however is certain, that she drove in her chariot, and without minding the crowd about her, she called her husband out of the senate-house, and was the first to salute him king; and being ordered by him to retire out of the crowd, on her way home, when she had reached the upper part of the Cyprian street, where lately stood a temple of Diana, as she was wheeling to the right, towards the Virbian ascent, which was the way to the Esquiline hill, the charioteer, struck with horror, checked his horses, and made a stop, pointing to the body of Servius, which lay murdered in the street.

Cruel and inhuman is the action that is said to have followed upon this; of which the place itself exhibits a proof: they call it the wicked street, in which Tullia, racked and tortured with the furies of her husband and sister, is reported, in a fit of madness, to have driven her chariot over the body of her father, and to have carried home on her clothes and chariot, part of his blood, to her own house gods, and those of her husband; who being justly provoked at the barbarity of the action, brought their usurpation speedily to an end suited to the wickedness of its beginning.

The reign of Tullius had been so glorious for forty-five years, that it would have been hard even for a good prince, a reasonable king, to have filled his place with equal dignity.—This too adds to the glory of his reign, that the just and legal exercise of the royal prerogative fell at the same time with him. Some authors are of opinion, that he had it in view to have resigned his power, however mild and moderate the exercise of it had been, because it was absolute, had not the intrigues of his own family cut short his plan of fixing his country's liberty.

CHAP. XLIX.

Tarquin keeps an armed guard. A. U. C. 220.

THEN Tarquin began to shew away in the regal function; his arrogance procured him the surname of *proud*; for, he refused to suffer the usual obsequies to be performed for his father-in-law, alledging for a reason, that "Romulus himself died without that honour." The principal of the senators, whom he suspected to have been in Servius's interest, he put to death; and being sensible, that the base means he had made use of to raise himself to the throne, might become a president that would recoil upon himself, he never appeared without a strong guard. For, indeed, he had no legal pretensions to the crown, but what were founded in violence and injustice, having neither obtained the consent of the people, nor the sanction of the senate. Add to this, that as he had no hopes of gaining the affections of the people, he could only support himself on the throne from motives of fear, the influence of which, that he might make as universal as possible, in all criminal causes he sat judge in person, admitting neither the assistance nor advice of any assessor whatever. This furnished him not only with an opportunity of butchering and banishing such as he hated or suspected; but also of confiscating the effects of those, whom he could charge with no crime, provided he could enrich himself with their spoils.

Having by these means, in particular, very much reduced the order of the Fathers, he determined to make no new creation, that the order thus reduced, might, dwindle into contempt, consequently be the more indifferent that nothing was transacted by their means. He was the first king, who broke through a rule observed by all his predecessors, of consulting the senate upon every emergency. All state affairs he managed by domestic counsels. War, peace, treaties, alliances, he made with whomsoever he choosed; and broke when he pleased, by himself alone, without the countenance or consent of senate, or people.

He was at great pains to make himself popular among

the Latins, that by means of their power, his safety at home might be less precarious. Nor did he only cultivate friendship with their nobility, but to make the connection stronger, by family alliances: For he married his daughter to Octavius Mamilius Tusculanus, the most illustrious of the Latin name, being descended, if we can believe the story of Ulysses and Circe, by which means, he secured in his interest the numerous friends and relations of that nobleman.

CHAP. L.

He appoints a general convention. Inveighed against by Turnus Herdonius.

TARQUIN having now a considerable weight among the Latin chiefs, he appoints a day for a general convention at the grove of Ferentium, pretending he had something to propose for their common interest. Great numbers appeared by the morning's dawn. Tarquin was indeed punctual to the day, but not to the hour; for he did not make his appearance till a little before sun-set. During the whole day, in the course of their debates, many observations were made in council. Turnus Herdonius of Aricia,* inveighed bitterly against Tarquin, in his absence, exclaiming, "That it was no wonder that he was
 " surnamed the *proud* at Rome, (for he went commonly by that name, though it was only in corners, and
 " in whispers,) can any thing be more impudent than
 " to trifle thus with the whole Latin name? To summon hither the Latin chiefs, from so great a distance,
 " and yet the scoundrel who had appointed the meeting,
 " not deign to appear himself. Doubtless he means to
 " put our patience to the test, and to judge by our tameness, how far he can subject and oppress us, when we
 " have no means of relief. Is there any of us so blind,
 " as not to find out that he pretends to an hereditary
 " right over the Latins? Supposing his own subjects
 " had made a judicial surrender of their liberties to him,
 " if that might be called a surrender, which had been

* Now Marino.

“ extorted by parricide, the Latins, being a distinct people, were under no obligation to follow the example. But if the Romans now repent of what they have done, being butchered, exiled, and robbed, one after another, by that rapacious wretch, can the Latins find in Tarquin, a less cruel and covetous master? If they will take my advice, they will immediately return home, and mind the assembly day no more than he that appointed it.”

Whilst this seditious and enterprising man, who had by his address amassed a great fortune at home, was proceeding in invectives against Tarquin, he made his appearance in the assembly, which put an end to the harangue. Every one turned about to pay his compliments to Tarquin, who, when silence was made, being put in mind by some that sat next him, that he ought to make an apology for coming so late; he answered, “ That he had been engaged making up a difference between a father and a son; and that his concern to see them reconciled, had detained him so long.” It is said, Turnus did not suffer this excuse to pass uncensured; for he told him, “ That no process on earth could be shorter than between a father and son, nor required a briefer sentence; if the son would not obey the father, he would be considered as a worthless wretch.”

CHAP. LI.

Tarquin conspires against Turnus.

THE Arician, having thus cavalierly rated the Roman king, left the council; which sinking deeper in the stomach of Tarquin, than he choosed to express, he immediately plots against the life of Turnus, with a view, in his fate, to impress the minds of the Latins with the same ideas of terror by which he had over-awed the minds of his own subjects. And because he had no authority to put him to death openly, he procured his destruction, though innocent, by a fictitious impeachment.

By means of some Aricians, of an opposite party, he prevailed on Turnus's slave, for a sum of money, to

permit them to hide a great quantity of arms in his master's lodgings. Tarquin, having completed all his scheme, in the course of one night, sent for the Latin chiefs, a little before day, and as if he had been alarmed with some extraordinary discovery, told them, " That his absence yesterday, had been ordered by the
" wise providence of the gods, both upon their account
" and his own: That Turnus he was told had concert-
" ed measures to dispatch him, and the principal of
" the Latins, that he alone might have the supreme
" power over the nation: That the attempt would
" have been made yesterday in the convention, had it
" not been delayed, because he who had called the
" council, and whom he particularly pointed at, was
" absent: That for this very reason, he had spoke so
" illiberally of him, in his absence, because his late
" appearance had disconcerted his measures. He had
" no doubt, if his intelligence was good, but by day-
" break, when the assembly meets, he will come in
" arms, with a band of conspirators; that he was also
" informed, that a great number of swords had been se-
" cretly conveyed to him, which, whether true or false,
" could be discovered in a moment. Upon this, he re-
" quested that they would go along with him to Tur-
" nus."

The violence of Turnus's temper, his speech the day before, and Tarquin's late appearance in the assembly, because it seemed as if that circumstance had delayed the intended massacre, all put together, made the thing look suspicious: wherefore, although they accompanied Tarquin, disposed to give credit to his report; yet they were of opinion, that should the swords not be found with him, it would all go for nothing. When they came to his lodgings, they awaked Turnus, set a guard upon him, and seized his domestics; who, out of affection for their master, began to make opposition, when the arms that had been concealed, were brought from every corner of the apartment. The truth of the matter now seemed indisputable, and Turnus was clapped in chains. Immediately a council of the Latins was called in a prodigious hurry, where the swords, produced in court, exasperated them so much against him, that they

would not hear him in his own defence; but condemned him to a new kind of death, to be thrown in at the head of the spring of Ferentinum, with a hurdle laid on him, covered with stones heaped on it, and there drowned.

CHAP. LII.

Tarquin's address to the assembly.

TARQUIN having recalled the Latins to the assembly, and having commended them highly for the just punishment they had inflicted upon Turnus, for the intended massacre proved against him, to pave the way for a revolution in the state, addressed them in the following terms: "That he could plead an ancient right, " seeing all the Latins came originally from Alba, that " they were included in that treaty, whereby the whole " Alban state, with its colonies, had submitted to the " government of Rome, in the reign of Tullus. But, " he thought it would be more for the common interest, " if that treaty were renewed. And that the Latins " should rather share with the Romans in their good fortune, than either be in perpetual terror of, or subjected to the destruction of their towns, or devastation of " their lands, as had been the case, first in the reign of " Ancus, and then in that of his own father."

The Latins were easily persuaded, although they saw that the balance of interest lay upon the side of the Romans, when they found that the leading men of the nation were disposed to coincide with, and stand by the king's motion. Besides, they were taught, in the example of Turnus, what they had to expect, should any of them be so bold as oppose him.

Thus was the treaty renewed, and the Latin youth ordered by proclamation, in consequence of this treaty; to assemble in arms, on a certain day, at the grove of Ferentinum. When those of all the different tribes had rendezvoused at the place appointed, agreeable to Tarquin's proclamation, that they might have no leader of their own, no separate command, or ensigns of distinction, he blended the Romans and Latins together in every company, making one of two, and two of one. Hav-

ing thus doubled the number of companies, he appointed Centurions to command them.

CHAP. LIII.

Defeats the Volsci; and, with the spoils, builds a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus.

BUT though Tarquin was a tyrannical prince, in time of peace; in war, as a general, he made no despicable figure. In that art, he would not have been thought inferior to his predecessors, had not his degeneracy in other respects eclipsed that brighter part of his character.

He was the first who carried the Roman arms against the Volsci, and began a war which subsisted for two hundred years after him; from them he took Suessa Pometia by storm. In the division of the plunder, when he reserved forty talents of gold and silver to himself,* he conceived in idea, the dimensions of a temple which should be worthy the king of gods and men, adequate to the dignity of the Roman empire, and suited to the majesty of the place, where it was to be erected. The money saved from the spoils of the Volsci, he set apart to defray the expence of building it.

After this, a war he had undertaken, did not keep pace with his hopes. It was against the Gabii,† a city in the neighbourhood; for the reduction of which, he had exerted his utmost, but in vain. Having been often repulsed with loss, and seeing no probability of succeeding by a siege, at last he had recourse to fraud and stratagem, arts never practised by the Romans, to accomplish his purpose. For, pretending to have laid aside all thoughts of war, his attention being wholly engrossed with laying the foundation of the temple, and other public works, his son Sextus, the youngest of three, as concerted between his father and him, made his elopement to Gabii, where he exclaimed against his father's inhuman cruelty; declaring, "That he had now shifted the scene, and turned away his insupportable pride from other objects, that the whole weight of it

* £7750.

† Now Celenna.

“ might fall upon his own family : that the number of
“ his family affected him prodigiously ; and, for that
“ reason, he intended to make his own house as thin as
“ he had done the senate-house, so that he might leave
“ no representative, nor heir to his crown. For his
“ own part, that he had escaped his father’s fury, amidst
“ swords and daggers, and was fully convinced, that he
“ could be safe nowhere, but among the enemies of
“ Tarquin. For, that they might not be imposed on,
“ the war was by no means discontinued, as it was pre-
“ tended ; but only with a view of attacking them upon
“ an occasion, when they should be lulled in security.
“ If there was no place among them to serve as a refuge
“ for the distressed, he would wander all over Latium ;
“ and there, should there be occasion, he should make
“ his suit to the *Æqui*, the *Volsci*, and *Hernici*,* till he
“ should have the good fortune to meet with some hos-
“ pitable power, who knew how to protect children
“ from the cruelty and unnatural tyranny of parents.
“ Perhaps too, among some of these people, he might be
“ able to raise up an enemy to this overbearing monarch
“ and his mighty subjects.”

When they saw that he seemed to be going, swelled
with resentment, if they should make no advances to
stop him, he met with a handsome reception from the
Gabini. “ They bid him not be surprized, that the man
“ who could act as he had done, to his subjects and al-
“ lies, if at last he treated his children in the same inhu-
“ man manner. Nay, if every other object should fail,
“ he would wreak his vengeance on himself. To them,
“ however, he was excessively welcome ; and they had,
“ no doubt, but in a short time, by his assistance, they
“ would be able to carry the war from *Gabii*, to the ve-
“ ry walls of Rome.”

* Part of *Campagna di Roma*.

CHAP. LIV.

Sextus admitted into the Gabinian council. Gabii reduced.

UPON this he was admitted into the council of state, where, with respect to other matters, he said he would yield to the old counsellors of the Gabini, as they had access to know more about them; but with respect to the war, which he took every opportunity of advising, he pretended to be a better judge, being intimately acquainted with the resources of both nations: and, moreover, such was the intolerable pride of the Roman king, that it not only subjected him to the odium of the people, but to the aversion of his own family.

As he thus insensibly stirred up the Gabini to renew the war, he went in person, with the most alert of their youth, upon pillaging parties; and, in all his words and actions, acted his part so much to the life, that his credit with the Gabini was quite established. Insomuch, that at last, he was chosen general, to prosecute the war. Upon this, some skirmishes happened, between the people of Gabii and Rome, in which, for the most part, the Gabini had the better, who never yet could discover the cheat; but, from the highest to the lowest, were positive to a man, that Sextus Tarquinius had been sent them by the gods to lead them on to victory. Among the soldiers too, the cheerfulness with which he exposed himself to the dangers and fatigues of war, and the generosity he discovered in dividing the plunder, so endeared him to the soldiers, that Tarquin had no more to say at Rome, than he had at Gabii. Therefore, when he saw that he could be sufficiently supported for any attempt, he dispatches one of his confidants to Rome, to ask his father, what were his further commands, for the gods had given him an unlimited power at Gabii.

To this message, the king, I suppose, diffident of the fidelity of the bearer, returned him no answer in words, but as if he had meant to consider of the matter walked into the garden, whither his son's messenger followed him. As he walked in the garden for some time in silence, he struck off, it is said, the heads of the tallest

poppies with his cane. The messenger being out of all patience with begging and waiting for an answer, returned to Gabii, no wiser than when he left it. However, of what he said himself, and what he had occasion to observe, he makes a faithful relation; adding moreover, that Tarquin, whether from passion, resentment, or pride, never once deigned to open his mouth.

The moment Sextus had unriddled these dark hints, he puts to death the most eminent men of the city, some by accusing them to the people, others became proper objects of his revenge, by envying his greatness. Many of them were executed publicly; others, against whom the indictment could not be so clearly proved, were made away with privately. Some were permitted to make their escape, and some were banished; but in whatever manner they were disposed of, whether dead or alive, if they were out of the way, their estates were confiscated and divided among the people. The sweets of plunder, and the private emolument arising from these largesses, extinguished, in the people, all sense of feeling for the public calamities, till destitute of counsel, and void of all resources, the state of Gabii became an easy prey to Tarquin, without striking a stroke.

CHAP. LV.

Tarquin turns his attention to the affairs of the city.

TARQUIN having thus got possession of Gabii, made a peace with the Æqui, and renewed the treaty with the Etrurians. He then turned his attention to the affairs of the city, particularly to the building a temple to Jupiter, on the Tarpeian mount, which he might leave as a monument of his name and reign, since of the two Tarquins who had reigned at Rome, the first had vowed this temple, and the last had finished it. And that the area of this temple might be clear of the worship of other gods, and totally appropriated to Jupiter, he resolved to deprive several small temples and chapels of their consecrated honours, which had been vowed by Tatius in the heat of the battle he had fought with Romulus, and afterwards hallowed and dedicated.

In the very beginning of this work, it is affirmed, that the gods exerted their power to presage the future greatness of this empire. For, though the birds declared, that all the other temples might be deprived of their sacred honours, they could not be brought to approve of the measure with respect to Terminus. This omen and augury was thus explained, that as Terminus would not move, and being the only one of all the gods that had not been moved from their respective stations, they had in that circumstance, a sure sign of the permanency and stability of their empire.

This omen being understood to have a respect to the permanency, there followed another which portended its greatness: For, as the story goes, whilst the masons were opening the ground for the foundation of the temple, a human head appeared to them, with the face entire. This phenomenon, without straining the interpretation, plainly presaged, that this temple should be the head of the empire, and the empire universal. This too was the opinion of the soothsayers, not only of Rome, but of those also who had been sent for from Etruria, to be consulted on it. Presages so flattering, could not miss to enlarge the king's mind with respect to the expence; insomuch that the spoils of Pometia, originally intended to defray the expence of the whole superstructure, were scarcely sufficient for laying the foundation.—For this reason, I am the more inclinable to believe Fabius: besides, that he is the more ancient author, who restricts the plunder of this city to forty talents, than Piso, who affirms that 40,000 pound weight of gold and silver, had been sequestered for that purpose; a sum scarcely to be expected from the spoils of any one city in the world at that time, and more than sufficient for laying the foundation of any, the most magnificent fabric of modern times.

CHAP. LVI.

Sends a colony to Signia and Cere-dum. Sends Brutus to Delphos.

TARQUIN being intent upon building the temple; hired architects and skilful workmen from Etruria;

and though he made use of the public money, to defray the expence, in the laborious part, he made the people the drudges. Though this was a considerable addition to their military servitude, yet the consideration, that they were building a temple to the gods with their own hands, induced them to assist in carrying it on with more cheerfulness than usual. This servitude was afterwards extended to works less honourable, but still more laborious, as the construction of galleries in the circus, and of a large drain under ground, for receiving and carrying off the refuse of the city; works so very considerable, that even the magnificence of the present age can scarce pretend to equal them.

Whilst the people were engaged in the execution of these designs, because he thought numbers, for whom he could not find employment, were a burden to the city, that the frontiers of his dominions might be better inhabited, he sent colonies to Circeii* and Signia,† which proved a defence to the city, in succeeding ages, both by sea and land.

Whilst he was engaged in these matters, a terrible prodigy appeared. A serpent jumping out of a wooden pillar, spread such terror among all who saw it, that they ran directly to the palace. The king was not so much concerned for fear of danger, as he was solicitous about what might follow. Therefore, though upon other occasions, the Etrurian diviners were thought sufficient; yet this phenomenon having impressed him with unusual anxiety for his domestic concerns, he resolved to send to the oracle at Delphi,‡ the most famous at that time in the world.

And not daring to trust the oracle's answer to any other, he dispatched two of his sons into Greece, [*A. R.* 243.] through tracts of land, at that time, very little, and seas still less known. Titus and Aruns set out, Lucius Junius Brutus, Tarquin's nephew, by a sister Tarquinia, a young man of a very different turn of mind from what he choosed it should appear to be, was of their retinue.

* Monte Circello.

† A city in Latium.

‡ A city in Greece, now Delfo, Sabona, and Castri.

This young nobleman, when he understood that the principal of the Roman nobility, and among the rest his own brother, had been butchered by his uncle, he resolved that nothing should appear in his spirit to alarm the fears, and nothing in his fortune to tempt the rapacity of the king; imagining he would be safer under the cloak of contempt, than in the protection of the laws. Wherefore, designedly assuming the air and habits of a fool, he suffered himself and all his fortune to fall into the hands of the king, and very cheerfully took the surname of Brutus; that his extraordinary abilities, concealed under this title of reproach, might wait for the proper season to appear with redoubled lustre, in asserting the liberty of Rome.

When at that time he accompanied the Tarquins to Delphi, rather as their buffoon, than companion, it is reported of him, that he carried with him a rod of gold, enclosed in a case of elder, which gave it the appearance of a common stick, as a present to Apollo.—This was a true emblem of his own mind and external appearance.

When they had finished their journey, and executed their father's commands, they were prompted by their curiosity to enquire of the oracle, which of them should succeed him in the kingdom. Upon which, it is said, a voice from the bottom of the cave made the following response: "Whoever of you, gentlemen, shall first have the good fortune to give a kiss to his mother, shall be ruler at Rome." The Tarquins, as Sextus their brother had been left at Rome, and consequently ignorant of the oracle's answer, that he should have no share in the government, order that all should be kept secret and determined by lot, which of them two, upon their return to Rome, should first kiss his mother Tullia. But Brutus concluding that the oracle's meaning was very different, pretended to fall down by chance, and kissed the earth, the common mother of all living. After this they all returned to Rome, where they found the city in a commotion, on account of the preparations for a war against the Rutuli.

CHAP. LVII.

A dispute about the excellency of Wives.

THE Rutuli were considered as a very wealthy nation in that age and country, and were in possession of Ardea. It was their riches alone that gave rise to the war: For Tarquin having drained his treasury to defray the expence of his public works, was speculating for a new supply to himself; * and that he might, by a large booty, soothe the minds of the populace, who, besides their dislike of him for other acts of tyranny, were enraged at the oppressive manner in which they had been obliged to serve the mechanics, and do other servile work. He made an attempt to take Ardea by storm; but having failed in the attempt, he tried to distress the besieged by blockading their city, and raising works against it.

When an army is encamped, and the war rather tedious than violent, it generally happens that they come and go without restraint; though that indulgence only extends to the officers. The young princes sometimes spent their leisure hours in visiting and entertaining one another.

One day, while they were enjoying themselves over a bottle with Sextus Tarquinius, where Collatinus Tarquinius, the son of Egerius, also supped, the conversation happened to turn on the merit of wives. Every one was loud in the praises of his own; and the dispute turning hot, "What occasion is there for words," said Collatinus, "since you can be satisfied, in a few hours, how much my Lucretia is superior to the rest. If then we have yet the vigour of youth let us mount our horses, and examine the conduct of our wives on the spot; each of us will be able to judge with the greater precision of the employment of the ladies, surprised with a visit from their husbands, of which they had not the most distant expectation."

They were all heated with wine: "Come, let us go,"

* A. U. C. 243.

said each of them. They galloped all the way to Rome, where they arrived about the dusk in the evening, and from thence to Collatia. There they found Lucretia, not employed like the king's daughters-in-law, in company with other ladies of distinction, enjoying themselves in feasting and diversions; but even at a late hour amidst her maids, manufacturing wool by candle light.

The contest was determined in favour of Lucretia. She had received her husband and the Tarquins with much affability. Her husband not a little vain of his conquest, invited his royal guest to a friendly repast. There Sextus Tarquinius was so captivated with the charms and behaviour of Lucretia, and so inflamed with passion, that he was resolved to enjoy her by force.—However, having thus got over their youthful frolic, which had taken up a great part of the night, they return unto the camp.

CHAP. LVIII.

Lucretia ravished : stabs herself.

A FEW days after, Sextus Tarquinius, without acquainting Collatinus, set out for Collatia; with only one servant. As nobody could divine the motives of this visit, he was entertained with great civility and respect; and, after supper, conducted to his apartment. Inflamed with the ardour of his passion, observing every thing was quiet, and the whole family asleep, he stole into Lucretia's chamber; and coming with his sword drawn to her bed-side, he laid his left hand on her breast and awakened her.

"Be hush, Lucretia," says he, "I am Sextus Tarquinius; my sword is drawn, the moment you speak a word, that moment shall be your last." Lucretia, as she awakened in a fright, seeing death impending, no relief near her, was obliged to listen to a declaration of his passion: he begged and entreated her to yield to his desires; then he mingled threats with his prayers, and left no art unpractised to shake her resolution. When he found that she was positive, and that even the fear of death could not prevail upon her to consent, he threat-

ened her also with infamy; he told her, that he would kill one of her slaves, lay him naked by her when she was dead, and then declare to all the world, that he had killed her caught in adultery with the slave. The dread of infamy, was as powerful in overcoming her obstinate virtue, as the most irritating inclination. Tarquin had his wishes; and set out in triumph, for having robbed a lady of her virtue.

Lucretia sunk under the pressure of her misfortune, dispatches a messenger to her father at Rome, with orders to go immediately from thence, to her husband in the camp at Ardea, desiring them to meet her, and with each a faithful friend;—that no time must be lost, because something very extraordinary had happened. Spurius Lucretius came, accompanied with Publius Valerius, the son of Volesus; and Collatinus, with Lucius Junius Brutus, with whom he was returning to Rome, when he met his wife's messenger. He found Lucretia sitting quite disconsolate in her bed-chamber. The moment they entered the room she burst into tears. When her husband put the question, "Are you well enough?" "Not at all," said she; "the woman who has lost her honour, can, in no sense of the word be well. Another, my Collatinus, hath defiled your bed. But though my body is polluted, my soul is without stain. Of this my death shall seal the truth. But give me your right hands, and your promise, that the adulterer shall not go unpunished. It is Sextus Tarquinius, who came hither last night with the air of a friend, but with the heart of a fiend; and, in arms, obtained by force, a pleasure, fatal to me,—and to him—if you are only men."

All of them gave their promise, in order as they stood; and endeavoured to divert her melancholy, by excusing her who was forced, and loading him with the blame, who was the author of the guilt: arguing, that there could be no crime, where there was no intention: for, it is the soul that sins, the body cannot. "I leave it to my friends," said she, "to consider what is due to him; for my own part, though I can justly acquit myself from the guilt, I will not exempt myself from the punishment; nor shall any woman hereafter survive her

"honour, and plead Lucretia for a precedent."—Upon this she drew a knife which she had concealed below her gown, and plunged it into her breast. The husband and father crying out, as she dropt expiring at their feet.

CHAP. LIX.

The Tarquins banished.

BRUTUS, whilst the rest were absorbed in grief, draws the knife out of Lucretia's wound, and holding it out all bloody before him; "Yes," said he, "I swear by this blood, once so pure, that nothing but royal villainy could have polluted; and I call the gods to witness this my oath, that I will pursue Lucius Tarquin, the proud, his wicked wife, and all their race, with fire and sword, and every other act of violence in my power; nor will I ever suffer any of that, or any other family whatsoever, to be king in Rome." This said, he presented the knife to Collatinus, then to Lucretius and Valerius, who were not a little astonished at the surprising revolution in the intellects of Brutus. However; at his desire, they all took the oath, and their grief being now converted into rage, they all followed Brutus as their leader, from that moment, incessantly employing his interest to overturn the regal power.

The body of Lucretia was brought from Collatia and laid in the Forum. As it is usual, in such cases, great multitudes assembled, drawn together by their wonder at so extraordinary a spectacle, or their indignation at the author. Every one, from his own experience, had some crime or act of violence, to lay to the charge of the Tarquins. They were moved by the father's tears; but Brutus insisted that they should dry up their tears, and drop their unavailing complaints, and show themselves men and Romans, in taking up arms against those who dared to act a villainous part against them.

The most resolute of the youth appear in arms, volunteers in the service, and the rest soon follow their example. Then having left a sufficient guard at the gates of Collatia, and placing sentries, that the Tarquins might get no notice of this insurrection, the rest, headed by

Brutus, marched in arms to Rome. After they had entered the city, the appearance of a body in arms, spread terror and confusion, wherever it went; but when the principal men of the state were observed to be at the head of it, they readily concluded, whatever it might be, it had been no rash nor unadvised undertaking. Nor did this barbarous action occasion less commotion at Rome, than it had done at Collatia. From all quarters they ran into the Forum; and the moment they were convened, they were summoned by the public crier, to attend the tribune of the celeres, with which office, Brutus happened to be invested at that time. Then he harangued the people, but with a force and energy very different from that degree of wisdom and capacity, of which the character he assumed had been expressive, to that day. Then he inveighed against the violence and brutal passion of Sextus Tarquinius, the rape of Lucretia, so infamous, that he blushed to mention it;—her unfortunate end.—The loss to Tricipitinus of his daughter, the cause of whose death, was more afflicting and distressing than her death itself.—To these, he added the king's haughtiness;—the miseries and servile labours of the people, oppressed with ditching and draining common sewers; and that the Romans, conquerors of all the nations around them, of soldiers were now become common mechanics and hewers of stone. He mentioned the inhuman murder of their king Servius Tullius, and his accursed daughter riding in triumph over the body of her expiring father; he invoked the gods, the avengers of parents.

By a lively representation of these horrid scenes, and others, I fancy, still more glaring, dictated by the calamity of the times, which a modern historian cannot easily collect, or narrate, he had the address to engage the people, already enraged at the Tarquins, to abolish the regal authority, and by their suffrages to confirm a decree of the senate, condemning Tarquin, his wife, and all his posterity, to perpetual banishment. Having levied, and armed a body of youth, who voluntarily listed themselves, he put himself at their head, and marched to the camp of Ardea, to persuade the army to join in the rebellion against the king. He left the government of

the city to Lucretius, who had before been appointed to the office of præfect, by the king.

During this uproar, Tullia made the best of her way out of the city; both sexes, wherever she went, pursuing her with curses, and calling on the furies of her parents to overtake her.

CHAP. LX.

Brutus and Collatinus created Consuls.

THE news of these transactions having reached the camp, the king alarmed with this sudden revolution, goes to Rome to quell the commotions. Brutus being advised of his motions, turned out of the way, that he might not meet him. Brutus reached Ardea, much about the time that Tarquin had got to Rome. Tarquin found the gates shut, and an act of banishment passed against him: But Brutus was joyfully received in the camp, as the deliverer of Rome, and the young Tarquin expelled. Two of them followed their father, who retired to Cære,* a city of Etruria. Sextus Tarquinius, having gone to Gabii, where he considered himself as king, fell by the hands of those who owed him a spite for the old feuds, which, by his murders and rapines, he had raised against himself.

Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, reigned twenty-five years; and the regal government prevailed at Rome, from the building of the city, to this period of its deliverance two hundred and forty-four years. Immediately after the expulsion of the Tarquins, two consuls, Lucius Junius Brutus, and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, were elected, at the *Comitia*, by centuries, according to the regulations of Servius Tullius.

* A. U. C. 244.

TITUS LIVIUS'
ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSULAR GOVERNMENT, AND OF THE TRIBUNITIAN POWER; THEIR CONTESTS AT ROME, AND WARS ABROAD, TILL THE YEAR OF ROME, 286.

CHAP. I.

Brutus binds the people by oath, never to suffer a King at Rome.

IN the subsequent part of this work, I am to write the history of the Romans, considered as a free people, and to give an account of their annual magistrates, and their government, under the jurisdiction of the laws, superior to that of men. The insolent behaviour of the late king gave them now a greater relish for the sweets of liberty: for with so much moderation had their former princes ruled, that they may be justly stiled, the founders of those parts of the city, which each of them successively had added, for the accommodation of the people, whose numbers were increased by their care.

But, it is an absolute certainty, that had this very Brutus, who distinguished himself so gloriously in the expulsion of the Tarquins, through an unseasonable zeal for liberty, wrested the sovereign power from any of their former princes, he would have done an irreparable

injury to the public interest. For, what would have been the consequence, had that commonalty, consisting of herdsmen and strangers, out-laws from their countries, who under the protection of an inviolable asylum, found liberty, or at least, impunity, been set free from the dread of majesty, and begun to be agitated by the storms of tribunitian fury? What would have been the consequence, had they then begun to engage in quarrels with the nobles, in a strange city, before the pledges of wives and children, and an attachment to the soil, which comes not in an instant, had associated their hearts? Distractions of this nature in a state, not brought to maturity, would certainly have ruined it: whereas a peaceable and gentle government, fostered and cherished it, and by a proper nourishment, brought it to such strength and perfection, as already to produce the wholesome fruits of liberty.

But it is to be observed, that the source of liberty is found rather in the duration of the consular government* which was only for a year, than in the diminution of the power, which had been invested in the crown. The first consuls had all the privileges and ensigns of authority, which belonged to the kings; only it was provided, that both consuls should not be attended with the fasces at the same time, so as they might not appear to be armed with double terror.

Brutus, who was not more active in recovering liberty, than he was steady in maintaining it, was the first, with permission of his colleague, who was attended by the fasces. Of all the people, who at first were mighty fond of their new acquired liberty, he exacted an oath, that they never would suffer another to sway the sceptre in Rome, that they might not, upon any after occasion, either affected with the prayers, or corrupted by the largesses of Tarquin, be prevailed on to recede. Then to add to the influence of the senate, by increasing the

* According to Pomponius, *ex consulere*, to watch for the public good; but according to Varro and Cicero, *ex consulere* to ask counsel; because, according to the original institution of consuls, they were to do nothing without the concurrence of the senate and people. Hence Tully calls the office, *regium imperium*, *regia potestas*.

number of that order, which had suffered greatly from the king's butcheries, he drafted the principal of the Equestrian order, to make the number of the fathers three hundred. Hence, it is said, arose the distinction of fathers and conscript fathers; when they were called to the senate, they who were added to the list to make up the new senate, being called *conscript*. It is impossible to conceive how much this measure contributed to the unanimity, and mutual friendship of senate and people.

CHAP. II.

Constrains Tarquinius Collatinus, on suspicion of an attachment to the Tarquins, to resign the consulship, and leave Rome.

IMMEDIATELY after these regulations they turned their attention to matters of religion, and as some part of public worship had belonged to the regal function, that the want of kings might not be felt in this respect, they created a magistrate for the purpose, and gave him the title of *king of sacred things*. This office they made subordinate to the pontificate, that the specious title might not way obstruct their liberty, which had now become their principal concern: and I am not certain, but their zeal in securing it, even in matters of very little moment, carried them too far. For the very name of the other consul, to whose conduct they could have no objection besides, became odious to the state. They reflected, "That habit had made it constitutional in the Tarquins, to affect sovereign power. That this had originated in Priscus, whom Servius Tullius had indeed succeeded, but what then? During his whole reign, was not Tarquin the proud claiming an exclusive right, though he saw another in possession, and at last, by proceedings the most villainous and violent, did he not seize on the supreme power, as the hereditary domain of his family? Tarquin the proud is banished, it is true; but is not the supreme authority vested in Tarquin of Collatia? The Tarquins cannot exist in a private station—it is morally impossible;—there is a harshness in the very name,—it will never chime with liberty."

Reflections of this kind being at first artfully whispered, and by degrees published all over the city, to sound the inclinations of the people, Brutus summoned them to a council, whilst they were anxious under these impressions of jealousy ; when first of all, he repeats to them the oath which they had taken, " That they would suffer no kings at Rome, nor any thing else that would endanger their liberty. That this was a maxim of which they were never to lose sight, nor were they to overlook whatever in the least regarded it. That he addressed them in these terms much against his inclination, out of respect to a single gentleman, nor would he touch on the subject, did not the love of his country constrain him. That it was impossible to convince the Roman people, that they were yet in full possession of their liberty : for as yet, not only some of the royal family, but even some who bore the name of Tarquin still resided in the city, and were even invested with the supreme power. It is this which obstructs —it is this which stands in the way of their liberty."

Then turning to Collatinus, " This fear, O. L. Tarquin, do you voluntarily remove. We have not yet forgot, nay, we openly acknowledge, that you expelled the kings. Complete what you have so generously begun. Take hence the regal name. Your fellow-citizens, I promise you, will not only give you^u up all you can call your own, but if you want any thing besides, will generously supply you. Leave us in friendship. Free this city from a fear that perhaps is groundless. But the people are fully persuaded, that tyranny will never be totally extirpated, whilst any of the Tarquin family remains in the city."

The consul was at first so confounded at this sudden and unexpected motion, that he could not open his mouth. When he was beginning to speak in his own defence, he was surrounded by those of the first distinction in the city, and with the most pressing intreaties importuned to depart. Their influence, however, would have gone no great length, had not Spurius Lucretius, a man highly respected for his merit, and venerable for his years, and who also was his father-in-law, used various methods of persuasion with him, sometimes intreat-

ing, and sometimes advising him to suffer himself to be prevailed upon, by the united wishes of his country. He then began to consider, that after he should be returned to the condition of a private citizen, he might be obliged to leave the city, his estate might be confiscated, and besides, he might receive some other mark of disgrace; wherefore, he resigned the consulship, and having conveyed all his effects to Lavinium, he retired from Rome.

Brutus, by a decree of the senate, moved to the people, that all the family of the Tarquins should be banished: and in an assembly by centuries, he got Publius Valerius, who had assisted him in expelling the Tarquins, to be chosen his colleague.

CHAP. III.

Deputies from the Tarquins arrive at Rome.

ALTHOUGH nobody doubted that the Tarquins would have recourse to arms, yet that happened not so soon as was generally expected: The Romans were on the point, however, of losing their liberty by deceitful and treasonable practices, of which they had never entertained a suspicion.

Among the Roman youth, there were some of illustrious families, who, during the late reign had pursued their pleasures without restraint; and being much about the same age, and much in company with the young Tarquins, were accustomed to take all the liberties common to princes. Wishing still to live in the same licentious stile, although now every citizen was upon the same footing, they complained to one another, that whatever liberty other men enjoyed, they saw nothing for themselves but slavery. "A king, *continued they*, is a man; —from whom you may obtain justice; and in case of need, you may have indulgence too. Here there is a plea for interest and favour. A king can both show his resentment and his clemency, and distinguish a friend from a foe. But the laws, always deaf and inexorable, are better calculated for the poor than the rich: only once transgress them, and you will find, that neither indulgence nor pardon is competent.

“ Considering the frailty of human nature, to depend on
 “ innocence alone, will be found but a precarious si-
 “ tuation.”

While their minds were thus naturally chagrined, deputies from the Tarquins arrived unexpectedly at Rome, who, without mentioning a syllable of their return, only required that their effects should be given up. After they had been admitted to an audience in the senate, it was debated for several days, whether their demands should be granted, as a refusal might be a pretence to the Tarquins for beginning hostilities, and a compliance afford them the means for carrying on a war.

In the mean time, however, they were otherwise employed; for, while they openly demanded their effects, they were plotting in private for recovering the kingdom; and under pretence of courting the young patricians for their interest to support their claim in the senate, they were sounding their inclinations. To those, whom they saw disposed to listen to their proposals, they delivered letters from the Tarquins; and concerted measures for taking the royal family into the city, in the night-time.

CHAP. IV.

The plot discovered by means of a slave, and the conspirators clapt in irons.

THE conspiracy was first communicated to the Aquilii and Vitellii, of whom there were several brothers. Brutus had married a sister of the Vitellii, and by her had two sons, called Titus and Tiberius, whom their uncles engaged to be their associates in their design. There were other young Patricians concerned in the plot; but their names, in so long an interval, have been totally lost. When it was carried by a majority of the senate, that the effects belonging to the royal family should be restored, the ambassadors made it a pretence for protracting their stay at Rome, as the consuls had allowed them time to provide carriages for their transportation. This time they employed in conferences with the conspirators, upon whom they prevailed by their ur-

gent solicitations to write to the Tarquins. For how else, said they, is it possible to convince them, that what we have to advance about a business of the highest consequence, is not altogether a mere fiction?

These letters, which were given as a pledge of their fidelity, discovered the whole plot. For the day before the ambassadors were to take their departure, they happened to sup with the Vitellii, where the conspirators, as is usual in such cases, conversed long together in private about their new concerted plot. One of their slaves, who before had found out what they were about, overheard their conversation: but he waited for that opportunity, when the letters should be delivered, which when seized, would make a full discovery of the whole affair. The moment he observed that the letters were delivered, he advised the consuls, who went directly to seize the ambassadors and conspirators together. The whole affair was crushed without any noise. They took care in the first place, to secure the letters, lest they should be put out of the way. The traitors were immediately clapt in irons; but with respect to the ambassadors, they were for some time at a loss. Their crime, indeed, merited the treatment due to enemies, but a regard to the law of nations prevailed.

CHAP. V.

The conspirators condemned and executed; and the effects of the Tarquins given up to be plundered by the people.

THE restitution of the tyrant's effects, which the senate had formerly voted, came once more upon the carpet. The fathers, exasperated as they were, would neither suffer them to be restored, nor confiscated. They were, therefore, given up to be rifled by the people, who, after they had shared in the plunder, might, upon no future occasion, have any hopes of a reconciliation with the Tarquins.

A field, between the city and the Tiber, their property, was consecrated to Mars; and ever since hath been called, the *Campus Martius*. It happened, that it was under corn ripe for cutting down; but as they deem-

ed it unlawful to use it, after it was reaped, the people flocked in numbers to carry it away with the straw in baskets, and then threw it into the Tiber; the waters of which being low, as it is usual in the heat of summer, the heaps of corn sticking in the shallows, were covered with mud: by these, and other materials carried thither by the stream, an island rose by degrees, which by the addition of banks as I imagine, and the assistance of art, was so raised and consolidated, that temples and porticoes were built upon it.

After the tyrant's effects were plundered, the traitors were condemned and executed. What rendered their punishment particularly remarkable was, that Brutus's office, as consul, laid him under the necessity of punishing his own children: and the man who ought to have been removed from beholding such a melancholy spectacle, fortune obliged to stand by and see the punishment inflicted. Young men of the first quality stood tied to a stake; but from all the criminals, as from persons unknown, the consul's sons drew the eyes of the spectators, pitying them not more on account of the severity of their punishment, than the horrid crime for which they suffered; in the very year of their deliverance from slavery, that they should have conspired to betray into the hands of Tarquin, who had been a haughty tyrant at Rome, and now an hostile exile, their country after it was freed from his despotic sway, their father too, its deliverer, the consulate which originated in the family of the Junii; the fathers, the people, and whatever belonged to the gods, or the citizens of Rome. The consuls seated themselves in the tribunal; and the lictors being dispatched to inflict the punishment, stript them naked, whipt them with rods, and struck off their heads. All the time, the eyes of the spectators were fixed upon Brutus, to observe his deportment as a father and a patriot:—in love for his country, he stood distinguished during all the tragical scene.

After the execution, to set an example of rewarding, as well as punishing, the slave who made the discovery, got a sum of money out of the treasury, his liberty, and the freedom of the city. He was the first, according to tradition, that was made free by the *Rod Vindicta*,

which some think, was so called from the circumstance of his name, which was Vindicius. Hence it has been a rule, that freedom obtained in this manner, has entitled the receiver to all the privileges of a Roman citizen.

CHAP. VI.

The Tarquins muster an army; are defeated; but Brutus is killed.

TARQUIN having been informed of these things, grief, rage, and hatred, all at once seized him, upon the disappointment of his only hopes: and since now he had no hopes in succeeding by stratagem, and that there was no alternative but open war, he made the circuit of Etruria, humbly beseeching, particularly the Veientes and Tarquinienses, "That they would not suffer to perish before their eyes, himself, and the princes his sons, of the same blood with themselves, who though now an abject exile, was but lately possessed of a considerable kingdom. That others had been sent for from foreign parts, and invested kings of Rome, but that he, their lawful sovereign, whilst enlarging the empire by his arms abroad, was dethroned by a conspiracy of his nearest relations; that they, since no single one among them was judged equal to the honour of ruling alone, had split the regal office into parts, and shared them among them, that they had given up all his effects to be plundered by the people, that all among them might be somehow concerned in the guilt. What he ardently wished for now, was to recover his kingdom and his country, to take vengeance on his ungrateful subjects; that they were peculiarly interested in supporting his pretensions, because in his quarrel, they would revenge the injuries done them before, when their armies had been so often slaughtered, and their lands wrested from them."

These arguments were specious, and weighed with the Veientes, who felt themselves heroes in an instant, boasting with prodigious bluster, that now, with a Roman general at their head, they would wipe off every former

disgrace, and recover all they had lost in war. The name and relation to the Tarquinienses, were irresistible motives. Besides, they piqued themselves upon the honour of giving a king to Rome. Thus the armies of these two states put themselves under the command of Tarquin, to reinstate him on the throne, and take vengeance on the Romans.

When they entered the Roman territories, the consuls went out to meet them. Valerius led on the foot in square battalia, and Brutus marched before with the horse to reconnoitre the enemy. The Tarquins marched in the same order: Aruns, Tarquin's son, advancing with the horse, and Tarquin himself following with the legions. Aruns, by the lictors, knew it was one of the consuls who was advancing against him, when at a distance: but upon a nearer approach, he discovered by his face, that it was certainly Brutus. Then boiling with indignation, "There," says he, "is the man, who hath banished and expelled us our country; see him, how he rides in state, proud in the ensigns of our dignity. Ye gods, avengers of injured kings, assist me now."—With this, he put spurs to his horse, and drove against the consul with all his force. Brutus saw his aim; and, as in those days it was reckoned a piece of gallantry in the generals to open the battle, by engaging in single combat, at the head of their armies, he met him with equal ardour. They rushed against each other with inveterate fury, insomuch, that neither caring how much his own person was exposed, could he only wound his adversary, they both tumbled from their horses at the same instant lifeless, to the ground, pinned together by their lances, which being pushed in opposite directions, had transfixed them through their shields.

At the same time, the battle with the horse became general, nor was it long before the foot came up; often was the victory lost and won, and in the end very doubtful. The right of both armies carried all before them, while the left of both was defeated. The Veientes, accustomed to be beat by the Romans, were routed and put to flight. The Tarquinienses, a new enemy, not only stood their ground, but where they fought, obliged the Romans to give way.

CHAP. VII

The Ladies mourn for Brutus a whole year.

AFTER this desperate engagement, Tarquin and his Etrurians were seized with such a panic, that giving over his design as impracticable, the two armies of the Veientes and Tarquinienses, made the best of their way, in the night-time, to their respective homes.

Of this battle also strange stories are reported; that a loud voice, which they imagined to be Sylvanus's, was heard from the forest of Ardia, in the dead of night, pronouncing these words, "The Etrurians have lost one man in the battle more than the Romans: The Romans are masters of the field." One thing, however, is certain, that the Romans left the field as conquerors, and the Etrurians with all the marks of a defeat. For, after the light appeared, and not a man of the enemy to be seen, Publius Valerius, the consul, gathered up the spoils, and returned in triumph to Rome. He buried his colleague, with all the pomp, at that time, possible. But a much greater compliment was paid to his memory, in the public mourning of the city, particularly remarkable from this consideration, that the ladies mourned for him a complete year, as for a parent, to shew their respect for the bold avenger of their sex's honour.

Though the surviving consul had been very popular, yet so fickle are the minds of the multitude, that he not only fell under their jealousy and resentment, but was even charged with the most odious crimes. Reports were spread, that he aspired at sovereignty, because he had not chosen a colleague in the room of Brutus, and was building a house on the upper Velia, where, from its height and situation, it would be an impregnable fortress.

As these things were become common topics of conversation, and gaining credit, they gave the consul no little pain; wherefore having called a council of the people, he came down to the assembly with his fasces lowered. Nothing could have pleased the people more, than to see the ensigns of authority lowered to them; as it

was a plain acknowledgment, that the majesty and power of the people, was paramount to that of the consul. When they were called to silence, the consul "highly extolled the good fortune of his colleague who "after the delivery of his country had fallen in the "greatest honour, fighting for its liberty, when his glory "was at its height, and before it was sullied by the foul "touches of envy: whilst himself had survived the glory "he had acquired, to become the but of envy and criminal impeachments, and from being esteemed the "deliverer of his country, had his character now levelled with that of the Vitellii and Aquilei. Shall there "never be a time," says he, "that virtue will be so fully "approved by you, as to be proof against jealousy? Is "it possible, that I, who have shown myself an implacable enemy to kings, should have reason to fear, that "ever a charge of aspiring to regal power, would be "laid against myself? Were I to live in the capital, "nay, in the citadel itself, could I ever imagine, that I "should become formidable to my fellow citizens? Does "my character among you depend on circumstances so "trifling? Is your confidence in me so slightly founded, "that you should rather be concerned about the situation of my house, than the conduct of my life? But, "gentlemen, the house of Publius Valerius shall never "obstruct your liberty. No longer be afraid of Velia. "I will not only bring down my house into the plain, "but even build it at the foot of the hill, that you may "dwell above me, a suspected citizen. Permit those to "build upon Velia, whom you think more worthy to be "entrusted with your liberty, than Publius Valerius."

All the materials were accordingly brought down to the valley below Velia, and his house was built at the foot of the hill, where the temple of Victory now stands.

CHAP. VIII.

P. Valerius proposes a law, for allowing appeals to the people. The capitol dedicated.

AFTER this, the consul made laws, which not only cleared him of all suspicion of aiming at sovereign power, but, on the contrary, made him even popular. From this consideration he got the name of Publicola. The laws, which above all others, raised him in the esteem of the public, were these, which made an appeal to the people competent, from the judgment of the magistrates, and the person and effects of him, who should form any plot for usurping the sovereign power, execrable. These laws he passed while the only consul, that he might have the sole merit of them; and immediately after, he assembled the comitia for electing a colleague. Spurius Lucretius was chosen consul, who, being now very old, and quite unfit for the duties of his office, died in a few days after his election.

M. Horatius Pulvillus succeeded Lucretius. In some old histories, I do not find Lucretius mentioned as consul at all, but Horatius immediately after Brutus. The reason, I imagine, may be owing to this, that nothing remarkable happened, during the short time he enjoyed his office.

The temple of Jupiter, was not yet dedicated in the capitol; wherefore Valerius and Horatius the consuls, cast lots, which of them should have the honour of performing that ceremony. The lot fell to Horatius, and Publicola marched against the Veientes. Valerius's friends showed more uneasiness than became them, that the honour of dedicating so famous a temple should have fallen to Horatius. Nothing was left unattempted to throw obstacles in the way, and after every other scheme had proved abortive, they endeavoured to surprise him with a melancholy piece of news, just as he was holding the post in the temple, and addressing his prayer to the god, telling him, "That his son was dead, and that he could not dedicate the temple, when his family were in mourning." Whether he gave no

credit to this intelligence, or had resolution enough not to mind it, is not said, nor is it easy to conjecture. He only stopped while he ordered the body to be buried; and still holding the post, went on with his prayer, and finished the dedication. These were the most remarkable transactions at Rome, in peace, and in war, the first year after the expulsion of the kings. After which, Publius Valerius a second time, and Titus Lucretius, were made consuls.

CHAP. IX.

Porsenna prevailed on to espouse the quarrel of the Tarquins.

AFTER this, the Tarquins made their application to Lars Porsenna, king of Clusium.* There mingling their advice with intreaties, they now requested "That he would never suffer them, who were Etrurians by descent, and of the same blood and name, to live in perpetual exile and poverty." Again they advised him, "by no means to suffer this growing practice of banishing kings, to pass unrevenged. That liberty had in itself many inducements; and if kings were not as tenacious of the royal prerogative, as the people were of their liberty, there would be an end to all subordination. There would be no distinction among mankind, all would be on a level. Then adieu to monarchy, the most glorious institution among gods or men."

Porsenna thinking it would add greatly to the honour of Etruria, to establish a king at Rome, especially one of their own nation, marched against it with a hostile army. Such consternation never seized the senate before, so formidable was Clusium at that time, and so great was the reputation of Porsenna. Nor did their fear only extend to the enemy, they were apprehensive of their own citizens, lest the populace, overcome by their fear, should admit the tyrants into the city, and give their liberty in exchange for peace. Wherefore,

* Chiusi.

great was the complaisance which was shown to the people, by the senate at that time.

Their first care was to lay in provisions; for procuring which, agents were sent among the Volsci and to Cumæ.* And because the tax on salt was farmed at a very high rate, the monopoly was taken from private persons, and committed to clerks, who were to manage it for the public. The common people were relieved of all imposts and taxes whatever, which were laid upon the rich, who were able to bear them. The poor contributed enough to the state, when they brought up their children. Wherefore this tenderness of the fathers, so united the hearts of the people, that notwithstanding all the distresses they suffered, during the siege and famine, the name of king was equally detestable to high and low; nor could ever a man since that period, by indirect practices acquire a popularity equal to that which the senate obtained by their good government.

CHAP. X.

The gallantry of Cocles.

UPON the enemy's approach, every one, to save himself, fled from the country into the city: the city itself they secured with strong guards; and having walls upon one side, and the Tiber on the other, it seemed pretty well defended.

The bridge Sublicius, however, had almost opened a passage for the enemy into the city, when the gallantry of one man, Horatius Cocles, prevented it. To him did the fortune of Rome owe its defence that day. He happened to be placed sentry on the bridge, when he saw the Janiculum taken by surprise, and the enemy running down from thence with all the speed they could: observing a crowd of the Romans throwing down their arms, and leaving their ranks in confusion, he laid hold of them, one by one, pulling them back, and beseeching them in the name of gods and men: he declared, "That their flight would signify nothing, if they once deserted their post; if they left the bridge behind them, free for the

* A city of Campania.

“ enemy to pass, they would soon see more of them in
“ the Palatium and capitol, than in the Janiculum; and,
“ for that reason, he advised and charged them to de-
“ molish the bridge by the axe, by fire, or by any other
“ means of destruction in their power, that, in the mean
“ time, he would singly sustain the enemy’s attack, with
“ all the vigour he was master of.”

He then advanced to the entrance of the bridge, and being easily distinguished among those who had turned their backs and fled, facing about to engage with the enemy, hand to hand, by that surprising instance of gallantry, he confounded the Etrurians. Two, however, Spurius Lartius, and Titus Herminius, men eminent for their birth and noble actions, were ashamed to leave him with them: for a short time, he stood the first shock of danger, and the most disorderly part of the assault; and at last, upon a call from those who were employed in cutting down the bridge, he obliged his companions to retire, upon the little that remained. Then looking fiercely at the Etrurian officers, and with a threatening air, he challenged them one by one, and upbraided them all; telling them, “ That they were the slaves of haughty
“ tyrants, who, regardless of their own liberty, came to
“ wrest it from their neighbours.”

They hesitated for some time, and looked at one another, who should step out to begin the attack; shame at length put the army in motion, who setting up a shout threw their javelins from every quarter at a single enemy; all which, when he received on his shield, and stood firm and undaunted,* to keep possession of the bridge, they endeavoured to jostle him off by force; when the crash of the bridge, that was now broke down, and the shouts of the Romans, rejoicing that it was done, stunned them with the shock, and suspended their fury. Then Cocles, “ O father, Tiberinus,” says he, “ earnestly do
“ I pray, that thou wouldst receive these arms and this
“ soldier, and that thy streams would be merciful.” Wherefore he threw himself into the Tiber, armed as he was, and amidst ten thousand darts, that fell about him, he swam across the river to his own party, with-

* *Ingens gradus, stately step.*

out the least hurt; an exertion, that to posterity will appear rather matter of wonder, than of fact.

For such uncommon bravery, the public shewed every mark of respect. A statue was erected for him in the Comitium, and he got as much land as he could encircle with a plough in one day. Nor were private families less eager in expressing their gratitude than the public; for though the scarcity of provisions was great, yet every one, in proportion to what he had in his family, saved some part of his own allowance, as a gratuity to him.

CHAP. XI.

Porsenna turns the siege into a blockade.

PORSENNA being repulsed in his first attempt, resolved to turn the siege into a blockade; wherefore, having garrisoned the Janiculum, he encamped with the main army upon a plain, along the banks of the Tiber. Then having collected boats from all quarters, to enable him to guard the river so effectually, that no provisions could be conveyed to Rome, and at the same time, to serve him as transports, when he should chuse, upon occasion, to send foraging parties to one place after another, on the other side of the river: in a short time, he so harassed the country about the city, that the people were not only obliged to remove every thing else, but also to drive all their cattle into the city, nor durst any body venture them without the gates.

The Etrurians were permitted to take these liberties, not more through fear, than good policy; for the consul Valerius, watching his opportunity of falling on them unexpectedly when a numerous party, and straggling without order through the fields, he suffered small parties to pass with impunity, reserving the weight of his indignation for occasions more important.

Therefore to ensnare these ravagers, he ordered multitudes of his own people, to drive out the cattle next day, at the Equiline gate, which lay farthest from the enemy, presuming they would get intelligence; because it was hardly possible, that with the closeness of the

blockade, and severity of the famine, the slaves would all continue faithful, but some of them desert to the enemy.

It happened accordingly, that they were informed by a deserter, a much greater number had crossed the river now, from a persuasion, that they were to carry off all the cattle together. Upon this, Valerius orders Titus Herminius to post himself with a pretty considerable party, on the Gabinian way, about two miles from the city, so as they might not be observed; Spurius Lartius to post himself at the gate of Collina, with a select corps of light armed youth, till the enemy should pass, and then to throw himself between them and the river, to prevent their return.

Titus Lucretius, the other consul, sallied out at the port Nævia, with some companies of foot, whilst Valerius himself led some select cohorts out from mount Cælius; and these were the first that were observed by the enemy. The moment Herminius heard the noise, he burst from his concealment; and the Etrurians having now turned to charge Valerius, he galled them in the rear. The alarm was given on the right and left, from the ports Collina and Nævia. Thus these marauders were surrounded and cut to pieces, being too weak for resistance, and every avenue blocked up, that could facilitate their escape. This proved a lesson to the Etrurians, with regard to straggling parties.

CHAP. XII.

Mucius' adventure.

NOTWITHSTANDING of all this, the blockade was continued, whilst, at the same time, scarcity, as well as a prodigious dearth of provisions prevailed; by which means, Porsenna was not without hopes, that only by continuing the siege, the city would surrender in course.

Then Caius Mucius, a young Roman of noble birth, reflecting, with indignation, that the Roman people, when enslaved by the hand of tyranny, had never once been blocked up by any enemy; and that now, when they were a free and independent people, they were confined within their walls by the Etrurians, an enemy,

whose backs they had seen more than once ; and being determined, by some great and noble adventure, to be revenged for this disgrace, had at first resolved to penetrate into the enemy's camp, without communicating his design to any body ; but then, upon reflection, he was afraid, that should he go without the knowledge, or consent of the consuls, he might be seized by the Roman guards, and brought back as a deserter, especially at a time when the condition of the city would justify the accusation. He therefore goes to the senate, and tells them ; " I intend, fathers, to cross the Tiber, and, if possible, enter the enemy's camp, not with a view of making reprisals, or taking revenge for their depredations on us. No : My design, with the assistance of the gods, is more noble and glorious."

He obtained the approbation of the fathers. Wherefore, concealing a poniard below his clothes, he sets out upon his adventure. After he had got into the enemy's camp, he planted himself among the thickest of the crowd, near the king's tribunal.

It so happened, that the soldiers were then receiving their pay ; and the king's secretary sitting by him, and dressed almost in the same uniform, was much employed in dispatching business, and receiving petitions. Afraid to ask, which of the two was Porsenna, lest his ignorance in that particular should betray him ; as fortune blindly directed the thrust, he stabbed the secretary, instead of the king. Endeavouring to make his escape from thence, he opened a passage for himself, with his bloody dagger, through the trembling crowd ; when the cry was given, the king's guards gathered about him, and seizing him, brought him back to the royal presence ; there too, threatened with fortune on every hand, with a look that struck more terror, than it expressed fear, he addressed the king as follows ; " I am a citizen of Rome ; my name is Caius Mucius. As an enemy, I would have killed my enemy : nor am I less determined to receive, than I was to give the fatal blow. A Roman has not only spirit to act, but to suffer. Believe me, I am not the only person you have to fear ; there is a long list after me, candidates for the same honour. Wherefore, prepare for their attempts, if you please ;

“ for every hour you must run the risk of your life.
“ You have the enemy and his sword drawn, in the very
“ door of your tent. This war, we, the Roman youths,
“ have denounced against you : and if you escape, you
“ need be afraid of no army,—no battle again. It is
“ with you, and you alone, that we, one by one, have
“ to do.

When the king, at once boiling with passion, and terrified with his danger, in a menacing tone, ordered fires to be kindled about him, if he did not instantly discover the plots, which, by his threats he had darkly insinuated were prepared against him. “ Only see,” says he, “ how little bodily pain is regarded by those whose ambition is glory ;” and with that thrust his right hand into the fire, that was lighted for the sacrifice. When he continued to broil it, as if insensible of pain, the king struck, as it were, with astonishment, at so much intrepidity, jumped down from his throne, and ordered the youth to be removed from the altar, at the same time, addressing him thus : “ Yes ; get away from hence, your adventurous spirit has hurt yourself more than me. I would encourage you to persevere in your virtue ; had that resolution been exerted for my country. Now, I discharge you from the right war gives me over you, and I dismiss you without violence or injury.” Then Mucius, as if he would not be outdone in generosity, made the following return : “ Since you pay so great a respect for virtue, you will draw a confession from me by your generosity, that you could not have extorted by your threats : Know, that three hundred young noblemen, of the first distinction in Rome, have conspired to take away your life, in the manner I have attempted. It was my lot to make the effort : the rest will follow in course ; and each will assail you, in his own time, as fortune shall give him an opportunity.”

CHAP. XIII.

Porsenna concludes a peace with Rome. Adventure of Clælia.

MUCIUS being thus dismissed, who afterwards from the loss of his right hand, got the surname of Scævola; ambassadors from Porsenna followed him to Rome. So strongly had he been impressed with the first attempt against him, in which nothing had saved him but a mistake of the hand that directed it, and reflecting, that he must repeatedly run the same risk, while a single one of the conspirators existed, he was determined to offer conditions of peace to the Romans, as a motion from himself.

He endeavoured, though to no purpose, to have the restoration of the Tarquins made a clause in the articles of pacification, because he could not refuse them that favour; not but that he knew well the Romans would never accede to the proposal. An article, requiring the restitution of lands to the Veientes, was granted; and the Romans agreed to give hostages, upon condition the garrison should be withdrawn from the Janiculum. Peace being now settled upon these terms, Porsenna drew off his troops from the Janiculum, and evacuated the Roman territory. The fathers, in consideration of Mucius's spirited conduct, made him a present of lands on the other side of the Tiber, which ever after, went by the name of the Meadows of Mucius.

Bravery being thus distinguished, the ladies too were emulous, by their actions, to do honour to their country. Clælia, a young lady, one of the hostages, as the camp of the Etrurians, was at no great distance from the banks of the Tiber, having escaped from her guard, put herself at the head of a troop of her companions, and amidst a shower of the enemy's darts, swam to the other side of the river, brought them to Rome, and delivered them safe to their relations. At which, when it was told to the king, he was at first offended, and sent deputies to Rome, demanding Clælia to be delivered up again; for the rest, he did not much regard. Afterwards transport,

ed with admiration, he said, that this was an action superior to the achievements of Cocles and Mucius, and he would make a point of it, if the hostage was not returned, that he would consider himself no longer bound by the treaty; but if she were, he would send her back to her parents inviolate.

Both parties acted honourably; the Romans restored the hostage, according to treaty, and her virtue was not only safe with Porsenna, but her bravery greatly honoured. After many encomiums he offered to present her with some of the hostages; and she might choose whom she pleased. When they were all brought out, it is said, that she made choice of the young men under age, both because it was most consistent with her character, and approved by the hostages themselves, as their time of life required, that they should be first at liberty, as being less able to bear the rigours of slavery.

The peace being renewed, the Romans distinguished this extraordinary bravery in a lady, by an extraordinary honour, namely an Equestrian statue, which they erected for her, on the top of the Via Sacra, representing a lady on horseback.

CHAP. XIV.

Aruns, Porsenna's son, roughly handled at Aricia.

THE custom handed down to us from the ancients, and still retained among the other solemn usages at this day, when goods are exposed to vendue, of calling that a sale of goods of Porsenna, does not at all accord with the peaceable departure of that king from Rome. This usage must either have originated during the war, and been continued after the peace, or must have been founded on principles of greater humanity, than the title of selling an enemy's effects, seems to import. The most probable reason that has been assigned, seems to be, that Porsenna, when he marched from Janiculum, made a present of his camp, richly stocked with provisions conveyed to him from the adjacent fruitful plains of Etruria: that the city, at that time, being in great distress, occasioned by the length of the siege; these effects left in

the camp were sold, to prevent the people from breaking in to rifle them, and that they were called the goods of Porsenna, rather in compliment to his generosity, than that his property was exposed to vendue, which the Romans had never in their power.

The war with Rome being thus laid aside, that his army might not seem to have been led into these countries for nothing, Porsenna sent his son Aruns, with a detachment of it, to lay siege to Aricia. At first, the Aricians were struck with this unexpected invasion; but afterwards, having procured assistance from the people of Latium and Cumæ, they thought themselves sufficiently strong to venture a battle. Then the Etrurians charged with such prodigious fury, that the Aricians immediately gave way; but the Cuman cohorts opposed good generalship to force. They fell back for a little, and after the enemy had passed them in great disorder, turned and charged them in the rear.

Thus were the Etrurians, though they had almost a complete victory, surrounded and cut to pieces. A part of them, by far the least, having lost their general, and having no nearer safe retreat, came to Rome, without their arms, in circumstances and a condition not to be envied. There they met with a kind reception, and were hospitably entertained. When their wounds were cured, some of them went home, where they made honourable mention of the civilities they had met with at Rome. Many of them out of regard to their hosts, and attachment to the city, staid at Rome, where ground was assigned them to build upon, ever since called the Tuscan street.

CHAP. XV.

Porsenna sent an embassy to Rome.

AFTER this, P. Lucretius, and P. Valerius Publicola, were made consuls for the third time. That year, Porsenna sent an embassy to Rome, to treat of a restoration of the Tarquins, for the last time; by whom, though they could have returned an answer, the senate chose to send ambassadors to the king, and immediately the most

honourable of that order were commissioned for the purpose; telling him, " That the answer to his embassy might have been very short; that monarchy would never be re-established at Rome, but they rather chose to depute the most illustrious of their body to himself, than give that answer to his ambassadors at Rome. But that the affair of the Tarquins might be for ever buried in oblivion, and no anxiety arise on that score, to interrupt the perfect union and amicable footing they were on at present, by making a requisition, entirely inconsistent with the liberty of the Roman people, and putting them under the disagreeable necessity of refusing him a request, to whom they would wish to be all compliance, or subscribing voluntarily to their own destruction. That the Roman people were not now under the government of kings; their motto was *Liberty*, and they were resolved to open their gates to any of their enemies, sooner than to kings; nay, there was not a citizen of Rome, but was firmly determined, that the existence of their liberty, and that of the city should have the same period. Wherefore, they earnestly intreated, if he wished them well, he would permit them to be free."

Overcome by the modesty of their arguments, the king answered; " Since you are so irrevocably fixed and determined, I will give you no farther trouble, by repeating the same request to no purpose; nor will I amuse the Tarquins with the hopes of assistance I am not disposed to give: but whether they choose to live at peace, or have recourse to war, they must find some other retreat in their exile, that nothing may interrupt the peace subsisting between you and me." To these expressions of friendship he added very signal acts of generosity: For he restored the hostages that had been left with him, and the lands of the Veientes, ceded to him by the treaty of Janiculum. Tarquin despairing now of a possibility of being re-established, retired to Mamilius Octavius, his son-in-law, at Tusculum. Thus was the peace with Porsenna inviolably observed.

CHAP. XVI.

War with the Sabines. Revolt of Pometia. Death of Valerius.

AFTER this, M. Valerius and P. Posthumius, were chosen consuls. This year the Roman arms were successful against the Sabines, and the consuls received the honour of a triumph. Upon this, the Sabines renewed their preparations with more vigour than ever. The better to guard against them, and to prevent any surprise from Tusculum, whence they were apprehensive of a war, though no declaration had ensued, P. Valerius for the fourth time, and Lucretius for the second time, were made consuls.

The Sabines were split into two factions, one of which were for peace, and the other for war, by which means a part of their strength was transferred to Rome. For Atta Clausus, afterwards called Appius Claudius at Rome, having always declared for peace, being for that reason harshly treated, by those in the opposition, for whom he was by no means a match, fled from Regillum with a considerable number of vassals in his retinue, and settled in Rome. They were made citizens, and had lands assigned them on the other side of the Anio. They went by the name of the old Claudian tribe, and were afterwards increased with the addition of some small tribes, which had come from that country. Appius himself being brought into the senate, in a short time rose to the highest dignity of that order.

The consuls marched into the Sabine territory with an hostile army; and by ravaging their country, and afterwards by defeating them in battle, having reduced them so low, that they had no reason to dread an insurrection for a considerable time, returned to Rome in triumph.

The next year in the consulship of Agrippa Menenius, and P. Posthumius, died P. Valerius, allowed by all to have been the ablest man in Rome, both in the arts of peace and war, full of glory, but so destitute of the goods of fortune, that his funeral charges could not be defrayed from his own estate, and he was therefore bu-

ried at the public expence. The ladies mourned for him, as they had done for Brutus.

This year too, two Latin colonies, Pometia and Coræ, revolted to the Arunci, against whom war was commenced, and a numerous army of them being defeated, who had the boldness to make head against the consuls entering their country; the whole weight of the war fell upon Pometia. After the battle, the Arunci were spared no more than in the heat of action. For many more were slain than taken; and the prisoners were put to the sword without distinction; nor did even the hostages to the number of three hundred, escape the rage of war. This year also, there was a triumph at Rome.

CHAP. XVII.

Defeat of the Arunci, and capture of Pometia.

THE following consuls, Opiter Virginius, and Sp. Cassius, first endeavoured to take Pometia by storm, and afterwards by a close siege, by raising Vineæ,* and other works.

But the Arunci, instigated more by irreconcilable hatred, than any hopes of succeeding, or the advantage of a favourable opportunity, made a sally, and armed with lighted torches rather than swords, scattered fire and slaughter every where. Having burnt down the Vineæ, and killed and wounded many of the besiegers, one of the consuls, but which of them is not said, was thrown from his horse mortally wounded, and left almost dead in the field. Upon this disaster, the Romans returned home, and the consul was left among many who were wounded, with but very little hopes of his recovery.

Having employed a short time in curing their wounds, and recruiting their army, against Pometia they marched, with a more numerous army, and hearts more keenly set on revenge. The Vineæ and other works were repaired, and the siege so far advanced, that the soldiers

* This was a warlike engine made of timber and hurdles, under which, in an assault they came safely under the walls of a town, and so scaled them.

were just about to scale the walls, when the town surrendered. The Arunci, however, shared the same fate as if the city had been taken by assault; for the principal citizens were all beheaded, the rest sold for slaves, the city razed, and estates exposed to sale. The consuls obtained the honour of a triumph, rather in compliment to the severity of the revenge taken on the enemy, than the importance of the war they had finished.

CHAP. XVIII.

A Dictator created at Rome.

IN the following year, Posthumus Cominius and T. Lartius, succeeded to the consulate. During the celebration of the games at Rome, as some of the Sabine youth were hurrying along with them some women of the town in a frolic, the mob rose upon them, and the scuffle that ensued had well nigh ended in a bloody battle; and this circumstance, however inconsiderable in itself, seemed to put the whole nation in a ferment. Add to this, the dread of a war with the Latins: certain intelligence they received, that thirty different nations had entered into a confederacy against them, at the instigation of Octavius Mamilius.

Whilst the city was under the greatest concern about the event of such mighty preparations against them, the nomination of a dictator was proposed for the first time; but in what year it happened, and who were the consuls that were suspected to be in Tarquin's interest, is extremely uncertain. Nor does history authorise us to say, who was the first dictator. The most ancient historians condescend upon Titus Lartius, as being the first that was raised to that high office; and on Spurius Cassius, as his general of the horse. To men of consular dignity, by the law made for the election of a dictator, their choice was confined. For which reason, I should rather imagine, that Lartius, who had been consul, was appointed to an office superior to the consulate, rather than Manius Valerius, the son of Marcus, and grandson of Volesus, who as yet had never been invested with the consular dignity. For had they pointed particularly at

one of that family, they would certainly have paid the compliment to his father Valerius, who had been consul, and given proofs of his merit.

When the dictator was first created at Rome, and the people saw the axes carried before him, they were struck with prodigious awe, and became very submissive and obedient. For it was not now, as under the consular government, where, the power being equal, they might have influence on one of them; or, at any rate, appeal to the people. Here there was no alternative, but absolute submission and obedience. The Sabines too, were not without their fears, when they heard that a dictator was created at Rome, more especially being persuaded, that they were the object against whom he was pointed. Wherefore they sent ambassadors to sue for peace, requesting of the dictator and senate, that they would pardon the folly of the youth. They received for answer, that they could easily forgive the folly of the young men, but the petulance of the old, who were constantly hatching one war after another, could not so easily be overlooked. They continued however, their negotiations about a peace, which would at last have been concluded, had the Sabines thought proper to comply with a demand of reimbursing the Romans in the expence they had been at in their preparations for war. War was accordingly proclaimed, but a truce privately concluded kept all quiet for that year.

CHAP. XIX.

War with the Latins.

THE consuls were Servius Sulpitius, and Manius Tullius; but during their administration, nothing remarkable happened. They were succeeded by T. Æbutius, and C. Veturius. During their consulship, Fidenæ was besieged, Crustumeria taken; and from the Latins, Præneste revolted to the Romans. Upon this, the war with the Latins, which had been gathering for some years, immediately broke out. The dictator, A. Posthumius, and his general of the horse, marching at the head of a numerous army of horse and foot to the lake

Regillus, in the territory of Tusculum, came up with the enemy, and getting intelligence that the Tarquins were among the Latins, could no longer suppress their fury, but charged them immediately. For this reason, the battle was more bloody and desperate than usual; the generals not only giving orders, and seeing them properly executed, but exposing their persons in the hottest of the action; so that scarce an officer on either side, excepting the Roman dictator, escaped without a wound.

Whilst Posthumius was drawing up and haranguing his men, Tarquin the proud, although weak and unwieldy by years, rode up with great fury to attack him; but receiving a blow on the side, he was carried off safe by a party of his own people. In the other wing, Æbutius general of the horse, had singled out Octavius Mamilius, who on his part, observing his motions, did by no means avoid him, but put spurs to his horse to meet him. With lance in hand, they pushed against each other so impetuously, that Æbutius was run through the arm, and Mamilius wounded in the breast. Æbutius, incapable of holding his lance any longer, by means of the wound in his arm, left the field; whilst the Latin general was received into the second line, and returned soon after to the charge, without regard to his wound. Observing his troops in disorder, he made the cohort of the Roman exiles advance, commanded by Titus. Stimulated by revenge against enemies who had deprived them of their fortunes and country, they fought desperately; and, by that means, in some measure, restored the battle.

CHAP. XX.

Battle of Regillus. A. R. 258.

WHEN the Romans began to give ground on that side, Valerius, brother to Publicola, perceiving young Tarquin, who shewed himself at the head of these exiles with haughtiness and defiance, eager to acquire his family the honour of putting to death, as it had already of expelling the Tarquins, he spurred his horse full speed against him, in order to pierce him through with his

lance. Tarquin, to avoid the charge of so terrible an enemy, fell back into a battalion of his men: and whilst Valerius pursued him with inconsiderate ardour among the exiles, he was run through the body by one of them; and the wound of the rider having no impression on the horse's career, the Roman fell breathless to the ground, with his arms above him.

Posthumius the dictator, seeing the fall of this brave man, and the bold and rapid movement of the exiles, before whom his troops were giving way, gave the signal to his own cohort, a set of brave fellows, which he kept about his person as body-guards, to treat every Roman soldier, who should attempt to run away, as an enemy. The Romans finding their danger the same in front as in rear, returned to the charge, and restored the battle. The dictator's cohort, who had not been engaged before, now, with fresh vigour and courage, fell upon the wearied exiles and cut them to pieces. Here the principal officers on each side engaged a second time.

The Latin general, seeing the exiles just on the point of being surrounded by the dictator, flew to the front with some companies of the corps-de-reserve. Titus Herminius, the lieutenant-general, observing the movement of this corps, and Mamilius at their head, distinguished from the rest, by his dress and arms, he charged him with a force so much superior to the general of the horse, that at the last push he laid him dead with his lance. But whilst he was intent upon taking the spoils, he received a wound himself with a javelin from the enemy: and though he was carried back to the camp victorious, he expired under the surgeon's hands a moment after.

Then the dictator flew to the horse, beseeching them to alight and relieve the foot, wearied out with fighting. They instantly obeyed; and having dismounted, flew to the van, covering those in the front ranks with their round bucklers. This gave new spirits to the foot, seeing the young nobility serving on a level with themselves, and sharing the same dangers. The Latins, being thus repulsed and struck with terror, retreated. The cavalry remounted, the better to pursue the enemy; and the infantry also followed.

The dictator, attentive to every thing that could conciliate the assistance of gods and men, is said to have vowed a temple to Castor, and also to have promised rewards to the first and second man, who should enter the enemy's camp: And such was the ardour of the Romans, that they continued the charge with unremitted vigour, till they became masters of the enemy's camp. Such was the event of the battle of Regillus. The dictator and general of the horse, returned to the city in triumph.

CHAP. XXI.

News of Tarquin's death. A temple dedicated to Mercury.

FOR the three succeeding years, there was neither open war, nor settled peace. Q. Clælius and Titus Lartius, and then A. Sempronius and M. Minutius were consuls. During their presidency, a temple was dedicated to Saturn, and the Saturnalia * appointed to be kept as a festival.

I find in some authors that the battle of Regillus happened this year; and that A. Posthumius having resigned his office of consul, because his colleague's fidelity was suspected, was afterwards made dictator. Such gross errors in chronology are blended with the history of these times, some ranking the magistrates in one order, and some in another, that according to some writers, it is impossible to say with any degree of precision, who were consuls, or what year was distinguished by any remarkable event, by reason of the antiquity of the facts, and the historians who relate them.

This year was remarkable at Rome, for the news they received of the death of Tarquin. The intelligence raised the spirits of the senate and people to a very high pitch. The joy of the fathers was rather extravagant; for, from that moment, they began to behave very insolently to the commons, whom to that day, in every

* During the celebration of this festival in honour of Saturn, which lasted three, five, seven, and sometimes nine days, friendship was cultivated to a high degree, and there was a total vacation from all business.

instance, they had treated with all imaginable complaisance.

This same year also, the colony which Tarquin had sent to Signia was recruited by a new supply of planters. The tribes at Rome were increased to twenty-one, and the temple of Mercury was dedicated on the 15th of May.

CHAP. XXII.

Honourable behaviour of the Latins.

DURING the contest with the Latins, the Volsci could not be properly said to have kept the peace, or to have been at war with Rome. For they had mustered a force, with which they intended to have supported the Latins, but the alertness of the Roman dictator prevented them; for he had made forced marches that he might not be obliged to make head against both at the same time. Full of resentment for this conduct, the consuls led the Roman legions against the country of the Volsci, who suspecting no evil consequences from their intention, were the more alarmed at the unexpected motion. Wherefore, without any thought of arms, they deliver the children of the first nobility of Cora and Pometia to the number of 300, to remain as hostages for their good behaviour: upon which the legions were withdrawn without striking a stroke.

Not long after, when the Volsci had recovered of their fright, their natural disposition began to shew itself.—Once more having entered into an alliance with the Hernici, they made secret preparations for war. They likewise had embassies all over the country, soliciting the Latins to join in the confederacy. But the late overthrow at the lake Regillus stuck so deep in their stomachs, that they could listen to no overtures relating to war without indignation and abhorrence at those who made them, insomuch, that they did not even spare the ambassadors themselves, but seized and sent them to Rome. There they were delivered up to the consuls, to whom also were the warlike preparations of the Hernici and Volsci communicated.

The matter being laid before the senate, the fathers

were so charmed with the honourable behaviour of the Latins, that they sent home 6000 of their prisoners; referring to the new magistrates to conclude a treaty with them, a suit, which till that time had been almost constantly refused. The Latins, however, exulted in what they had done; and they who had advised to peace were highly respected. They sent to the capitol, a crown of gold, as an offering to Jupiter; and many of the prisoners who had been sent home to their relations, came in the retinue of the ambassadors who brought it. They waited on those whose slaves they had been, and very politely thanked them for their civilities and kindness shewn them in their distress. Never, at any former period, either in public or in private, had the Latins endeared themselves so much to the Republic of Rome.

CHAP. XXIII.

Disturbances at Rome on account of Usury. A. R. 259.

BUT the war with the Volsci was still impending; and the city, divided within itself, was inflamed with civil discord between the senate and people, which originated in the cruelties practised upon the debtors. They complained bitterly, that they who fought abroad for liberty and extension of empire, should be seized and oppressed at home by their fellow-citizens: war to them was more salutary than peace, and foreign enemies less inimical to the liberty of the populace than their countrymen.

This resentment, which naturally spread of itself, was considerably inflamed by the unhappy circumstances of a single person. An old man appeared in the forum, with the testimonies about him of all he had suffered; his clothes were greasy and ragged, and his person made still a more wretched figure, being feeble, pale, and emaciated: a long beard, and hair neglected and in disorder, completed the hideousness of his figure. Through all his uncouth outside, he was however known, and out of compassion whispered about for a centurion, who had acquired many military rewards by his valour.

In testimony of the gallantry of his behaviour on several occasions, he shewed the wounds on his breast.

When the people crowding about him, as if summoned to an assembly, asked him how he came to be in those circumstances; he told them, " That his land having
" been ravaged by the depredations of the enemy, during the war with the Sabines, in which he served, he
" had not only lost the crop for a year, but his farm
" had been burnt, his effects plundered, and his cattle
" carried off. That to add to his misfortune, the payment of a tax had been exacted from him at a very
" unseasonable time, which laid him under the necessity
" of borrowing; that interest rising upon interest, he
" had been obliged to sell his paternal estate, and afterwards all his moveable subjects. At length the disease
" had spread to his body, and overspread his whole
" person: That his creditors had carried him prisoner
" from his house, where they had not been so generous
" as treat him like a slave, but as a malefactor condemned to the torture." With these words he bared his back, and shewed the still recent marks of the rods and whips with which he had been tortured.

This history, and the proofs that supported it, raised a prodigious outcry. The tumult was no longer confined to the forum, but spread through all quarters of the city. All such as had been delivered up to their creditors, and now at liberty, appeared in public, imploring the protection of the people. The mob was joined by volunteers from every quarter. Multitudes repaired from all the streets to the forum, with furious shouts. Such of the senators as happened to be on the spot, would have been in danger of their lives, had not the consuls, Publius Servilius, and Ap. Claudius hastened to quell the riot. The whole multitude turned towards these magistrates, showing them their chains, and other marks of inhuman treatment; telling them that these were all the rewards of their past services in arms, every one upbraiding them with the different campaigns they had made. With a menacing rather than suppliant air, they insisted that the senate should be assembled; and determined, as it were, to direct and over-rule their deliberations, they crowded round the senate-house.

A small number of the senators, whom accident had brought thither, joined the consuls; fear prevented the

rest from making their appearance, either in the senate-house, or forum. The thinness of the house prevented them from entering upon business. This circumstance was only considered by the mob, as an evasion to gain time. They exclaimed, that the senators had absented themselves not from fear, nor any accidental cause, but from design to elude their demand. That the consuls themselves only trifled with them, and it was too evident, that they only insulted their miseries.

To so great a height did the sedition rise, that the respect due to consular authority, could hardly restrain the violence of the mutineers. At length, however, the fathers, persuaded that it would be full as dangerous to stay at home, as to appear, came to the senate-house: but though by this time the house was full, the members were far from being unanimous; nay, the consuls themselves were divided in their sentiments. Appius, a man of a violent temper, was of opinion, that this insurrection should be suppressed by the authority of the consuls; and that if one or two of them were seized, the rest would be quiet of course. Servilius, who was more moderate, gave it as his opinion, that whilst the people were in this ferment, it would not only be easier, but a much safer measure, to bend, than to break them. But amidst these debates and deliberations, something still more alarming occurred.

CHAP. XXIV.

War with the Volsci.

COURIERS came post from Latium, with the disagreeable advice that the Volsci had taken the field with a numerous army, and were in full march to lay siege to the city; which intelligence, so much had those intestine broils divided the city, produced very different effects in the senate, and among the people. The populace exulted with joy, crying out that the gods were coming to avenge the pride of the fathers. They exhorted each other, not to give in their names for the war; if they must go to perdition, let it be in company with all the orders of the state, and not by themselves.—That

the senators might take arms, and march against the enemy; let them who reaped the fruits of war, encounter the dangers of it.

The senate, in so critical a conjuncture, having every thing to fear from within, as well as without the walls, were in the utmost perplexity; wherefore, they entreated the consul Servilius, whose disposition was milder and more popular than his colleague's to exert himself for the delivery of the state, from the evil that threatened it.

Servilius having dismissed the senate, repaired to an assembly of the people, where he tells them, That the fathers had nothing more at heart, than the redress of their grievances: but in the moment they were deliberating on proper measures for their interest, who were but a part, though by far the greatest, a far more serious subject of fear had occurred to interrupt them, which regarded the whole community. Nor was it possible for them, while the enemy had almost reached their gates, to apply their minds to any other subject, but the war. And though some respite were given, it would not become the people to refuse to take up arms for their country, till they had been paid beforehand, and as little for the honour of the senate, to provide for their insolvent citizens, through motives arising from their present fears, than afterwards as the effects of inclination. To convince the assembly of the reality of these intentions, he published a proclamation, " Prohibiting all and sundry, " from detaining a Roman citizen in prison, or in chains, " so as to prevent his enlisting himself under the consuls; and from seizing or selling the effects of any soldier, or arresting his children, or grandchildren, while " he remained in camp." This edict being published, the debtors who were present, immediately gave in their names; and as now their persons could not be detained by their creditors came out from their concealments, and crowded into the forum to take the military oath. Of these a considerable party was completed, and none behaved with greater gallantry, or contributed more to put an end to the war with the Volsci. The consul led out his army against the enemy, and encamped not far from them.

CHAP. XXV.

Defeat of the Volsci.

THE next night the Volsci, confiding in the differences that subsisted among the Romans, made an attempt upon their camp, expecting to find some under cover of the night, who would either desert to them, or betray the rest. They were discovered by the guard, an alarm spread, and upon a signal given, they ran to arms. Thus were the Volsci disappointed in their design; and both parties, for the remainder of that night, continued quiet. Next morning early, the Volsci having filled up the ditches, made an attack upon the rampart. Already had they begun to break down the pallisadoes on all sides, but the consul, willing to try the mettle of his soldiers, delayed coming to action for some time, although the soldiers from every quarter, especially the debtors, cried out to him to give the signal. But now, convinced of their ardour, he at length gave the word of command, and the soldiers eager to attack, made a general sally from every gate of the camp.

The enemy unable to stand so vigorous a charge, were put to flight; the foot pursued, and put all to the sword they could overtake. The rest were driven in great consternation by the horse to their camp, which was immediately invested by the legions, soon after deserted by the Volsci in a panic, and taken and plundered by the soldiers.

The enemy fled to Suessa Pometia, whither the Roman legions pursued them, the day after. In a few days the city was taken, and given to be plundered by the soldiers, which was some relief in their present distress. The consul marched back his victorious army to Rome, with the greatest glory. When he was applied to by the deputies of the Ecetrans, who were a part of the Volsci, and after Pometia was taken, were afraid for themselves, the senate, by their decree, granted them peace, but their lands were taken from them.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Sabines and Arunci defeated.

IMMEDIATELY after this, a war with the Sabines menaced Rome, but it was rather a tumult than a war. The city was alarmed in the night, with an account, that the Sabine army was ravaging the country, and had advanced as far as the Anio, plundering and burning all the farm-houses in their way. A. Posthumius, who had been dictator in the war with the Latins, was immediately sent against them with the cavalry, and the consul Servilius followed him with a select body of infantry. Most of the stragglers were cut off by the horse, and the resistance the Sabine legions made against the foot, when they came up with them, was not vigorous. Exhausted with their march, and plundering the country in the night, and many of them overcharged with eating and drinking in the houses as they had come along, had not strength enough left to carry them away.

The war with the Sabines being begun and ended the same night, the next day, when the Romans thought they had now secured peace with all their neighbours, the ambassadors of the Arunci came to the senate, threatening them with an immediate declaration of war, if they did not withdraw their troops from the territory of the Volsci. At the same time that the couriers took their departure for Rome, the army of the Arunci began their march. The report that it was seen near Aricia, occasioned such hurry and confusion at Rome, that the senate could not be properly consulted, and whilst they were arming themselves, they could not give a deliberate answer to those who had laid them under that necessity. They immediately march for Aricia with a hostile army, nor was it far from thence, that they came up with the Arunci, whom they discussed in one battle.

CHAP. XXVII.

Disputes about the debts between the Senate and People.

AFTER the defeat of the Arunci, the Romans who had been victorious in so many battles, in so short a time, now fully expected, that the promises made them by the consul and senate, would have been put in execution. But Appius, from the native haughtiness of his temper, and with a view to make void the promise his colleague had made the people, adjudged the causes of the debtors, with all the rigour the law would admit. In consequence of which, they, who before had been prisoners, were delivered up to their creditors again, and others were also added to the list.

When diligence was to be executed against a soldier, he immediately applied to the other consul. To Servilius the multitude crowded for relief. They reminded him of his promises, enumerating their respective services, and exposing the wounds they had received. They pressed him to lay their case before the senate, that as their consul, he might protect his citizens, and as their general, his soldiers.

These arguments had sufficient weight with the consul, but circumstances obliged him to temporize: for he had not only his colleague to combat with, but the whole body of the Patricians were unanimous against him. In endeavouring to please both parties, he had the good-will of neither. The senators considered him as a soft easy consul, that flattered the multitude, and the people pronounced him a cheat, and it soon appeared that he was hated as much as Appius.

A dispute arose about the dedication of the temple of Mercury, an honour, which each of the consuls claimed as his right. The senate referred the cognizance of that affair to the people, and enacted, that whoever should be promoted to that honour, should preside in the court of victuallers, establish a board of trade, and act as high priest, within the verge of the temple.

The people gave that honourable commission to M. Lætorius, the first centurion of a legion; but it was abun-

dantly evident, they did not raise him to an office so much above his rank, with a view to his particular honour, as to offer an open insult to the consuls. This affront set Appius and the senate in a terrible rage; but the people, who had now acquired more spirit, acted very differently from what they had done at first. For despairing now of any redress from the consuls and the senate, when they saw any debtor dragged to the tribunal, thither they crowded from all quarters. Whenever the consul passed sentence, they raised such a noise and clamour that it could not be heard; nor if it had, durst any one attempt to put it in execution. Force now universally prevailed. Insomuch, that when a single debtor had been seized by a posse of officers in presence of the consul, danger and fear of servitude shifted sides, and from the debtors flew upon the creditors.

Add to these intestine calamities, the terror of a war with the Sabines; for which, when a levy was decreed, not a man would give in his name, whilst Appius was all fury, loudly complaining of the complacency of his colleague, who, by a popular silence, betrayed the interests of his country, and besides, that he had not done justice, in respect to the debts, had neglected to make the levies decreed by the senate. "Yet, that the commonwealth
" was by no means abandoned, nor the consular dignity
" without force, whilst he alone remained to support his
" own authority and the honour of the senate,"

When the mob, hardened in licentiousness by constant use, stood about him, he ordered a remarkable ringleader of the sedition to be seized, who, after he was in the custody of the lictors, appealed to the people. The consul would not have suffered this appeal to pass, being well aware what the people's judgment would be, had he not, though with difficulty, been overpersuaded, rather by the wise remonstrances and authority of the senate, than compelled by the seditious clamours of the people. The evil grew every day more serious. The multitude confined themselves no longer to mere outcries, but what was of a much more dangerous tendency, they retired in parties to hold secret committees. At length, the consuls quitted their office, both hated by the people: Appius was, however, much in the good graces of the senate, but Servilius neither of senate nor people.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Further contests, and the levies opposed.

THE new consuls, were A. Virginius and T. Veturius. The commons, in the mean time, uncertain how these new magistrates would act, began to hold nocturnal conventions, partly on the Esquiline, and partly on the Aventine hills, for the purpose of concerting such measures, as exigencies should require, to prevent their being surprised into hasty resolutions in the forum, or taking measures inconsiderately, before they were properly digested. The consuls considering how dangerous the consequences of these cabals might turn out, made a report of them to the senate.

But the affair could not be taken regularly under consideration, so much tumult and clamour arose from every part of the house, upon this representation, against the consuls, who, instead of doing the duties of their office, were for ridding themselves of the odious part of it, by transferring it to the senate. "Were there really magistrates in Rome," said they, "there would be only one public council: but the republic now was split into a thousand senate-houses and assemblies, some of which were held on the Esquiline, others on the Aventine hill. One man of spirit, such as Appius Claudius, but that is of more consideration than a consul, would send all these cabals a packing in an instant."

The consuls, nettled at this reprimand, asked the senate, in what manner they would have them to proceed, assuring them, at the same time, that they should not want resolution to act agreeable to their pleasure. It was therefore determined, that they should proceed to make the levies with all possible severity, as the people were become insolent, for want of employment. The senate being dissolved, the consuls ascended their tribunal, and cited the younger citizens to enlist by name; when nobody made answer, and the people crowding round, as if they had been summoned to an assembly, told them, "That the people would be no longer imposed on, and that they should not have a single sol-

“dier, unless they performed the promise that had been
 “made them;—that before they put arms in their hands,
 “it was highly proper they should restore them their li-
 “berty, that they might know whether they were to
 “fight for their country and fellow citizens, or for des-
 “potic tyrants.”

The consuls knew well the extent of their commission from the senate; but of all those bold declaimers, who had talked so high within the walls of the senate-house, not one appeared to share with them in the public odium. Besides, it appeared, that this contest with the people would be a serious affair. Therefore, before they should come to extremities, they judged it expedient to talk over the matter with the senate a second time, which they did accordingly. The young senators then crowded round the consuls chairs, ordering them to abdicate the consulship, and resign an authority they wanted spirit to support.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Consular authority slighted. Various plans proposed:

THE consuls having sufficiently tried both experiments, made this short reply: “Conscript fathers, remember, we tell you, that a terrible sedition is on the point of breaking out, and we insist that they who brand us with pusillanimity, may only assist us in making the levies. Since you advise violent measures; we shall act with all the spirit the keenest of you would desire.” With these words, they returned to their tribunal, and called upon one of the most factious, whom they had in their view, to come and be inrolled. As the man stood still, without returning an answer, and a crowd got about him, to protect him, in case of need, the consuls sent a lictor to seize him. The lictor being repulsed, such of the senators as were present with the consuls, exclaiming against the indignity, came down from the tribunal to support the lictor. But the mob, who had only prevented the officer from seizing the man, now turned upon the senators. The consuls interposed, and the tumult was appeased. Neither stones nor darts

were employed; the affair passed with more noise and angry words, than any real mischief.

The senate assembled tumultuously, and went upon the business still more so. Those who had been personally insulted demanding an inquiry, and the most violent members declaring themselves more by their noise and clamour, than by giving their opinions. At length, their passion subsided; and the consuls having remarked, to their reproach, that the same ungovernable spirit that prevailed in the forum, had now taken possession of the senate-house, they began their deliberations with more composure.

There were three different opinions prevailed in the senate. P. Virginus was not for a general act of grace; and gave his opinion, "That those only, who upon the promise of the consul Servilius, had carried arms against the Volsci, Arunci, and Sabines, were entitled to a discharge."

Titus Largius represented, "That this was not the time to weigh and balance services with precision;—that the whole body of the people were drowned in debt, and it was impossible to stop the evil, but by a general release. For to make a distinction among the debtors, would only inflame, not extinguish the flame of discord." Appius Claudius, who was naturally violent, and rendered still more so, in the present emergency, by the hatred of the people on the one side, and the excessive praise of the senators on the other, cried out, "That it was not misery, but licentiousness that was the source of these riots.—That the behaviour of the populace, was the effect of wantonness and not of fury. The source of all these disorders lay in their right to appeal, which divested the consuls of every power, but that of threatening, since a delinquent could appeal from their judgment, to that of their own peers and co-operators." "Come," continued he, "let us create a dictator, from whom their lies no appeal, and this flame, which spreads with such violence, will, in an instant, come to nothing. Let them dare to insult an officer, when they see the power of life and death in the hands of that person, whose authority they had the assurance to insult."

CHAP. XXX.

Manius Valerius chosen Dictator.

THE opinion of Appius, seemed to many, as it really was, extremely harsh and severe. On the other hand, the propositions by Virginus and Largius, would be dangerous precedents, especially that of Largius, which would give a fatal blow to all credit and commerce. It was admitted, that the opinion of Virginus, which by a judicious medium, corrected Largius's excess, was the most moderate and eligible. But the intrigues of parties, and the view of private interest, which ever did, and ever will obstruct public deliberations, turned the scale in favour of Appius's opinion, who was within a little of being declared dictator himself, which would entirely have exasperated and alienated the people at this dangerous conjuncture, when the Volsci, Æqui, and Sabines, were all in arms together.

But the consuls and the older senators took care, that an authority, in itself imperious and absolute, should be conferred upon one of a mild and moderate disposition. So the election fell upon Manius Valerius, the son of Volesus. The people saw well enough, that it was against them, a dictator was created; yet, having got the right of appeal, by a law preferred by his brother, they suspected nothing oppressive or tyrannical from that family.

An edict of the dictators, much of the same nature with that published by the consul Servilius, confirmed them afterwards in these hopes. Wherefore, in confidence of the dictator's name, and the sovereign power of his office, they gave in their names without opposition. Ten legions were raised; an army superior to any levied before. Each of the consuls commanded three, and the dictator four. They were obliged to take the field immediately; for the Æqui had entered the territory of Latium with a hostile army, and the Latins, by their deputies, insisted that the senate should relieve them, or permit them to arm in their own defence. It seemed more eligible to send an army for their protection, than

by putting arms in their hands, to allow them to defend themselves. Vetusius the consul was therefore sent to their assistance, which put an end to the inroads of the Æqui, and obliged them to retire from the Champaign country, as their dependence was not on the strength of their arms, but the advantage of the ground, they secured themselves, by keeping on the tops of the mountains.

The other consul marched against the Volsci, and scorning to spend time in laying waste their country; he challenged them to move their camp nearer his, and to come to action at once. Both armies stood drawn up before their lines, in a plain between their camps. The Volsci had rather the advantage in numbers, which encouraged them to advance without order, as if they had despised the enemy. The Roman consul did not advance, nor suffer the soldiers to return the enemy's shouts, but gave orders to stand still, with their spears fixed in the ground, and when the enemy advanced near enough, to attack them sword in hand.

The Volsci, already exhausted with running and shouting, imagining the Romans were petrified with fear, began the attack accordingly; but finding themselves vigorously received, and seeing the swords glittering in their eyes, they took to their heels in as great disorder, as if they had fallen into an ambuscade. But they had already been so much exhausted with advancing to the field, that they had not strength enough left to carry them out of it.

On the other hand, the Romans having had nothing to fatigue them in the beginning of the action, were fresh and vigorous; and quickly came up with the Volsci, already exhausted, took their camp by assault, drove out the enemy, and pursued them to Velitræ, which they entered pell mell with them. By the promiscuous slaughter of all ranks which ensued, there was greater effusion of blood in this place than the action itself. A few were pardoned, who laid down their arms and gave themselves up.

CHAP. XXXI.

Victory over the Sabines.

DURING these transactions among the Volsci, the dictator was at blows with the Sabines, on which side lay the weight of the war. He defeated them, took their camp, and gained a complete victory. He had broke the main body of their army by charging with his horse; and by drawing out the wings too far, their ranks were weakened in the centre. In this confusion the foot charged them warmly, and with a complete victory also forced their camp.

Since the action at lake Regillus, there was not a more memorable battle than this. The dictator entered the city in triumph; and besides other honours, a place of distinction, with a curule chair, was granted to him and his descendants, at the games of the circus.

The territory of Velitra was taken from the Volsci after their defeat, and a colony sent from Rome for its cultivation. Soon after this, there was an engagement with the Æqui, much indeed against the inclination of the consul, who easily saw the difficulty attending an attack, when the enemy was so advantageously posted; but the soldiers complained that the war was protracted, on purpose, that the time of the dictator's authority might expire before they should return to Rome, which would render his promises as vain and ineffectual as Servilius' had been; and so forced him rashly to march his army up the hill. However imprudent this step, the enemy's want of spirit crowned it with success: for before the Romans were come within reach of their darts, the Æqui, struck with astonishment at their resolution, abandoned their camp, which by its situation was almost impregnable, and ran down into the valleys over against them.—Here the Romans found much booty, and victory without loss of blood.

After all these gallant actions, and three different wars successfully ended, the senate and people began to be equally solicitous about the event of their domestic disputes. The usurers had not been idle all the while, but

had their measures so concerted, that by their interest and artful management, they not only frustrated the expectations, but the good intentions of the dictator also.

Valerius, immediately after the return of the consul Vetusius, previous to every other consideration, made a motion in favour of the victorious commons, and prepared a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors. When his motion was rejected ; “ I plainly perceive, (said he,) “ that I am by no means agreeable to you, because I “ am for peace in the bosom of the republic. By Her- “ cules, the period is not distant, when you will wish “ that the Roman people had patrons of the same prin- “ ciples. But, as to what regards me, expect not that “ I will deceive my fellow-citizens, or continue dictator “ in vain. A foreign war, and domestic feuds were the “ republic’s motives for honouring me with the dictator- “ ship. We have now peace abroad, and I am prevent- “ ed from establishing it at home. I had much rather “ behold the sedition as a private person, than with the “ title of dictator.”

Then leaving the senate abruptly, he resigned the dictatorship. The matter appeared to the commons in its genuine point of view, that he had laid down his office from a generous resentment of their injuries. Wherefore, as he had nobly exerted himself in their favour, they conducted him home with loud shouts and acclamations, as if he had fulfilled every obligation he had come under.

CHAP. XXXII.

A secession.

THE Fathers were now in the utmost terror, lest the army should be disbanded, and their private caballing and plotting be resumed ; for this reason, though the levies had been made by the dictator, since they had taken the oath to the consuls, they thought they were still bound to obey them ; and under pretence that the Æqui were again in arms, ordered them to be marched into the field : An immediate sedition was the consequence. The soldiers at first proposed, it is said, to put the con-

suls to death, by that means to evade their military oath; but being told that no religious engagement could be dissolved by a crime, by the advice of one Sicinius, without any orders from the consuls, they withdrew to the sacred mountain, on the other side of the Anio, three miles from Rome.

This account meets with more credit than that of Piso, who makes it the Aventine hill. Here they fortified their camp with a moat and rampart, continued quiet for several days, though subject to no leader, neither gave provocation nor received it; and took nothing but what their subsistence barely required.

The city was now in the utmost consternation; and both parties being mutually afraid of each other, could come to no resolution that was decisive. The commons, who had been left in the city by their party, dreaded the exasperated fathers, who, on the other hand, uncertain of their sentiments as to staying or going, were equally afraid of them. It was a common question, How long will the seceders remain quiet? What would be the consequence, were any foreign war to break out in the mean time? They were now sensible, that there were no other means of saving the state, but by re-uniting it; and that for this reason, the people must be reconciled and made their friends at any rate.

Wherefore they agreed to send Menenius Agrippa, an excellent speaker, and very acceptable to the commons, being descended of a Plebeian family, as deputy to the seceders. Being admitted into the camp, he is said to have repeated the following fable, in the rough and unpolished manner of the times, without any other argument. "Upon an occasion, (says he,) when members of
" the human body were not on the same friendly footing as at present, and each member had a council and
" language peculiar to itself, the other parts of the
" body were in no small passion, that they should all
" sweat, toil, and labour for the belly, whilst it enjoyed
" the pleasures provided for it in idleness and at ease.
" In consequence of all this, they conspired that the
" hands should no longer carry food to the mouth, that
" the mouth should not receive it, nor the teeth grind
" it. Whilst they were thus furiously intent upon re-

“ ducing the belly by famine, all the members separate-
“ ly, and the body in a lump, became lean and languid
“ to an extreme. Hence it appeared, that the belly was
“ not so idle as had been imagined, and that if it was
“ nourished by the other members, it contributed no less
“ to their support in its turn, in communicating by the
“ digestion of food, to the several parts of the body, that
“ blood, by which their life and strength subsisted, and
“ in circulating it in due quantities through all the veins.”
He compared this intestine sedition of the parts of the human body to the discord that then divided the senate and people; and the application, as it was very natural, had a wonderful influence upon their minds.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Tribunes of the People created. The Volsci routed, and Corioli taken.

IT was then they entered upon terms of reconciliation; and among other concessions, the people were allowed to have magistrates of their own, whose persons were to be sacred, and whose office was to protect them against the power of the consuls. Nor could any of the Patrician order be elected into that office. Thus were two tribunes of the people created in the persons of Caius Licinius, and L. Albinus, and they chose three colleagues for themselves. Sicinius, the ring-leader of the mutiny, is said to have been one of them, but about the other two, historians are not agreed. According to some authors, only two tribunes were created on the sacred mountain, and that the law, whereby their persons were made sacred, was enacted there.

During the secession, Sp. Cassius and Posthumus Cominius entered in office as consuls. In their consulship, a treaty was concluded with the Latin nations. One of them remained at Rome, on purpose to ratify it, whilst the other went to chastise the Volsci. The Volsci Antiates were routed and forced into Longula, which was taken by assault. Polusca, another city belonging to the enemy, shared the same fate. Then the Romans laid close siege to Corioli.

Among the troops that sat down before Corioli, there

was a young officer, a Patrician by birth, named Marcius, greatly esteemed for his valour and prudence, and afterwards surnamed Coriolanus. While the Romans were engaged in the siege of Corioli, and their attention wholly taken up with the operations of the besieged within the walls, and apprehending no danger from without, the Volscian legions marching from Antium, fell suddenly upon them, at the same time that the besieged made a vigorous sally from the town. Marcius happened to be then on guard, and putting himself at the head of a select corps, he not only repulsed those who had sallied from the town, but rushing furiously in at a gate they had opened, and having filled the part of the city that lay next to him with blood and slaughter, he hastily snatched up some fire, and threw it against the houses that overlooked the wall.

The cries of the townsmen, and the shrieks of the women and children, when they saw the flames breaking out, gave the Romans new spirits, and damped the enemy, who found the city was taken, they had come to relieve. Thus were the Volsci routed, and Corioli taken at the same time.

The glory acquired by Marcius in this war, so far eclipsed the reputation of the consul, that if the treaty made with the Latins, by Sp. Cassius alone, whilst his colleague was absent, and engraven on a pillar of brass, had not handed down to posterity, that Posthumius Cominius commanded in the expedition against the Volsci, his concern there would have been totally forgot.

This year, the public lost Menenius Agrippa, a man, who through the whole course of his life, had been dear to both senate and people, but still more so to the people after their secession, although he had the honour to be mediator and umpire in the dispute between the orders, although he was chosen delegate from the fathers to the people, and although he had influence to re-unite the people to the senate, he died so poor, that all his estate was not sufficient to defray the expence of his funeral. That charge was defrayed by the people, who assessed themselves for that purpose, each in the value of the sixth parth of an ass.*

* The one eighth part of a farthing.

CHAP. XXXIV.

A Famine.

TITUS Geganius and Publius Minutius, were elected consuls for the following year: under whom, though there was no enemy stirring abroad, and every difference settled at home, the state was afflicted by a calamity more grievous than either. During the secession, there was a total suspension of agriculture, which brought on a dearth of provisions, and that was followed by a famine, as severe as if the city had been besieged. It would undoubtedly have ended in the destruction of both slaves and people, had not the consuls provided for their relief, by dispatching agents through all the countries around to buy up corn, not only into Etruria, all along the shore to the right of Ostia, and through the country of the Volsci on the left, as far as Cumæ, but even to Sicily; such was the ill-will of their neighbours, that they were obliged to apply for relief to these remote countries.

When they had purchased some corn at Cumæ, Aristodemus the tyrant, detained the ships, by way of reprisal, for the effects of the Tarquins, who had made him their heir. They could make no purchases among the Volsci, and in the country of Pomptinus; the victuallers were in hazard of being insulted by the inhabitants. However, Tuscany furnished them with a small quantity by the Tiber, which relieved the common people for the present.

A dangerous war would have doubled the distress occasioned by the famine, had not a plague raging among the Volsci, cut short their intentions, when they were just on the point of beginning hostilities. This calamity, however, sunk them so low, that even when its violence had subsided, they had not got the better of their fright.

The Romans increased their colony at Velitræ, and sent a new one into the mountains of Norba, which might serve for a fort in Pomptinus.

In the consulship of Marcus Minucius and A. Sem-

pronius, corn was imported, in considerable quantities, from Sicily, and there was a debate in the senate about the price at which it should be retailed. Many were of opinion that they had now a fair opportunity of humbling the commons, and recovering these rights, which by their secession and violence, they had extorted from the senate. Marcius Coriolanus, who was a declared enemy of the tribunitian power, insisted, "That if they would have provisions on the old footing, it were but just they restored the senate its ancient rights. Shall I, as if reduced to a state of slavery, and ransomed from robbers, tamely behold these Plebeian magistrates? Why do I see a Sicinius over my head? And must I bear these indignities longer than there is any necessity? Must I, to whom the pride of a king Tarquin was so intolerable, put up with the insolence of Sicinius? Let him secede now with the people at his back, to the sacred mount, or any other hill the way lies open. Let them seize upon our corn in the fields, as they did three years ago. Let them enjoy now the fruits of their revolt. I can venture to affirm, that this calamity has conveyed to them such salutary instruction, that they would rather chuse to apply themselves to agriculture, than to arms, by means of a new secession to interrupt it." It is hard to say, whether his plan ought to have been adopted, though it seems pretty evident, that the senate, by reducing the price of provisions, might have rid themselves of the Tribunitian power, and all other popular laws that had been imposed on them.

CHAP. XXXV.

Coriolanus condemned ;—retires among the Volsci.

THIS speech was even considered by the senate as too severe ; and it so exasperated the commons, that they were on the point of taking up arms. "We are now," they cried, "to be attacked with famine, like enemies ; we are to be deprived of every means of subsistence. The foreign corn, the only resource that fortune offered us, and so unexpectedly too, is to be snatched from

“ our mouths, unless we give up our Tribunes tied hand
“ and foot to Coriolanus,—unless he be allowed to
“ wreak his vengeance on the commons of Rome.
“ Death, or slavery, is the only choice this new execu-
“ tioner has left us.”

The mob would have fallen upon him as he left the house, had not the tribunes very seasonably appointed him a day to take his trial.

Here their rage subsided, because every one saw himself, the judge, and the disposer of the life or death of his adversary. Marcius at first, heard the threats of the tribunes with contempt, affirming, That their office was instituted for protection, not punishment, and that they were the tribunes of the commons, not of the fathers. But so outrageous were the people, that the fathers were glad to purchase their peace at the expence of one of their order. They did all, however, in their power to stem the torrent of public odium, and strained every nerve, each in his private, as well as public capacity, to save him. The first expedient they put in practice, was to dispose his clients so judiciously as to deter the people, one by one, from frequenting their meetings and cabals. Then all the senate went in procession, as if the whole body had been impeached, and with the most pressing instances, begged the people, that if they would not acquit Marcius, for the sake of his innocence, they would, at their intercession, spare one citizen, one senator, even should he be found guilty.

He did not appear on the day of his trial, which inflamed them still the more. He was therefore, condemned in his absence; in consequence of which, he retired amongst the Volsci, even then breathing nothing but revenge, and carrying with him every hostile intention against his country. The Volsci received him with every mark of respect, and their civilities daily increased, in proportion as his resentment against his country was more strongly marked; for bitter complaints, succeeded by terrible threats, were often observed to drop from him.

He lived with Attius Tullius, at that time, the most respectable nobleman of all the Volsci, and one who had always been an enemy to the Romans. As the one was actuated by a hatred of an old standing, and the other

impelled by fresh resentment, they conferred together about making war upon Rome. They easily saw, that there would be some difficulty in engaging the Volsci to take up arms, which they had done so often to their own ruin. Their spirits were broke by being so often engaged in war; and moreover, their youth had suffered exceedingly by the late plague. Length of time had almost extinguished the hatred between the two nations, for which reason, they judged that it would require some address to rekindle the flame, by means of some fresh indignity.

CHAP. XXXVI.

A strange Phenomenon.

VERY opportunely for their purpose, preparations were going on at Rome, for renewing the great games upon the following account. In the morning of the day, in which they had been represented, the master of a slave had obliged him to carry a cross, and whipt him severely through the middle of the Circus; notwithstanding of which, the exhibition went on, as if there had been nothing ominous in the matter. After some time had elapsed, Jupiter appeared in a dream to T. Atinius, a plebeian, and told him, "That he was not
" satisfied with the person who led up the dance in the
" last games, and unless they were renewed with magnificence, the state would repent it.—Go, says he,
" and tell these things to your consuls."

The man, although he was not without a sense of religion, yet he was so ashamed to approach men of that dignified character, with a story that might expose him to ridicule, that his modesty prevailed over his fear. This hesitation cost him dear. In a few days, his son dropped down dead. That he might be at no loss to find out the cause of this sudden disaster, whilst he was mourning for his loss, the same vision appeared to him again in his sleep, and seemed to ask him repeatedly, "If he had not been sufficiently punished for his contempt of the gods; but if he did not instantly go and
" tell the consuls, something still more dreadful would
" befall him."

Now he felt the impression more forcibly. But still hesitating and putting it off, he was struck with a palsy, all over his body. It was then that the wrath of the gods roused him from his lethargy; for, afflicted by his former calamities, and oppressed with the weight of his present trouble, he called a meeting of his nearest friends, and telling them all he had heard and seen, how Jupiter had often appeared to him in a dream; how he had been threatened, and the calamities in consequence, which the gods had inflicted on him; by the unanimous advice of all present, he was conveyed to the consuls in a litter, into the forum. By their order he was transported from thence into the senate-house; and when he had made the same relation there, another extraordinary circumstance happened, to the surprise of every body; the man who was carried thither, without the use of a single member, returned, as the story goes, upon his own legs.

CHAP. XXXVII

Tullus's plan for spiriting up the Volsci against Rome.

THE senate decreed, that the games should be celebrated with all possible magnificence. At the desire of Attius Tullus, vast numbers of the Volscian youth repaired to Rome to see them. Before the exhibition, Tullus waited on the consuls as had been concerted at home with Marcius, and tells them he had something of importance to communicate that concerned the state. Having retired where they could not be overheard, he told them, "It is with the utmost reluctancy that I am to mention any circumstance that may seem to reflect the least dishonour on my countrymen: but I come not to accuse them of any thing they have already done, but to put you on your guard, with respect to what they may do. The disposition of my countrymen is by far more fluctuating and restless than I could wish. This we have felt to our cost, since we owe our existence as a nation, at present, more to your good nature, than our own good behaviour. There are in the city at this moment, vast numbers of the Volsci. The scene of exhibition will soon open,

“ and the attention of the citizens will be engrossed by
 “ it. I remember what happened on a similar occasion,
 “ by means of the Sabine youth, within this city, and I
 “ tremble lest our people should take some rash and in-
 “ considerate step, which I thought it my duty to la-
 “ before you, O consuls, both on your account and ours.
 “ For my own part, I am resolved to go home imme-
 “ diately, lest by remaining on the spot, my feelings
 “ should be hurt, in what I might hear or see.”

With these words he took his leave. The consuls immediately lay this equivocal hint, the manner in which, and the person by whom, it was communicated, before the senate, who, more out of regard to the author's credit, than any suspicion of danger, were induced to take some steps by way of precaution, which might as well have been spared. Wherefore, by a decree of the senate the Volsci were ordered to evacuate the city, and the public criers were dispatched to publish this order all over the city, that the Volsci might all be gone before night. Whilst they ran hither and thither to their quarters to fetch their things, they were in a terrible panic but on their return home, their indignation rose to a prodigious pitch, when they began to reflect, that like infamous scoundrels, or persons tainted with some infectious disease, they had been driven from seeing the games, upon the day of the exhibition, as unworthy to associate with gods or men.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Resentment of the Volsci.

THEY returned from Rome, in almost one continued body; and Tullus, who had gone before them, as far as the head of the spring of Ferentinum, accosting the foremost of them as they came up, asked them many questions, and expressed his displeasure at the indignity that had been offered them. Fond of any thing that encouraged their resentment, they gave great attention to what he said, and followed him to a plain below the road, where the whole multitude were persuaded to join them. There, as if he had been haranguing them in an assembly, he spoke to the following effect: “ Should you,

“ gentlemen resolve to bury in oblivion, the injuries
 “ done you by the Romans in former times, and the
 “ losses you have suffered ; in short, though you should
 “ forget all former wrongs, is it possible that you can
 “ tamely bear the insult offered you to-day by the Ro-
 “ mans, who have made our disgrace the prelude to
 “ their games ? Are you not sensible of the triumph
 “ they have this day over you ? What ! in the face of
 “ all the citizens,—all the strangers,—all the neigh-
 “ bouring states, to make such an ignominious depar-
 “ ture ? Were not your wives and your children public-
 “ ly affronted ? What were the sentiments of those who
 “ heard the proclamation ? What were the sentiments of
 “ those who saw you leaving the city ? Or, what were the
 “ sentiments of those who met you on the way loaded with
 “ ignominy ? Why ? that we are a set of impious and
 “ profane wretches, whose presence would have pollut-
 “ ed the solemnity of the games, and that we were re-
 “ turning to make expiation ? This, therefore is the rea-
 “ son, we are driven from the habitation, the company,
 “ and communication of honest men. What ! are you
 “ not sensible that our very lives depended on our
 “ speedy departure ? If it does not rather deserve the
 “ name of a flight. Do you not consider the Romans
 “ as your enemies, among whom, one day’s delay would
 “ have been our last ? War is declared against you in
 “ this affront, to the perdition of those who have done
 “ it, if you are but men.” Full of resentment before of
 themselves, and exasperated still more with this discourse
 of Tullus, each returned to his own home, and inflamed
 their countrymen to that degree, that the whole nation
 revolted.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Romans dreadfully alarmed, sue to Coriolanus for peace.

BY the unanimous consent of all the states, Attius Tul-
 lus, and the Roman exile, C. Marcius, in whom they
 had an extraordinary confidence, were chosen generals
 to conduct the war. Nor did he ever disappoint them ;
 that it might be evident from his conduct, that the Ro-
 mans owed more to the abilities of their generals, in their

superiority over their neighbours, than to the bravery of their troops. Having marched to Circei, he first drove the Roman colony from thence, and delivered to the Volsci the city which he had freed from the Roman yoke. Then crossing the country by marches and counter-marches, he made himself master of the towns lying on each side of the Latin road, as Satricum, Longula, Polusca and Corioli, which had been lately conquered by the Romans. After this he retook Lavinium, Corbio, Vitellia, Trebia, Labici, and Pedum. From Pedum he led his army toward Rome, and encamped at the Cluilian ditch, five miles from it. From whence he detached pillaging parties to plunder the Roman lands: having sent out guides, however, with the parties, to save the lands of the Patricians, either because his resentment was chiefly pointed at the commons, or that he might widen the breach between the senate and them: which certainly would have been the case, so unwearied were the tribunes in inflaming the people, already sufficiently irritated, by bringing accusations against the first men of the state, had they not been united by the fear of enemies from without, the greatest bond of harmony within, however jealous of, and incensed against each other.

In one point they differed, however; the consuls had all their confidence placed in arms, and the commons preferred any terms to the chance of war. Spurius Nautilus and Sex. Furius, were at that time consuls. Whilst they were mustering the legions, placing guards upon the walls and other posts, where they thought them necessary, they were alarmed with a turbulent noise of a multitude bawling out for peace. Then they obliged them to convene the senate, and lay before them the expediency of sending deputies to C. Marcius. The senate agreed to the motion, after they observed the despondency of the people.

Deputies were accordingly sent, who brought back this haughty answer: If the lands they had taken
“ from the Volsci were first restored to them, they might
“ then talk of peace: but if they chose to sit at their
“ ease, and live upon the spoils of former wars, that he,
“ who was neither insensible of the injuries done him at
“ Rome, nor the civilities shown him by the Volsci,
“ would endeavour to make them sensible, that banish-

"ment, far from depressing, had only exalted his courage." The same gentlemen were sent back to him; but they were not admitted to his camp. We find also, that the priests, dressed in their robes of ceremony, went to wait upon him at the camp, humbly suing for peace; but they succeeded no better than the deputies had done.

CHAP. XL.

Rome relieved by the intercession of Veturia.

THEN the ladies, in vast crowds, waited on Veturia, Coriolanus's mother; and Volunmia his wife; whether by advice of the senate, or instigated by their own fears, is not said: But they certainly prevailed with Veturia, a very old lady, and Volunmia, carrying her two sons, by Marcius, with her, to walk to the enemy's camp, and try if the tears and prayers of the women would defend the city, since the men were no longer able to do it by arms. When they had reached the camp, and word carried to Coriolanus, that a great train of ladies had come to wait upon him: as neither the majesty of a public deputation, nor the respect due to religion and the priesthood had been capable of moving him, he thought he would be proof against the tears of a troop of women. But when he was told by one of his acquaintances, who had distinguished Veturia among the rest, by her disconsolate look, standing between her daughter-in-law and her grand-children, "If my eyes do not deceive me, your mother, wife and children are here." Coriolanus threw himself from his tribunal, almost out of his senses, and ran full of anguish to embrace his mother: "Stay," says she, assuming an air and tone of resentment, instead of intreaties, "let me know before I receive your embraces, whether I speak to a son or an enemy; and whether I am considered as your mother or your captive? Was it for this purpose that my miserable old age was reserved? Have I lived so long, only first to see you banished, and then the enemy of your country? Have you been capable of ravaging the land that gave you birth, and brought you up in its bosom?

“ How violent soever your resentment and thirst for re-
“ venge, did not the sight of these plains disarm your
“ rage? And when you came within sight of Rome, did
“ you not then think within yourself, those walls which I
“ am about to attack, contain all that is dear to me in the
“ world—my house—my household gods—my mother—
“ my wife—my children! Alas! had I not been a mother,
“ Rome would not have been besieged. Had I not had
“ a son, I should have died free, in a free country. But
“ I can suffer nothing now that is not more shameful for
“ you, than miserable for me; nor can my misery, how-
“ ever great at present, be of long continuance. Let
“ these infants be your care, who, if you persist, must
“ either suffer an untimely death, or a long servitude.”

His wife and children then saluted him. The tears and lamentations of all the Roman ladies, for their own account and that of their country, at length softened Coriolanus. He embraced his relations, and dismissed them; soon after he decamped, and marched his army back from the city.—According to some accounts, the Volsci were so exasperated at his withdrawing the legions from the Roman territory, that they put him to death. Others give a different account of the matter. Fabius, by far the most ancient author extant, affirms, that he lived to a great old age; and mentions a saying of his in the decline of life, “ that banishment was in all cases insupportable, but especially to an old man.”

The men were not jealous of the encomiums bestowed upon the women: for such was their disinterestedness, that none endeavoured to detract from the glory of another. To preserve the remembrance of so singular an event by a public monument, they built and dedicated a temple to Female Fortune. The Volsci once more, in conjunction with the Æqui, returned into the Roman territory; but the Æqui refused to fight under the command of Attius Tullus. This contest about the nomination of a general, who should command both armies, was productive at first of a quarrel, which ended in a bloody battle. There the fortune of the Roman people dispatched two formidable armies, in a battle no less fatal to the combatants, than it was obstinate.

The consuls for the ensuing year, were T. Sicinius and

C. Aquilius. The province of the Volsci fell to Sicinius; and the Hernici, who were also in motion, fell to Aquilius. The Hernici were this year defeated; and with the Volsci, the Romans had a drawn battle.

CHAP. XLI.

Cassius condemned for affecting Popularity.

THEN Spurius Cassius, and Proculus Virginius, were made consuls: a treaty was concluded with the Hernici, by which they ceded two thirds of their lands, one of which the consul intended to divide among the Latins, and the other among the commons. To this act of generosity, he added some ground unjustly held by private persons to the prejudice of the public. Many of the fathers, who were themselves possessors of these lands, were alarmed at their proceeding, thinking their property was in danger. And the senate was under no less concern for the public safety, being apprehensive that the consul by his liberality, aimed at a power which would be dangerous to their liberty. It was then that the Agrarian law was first mentioned, which, from that day to this, whenever it came to be the subject of debate, never failed to raise great commotions in the state.

The other consul opposed the division, and was supported by the senate and some of the people. At first they had begun to consider it as no great compliment, when their allies were to share equally with them; and then they listened with great attention to Virginius, when he often prophesied in their assemblies, "That his colleague's liberality had a most pernicious tendency: "That whoever should be tempted with these lands, "would find that they were given them in exchange for "their liberty: That the very intention of them was to "pave the way for regal power: which was pretty evident from the scheme of division, in which the allies, "and Latin nations, are admitted to a share of the spoil. "For what purpose was a third part of the conquered "lands restored to the Hernici, who but lately had appeared in arms against them, but that these nations "might have Cassius at their head instead of Coriolanus?"

Both the promoter and the opposer of the Agrarian law, had each his party among the people, to whom both consuls were emulous, who should be most obliging. Virginius declared he should have no objection to the division proposed, were it confined to Roman citizens only. Cassius's credit sunk greatly with the people, for the kindness he showed in getting the allies included in the Agrarian law; wherefore, to recover their good graces by another act of generosity, he ordered the people to be reimbursed in the money they had paid for the corn imported from Sicily; but the people rejected it with indignation, considering it in no other light, than as bounty-money to enlist them to serve under the ensigns of tyranny. Nay, such was their aversion at monarchy, that they spurned at his presents, as if they had swimmèd in plenty.

It is certain, that the moment he was out of office, he was condemned and suffered accordingly. Some make his father the author of his punishment, who having tried him at home, scourged and put him to death; consecrating, at the same time, all his effects to Ceres, and applying the proceeds to the erection of a statue to that goddess, with this inscription, "PRESENTED BY THE CASSIAN FAMILY."

I find in some authors, what seems most probable, that a day was assigned him, by Kæso Fabius and Lucius Valerius the quæstors,* to answer to an impeachment for treason, when he was condemned by a sentence of the people, and his house demolished by public authority. It stood where we have now the area before the temple of Tellus. By whomsoever he was sentenced, whether by his father, or the people, it is universally admitted, that he suffered in the consulship of Ser. Cornelius, and Q. Fabius.

* The business of these magistrates was to take care of the finances and the public treasure, for which they were answerable, at the expiry of their office, which gave them a right to appear as prosecutors, against such as attempted to misapply the public property.

CHAP. XLII.

Domestic broils. - The Æqui and Volsci defeated.

BUT the resentment of the people did not long survive Cassius. The charms of the Agrarian law, the promoter of which they themselves had cut off, recurred to their minds with double force. What added to these impressions, was the rapacity of the fathers, who, after the defeat of the Volsci and Æqui that year, defrauded them of the plunder; for all the perquisites arising from the war, were converted into money by the consul Fabius, and lodged in the exchequer. The whole Fabian family became odious to the people, on account of the last consul: The fathers, however, prevailed so far, that Kæso Fabius succeeded to the consulate, with L. Æmilius. The people still more enraged by this election, raised a foreign war with their seditious behaviour at home. This war gave a short respite to their civil commotion; and the senate and people uniting under the conduct of Æmilius, gave a fatal blow to the Æqui and Volsci, who had renewed the war. The enemy suffered more in their flight, than they did in the battle; so warmly did the horse pursue them.

The temple of Castor was dedicated upon the 13th day of July of that year.* It had been vowed, during the war with the Latins, by Posthumius the dictator, whose son was created duumvir on purpose for its dedication. That year too, the alluring impressions of the Agrarian law were revived in the minds of the populace. The tribunes of the people, by their exertions in favour of this popular law, strove to ennoble their popular office. The fathers, sensible that there was too much fire in the spirit of the commons, even when they had no inducement to shew it, trembled at the thoughts of largesses, as incitements to rashness. The consuls, at the head of the senate, showed themselves extremely keen in the opposition; and prevailed not only for the present, but had also the address to get M. Fabius, the brother of Kæso,

* Anno Romæ, 269.

and Lucius Valerius, still more odious to the people, for his impeachment of Sp. Cassius, to be consuls for the ensuing year.

During their consulate, the bickerings with the tribunes did not cease; but the law was thrown aside, and its patrons exposed to ridicule, for boasting of good offices they had no power to confer. At this time the Fabian family was in high repute, owing to their noble and steady exertions in opposition to the tribunes, in the course of three successive consulships. Wherefore, the consular dignity was continued in that family for some time, where it had been so judiciously placed.

After this, the Veientes commenced hostilities, and the Volsci also take the field. Rome, however, was more than a match for all her foreign enemies, had her strength not been exhausted in domestic wranglings. Moreover, whilst the minds of all ranks were thus afflicted, they were alarmed with celestial prodigies, portending, almost every day, some signal calamity to town and country. And the soothsayers, when consulted in a private, as well as public capacity, sometimes by the entrails, at others by the flight of birds, could give no other reason why the gods were displeased, but that the sacrifices had not been performed with the proper ceremonies. Their fears had this effect, that the vestal Opia being convicted of incontinence, was condemned, and suffered the usual punishment.

CHAP. XLIII.

Great generalship of Fabius.

THEN Q. Fabius and Caius Julius, were made consuls. During this year, the civil commotions were as violent as ever, and the war with the neighbouring states spread farther than before. For now the Æqui were in arms, and the Veientes were ravaging the Roman territories. These wars growing still more serious, Kæso Fabius and Sp. Furius are chosen consuls.

The Æqui had laid siege to Ortona, a Latin city, when the Veientes, loaded with plunder, threatened to lay siege to Rome itself. Such terrors should no doubt

have cemented the jarring parties at home, but they only served to render the people more insolent and untractable. They were now put upon the old scheme of refusing to enlist. Sp. Licinius, a tribune of the people, thinking that now was the critical moment, when the state was in the utmost difficulty, to cram the Agrarian law down the throats of the fathers, had set himself to obstruct the levies. But the whole load of envy, to which the college of tribunes was exposed, fell upon the author of this project. For the consuls were not keener in disappointing his design, than his own colleagues, who, to a man, were in concert against him; and, by their assistance, the consuls got the levies completed.

Against the two hostile powers, two armies were raised at the same time; the command of the one was given to Fabius, to be led against the *Æqui*, and of the other to Furius, to march against the *Veientes*. With the *Veientes* nothing remarkable occurred; and Fabius had more trouble in managing his army, than in defeating the enemy. This man alone supported the commonwealth, while the army from their hatred to him as consul, did all in their power to land it in perdition. For, after the consul, in his preparations for, and management of the war, had given, in every instance, the most signal proofs of his abilities as a general, he drew up his army with such judgment, that by means of the horse alone, he put the enemy to flight; and yet, when nothing was left for the foot, but to pursue the flying enemy, they absolutely refused it. Nor could shame for their criminal conduct, their present disgrace in the face of the sun, their future danger, had the enemy recovered spirit, to say nothing of the entreaties of a general whom they hated, prevail on them to move one foot faster, nor even to march in good order. But they retired without orders, and went back to the camp, with looks so expressive of their dejection, that one would have imagined they had been heartily drubbed. Sometimes cursing their general, and sometimes the horse, for their gallant exertions. The general gave himself no trouble about finding out an antidote for so dangerous a precedent, so true it is, that great men, who excel in other respects, more frequently want address to govern their citizens, than talents to conquer enemies. The

consul returned to Rome, less distinguished for his military glory, than the inveterate and unrelenting hatred of the soldiers against him. The fathers, however, had influence enough to continue the consulship in the Fabian family, for they elected M. Fabius consul, and gave him C. Manlius for his colleague.

CHAP. XLIV.

Claudius' plan for defeating the tribunes.

ONE of the tribunes brought the Agrarian law on the carpet again this year. It was Tib. Pontificius, who going to work the same way with Sp. Licinius, obstructed the levies for a little. Whilst the fathers were once more disconcerted with this opposition, Appius Claudius told them, "That they had baffled the efforts of tribunitian power the year before; that at present they might do it, by employing that power against itself, an expedient that would never fail of success, seeing they had found, by experience, that it could be cut down by its own force. That one of the number might always be found, who, proud of defeating his colleagues, and gaining the esteem of the better part of the citizens, would be disposed to promote the good of the public. And no doubt, several of these, were it necessary, would be found ready to assist the consuls, but one was sufficient against the whole body. That therefore the best conduct of the consuls and principal senators would be only to exert themselves to bring over some one of these tribunes, and attach him to the interest of the senate and commonwealth, if their influence did not extend to the whole."

The fathers, pursuant to Appian's advice, treated the tribunes in the most kind and obliging manner; and those who had been consuls, and had private claims against any of them, partly by their interest and partly by their authority, prevailed on them to consent to make the privileges of the tribunitian power beneficial to the state. Wherefore, having four to one on their side, the consuls were enabled to complete the levies. Upon this they marched against the Veientes, who were supported by auxiliaries from all parts of Etruria, flocking to them,

not so much from any prepossession in their favour, as they were impressed with a notion, that the Roman state would be brought to perdition by its intestine broils.

In a general convention of all the states of Etruria, the leading men were constantly bawling out; "That of the power of the Romans, there would be no end, were they not by their seditions to turn their fury against one another.—That this was the only poison, the only blot found in states, by which the most powerful were exposed to ruin.—That this evil, the bad effects whereof had been lately suspended, partly by the wisdom of the senate, and partly by the people's patience, was at length come to such an excess, that Rome might be said to form two cities, of which each had its own laws and magistrates.—That though at first they showed themselves refractory in giving in their names to be enlisted, yet in the field they obeyed their officers, and whatever divisions were in the city, while their military discipline could be maintained, their animosities could be quelled; but now the rebellion had passed from the city into the camp.—That in the last war, when drawn up in order of battle, and in heat of action, the Roman soldiery had voluntarily resigned the victory to the Æqui, after it was obtained, having quitted their standards, abandoned their general in time of action, and returned without his orders into the camp.—That it was an undoubted truth, that with proper exertions, Rome might be reduced by its own forces.—That it was only necessary to make a declaration and show of war, and that fate and the gods would do all the rest." Roused by these hopes, the Etrurians armed; and by a variety of fortune, during the course of the war, were often defeated, and often victorious in their turn.

CHAP. XLV.

War with the Veientes and Etrurians.—Eagerness of the Roman army.

THE Roman consuls too, dreaded nothing so much as their own forces,—their own arms: The retrospect

to their scandalous behaviour [last war was terrible; especially when they considered that they might be in the same predicament, to have the terror of two armies upon them at the same time. Wherefore, to avoid a danger which threatened them within, as well as without, they kept within their camp, hoping that time, and a little delay, would soften their resentment against the senate, and bring them to reason. This prompted the confederates to act with still greater assurance. They challenged them to turn out. They rode up before the camp and insulted them. At last when they found neither the consuls, nor the army, in the least affected by their rodomontade, they cried out, " That they only pretended to have differences among themselves, to serve for a cloak to their cowardice; and that it was not the fidelity, but the courage of the soldiers, which the consuls suspected.—That silence and quietness among men in arms was a species of sedition never heard of before."

Besides these reproaches, they upbraided them with the obscurity of their origin and novelty of their families; in some respects true, and others not. These invectives thrown out under their noses, at the foot of the rampart and gates of the camp, gave the consuls no concern, but stung the soldiers, unaccustomed to such language, with shame and indignation, at the same time that their domestic quarrels were quite forgot. That the enemy should pass unpunished, they could by no means subscribe to; but then they could not bear that the fathers, or consuls, should have the glory of a victory. Thus were they agitated between two violent impulses of mind, with respect to their foreign and domestic enemies. At length their indignation against the former prevailed, unable to bear their outrageous insults any longer: They came in crowds to the consuls tents, insisting that they should be led on to battle, and the signal given. The consuls seemed to confer together about the part they should act, and drew out their conference to a great length. They wished for nothing more than to engage; but it was necessary to conceal it, in order to quicken the resentment of the soldiers, by a seeming delay and opposition. They therefore returned for an-

swer, that their demand was unseasonable; it was not yet time to fight, so that they must keep within their camp. Then a proclamation was made, prohibiting them to engage, under the severe penalty of being treated as an enemy.

Dismissed thus, the backwardness the consuls shewed to fighting, only served to increase their ardour; moreover, when the enemy got intelligence that the consuls had resolved not to risk a battle, they repeated their insults with more violence than ever, being now assured they might do it with impunity, as the soldiers would not be trusted with arms: This at last would terminate in a mutiny, and that in the dissolution of the Roman empire. Stimulated with these reflections, they advanced haughtily to the works, branded them with a thousand opprobrious names, and were within a little of storming the camp.

The soldiers could no longer suffer an abuse so offensive, but ran from all quarters of the camp to the consuls, not formally as before, by the principal of the centurions, but almost all in a body, with loud cries, demanding to be led on to battle. The time was now come, but they were still put off; at last Fabius, finding his colleague giving way, lest the tumult should end in a revolt, after the trumpet had sounded to silence, addressed him thus: "That these fellows can conquer, I am perfectly assured; but whether they will,—that is the question. Therefore, with me it is a decided and determined point, never to give the signal for battle, till they first swear that they will return victorious. They once deceived a Roman consul, but the gods they will not deceive." Among the foremost of those who were urgent for battle, was M. Flavoleius, a centurion, "I shall return, Marcus Fabius," said he, "from the field victorious. If I deceive you, may father Jupiter, Mars Gradivus, and the other incensed deities, dash me to pieces." The rest of the army followed his example, each swearing to the same purpose.

Having thus sworn, the signal is given; they fly to their arms, and big with resentment as well as hopes, they march out to battle. They tell them now to deal

about their invectives, and challenge those who had been so ready with their tongues, to shew what they can do with their swords. All that day the fathers and commons signalized themselves with prodigious acts of valour; but of all others the Fabian name and family distinguished themselves most, determined in that battle to recover the affections of the commons, which they had lost in their disputes at home. The army is drawn up: nor were the Veientes and Etrurians backward to engage.

CHAP. XLVI.

A battle. 2. Fabius killed.

WITH the enemy it amounted almost to a certainty, that they would be no more in earnest in fighting against them, than they were against the Æqui: nor did they doubt, but something still more gross would ensue, when their minds were in such a ferment, and at a juncture so very critical. But they were dreadfully disappointed; for in no former action did the Romans engage with greater spirit, so much had they been exasperated by the enemy's insults, and the consuls delays. The Etrurians had scarcely time to draw up, when the Romans, in the first hurry, having thrown their javelins at random, rather than with any aim, rushed in with their swords, which of all other weapons make the bloodiest work.

Among the Patricians, the Fabian family distinguished themselves by their extraordinary gallantry, and set a noble example to their fellow citizens. Quintus Fabius, who had been consul three years before, was the first who rushed among the thickest of the Veientes; but being exposed to enemies on every side, a Tuscan, full of his strength, and skill in arms, run him through the breast with his sword, when he was not aware of him. Fabius, having extracted the blade, and falling forwards, expired of the wound. Both armies were sensible of the difference made by the fall of this single officer; and the Romans had begun to give ground, when M. Fabius the consul, skipping over the dead body, and covering

it with his shield, cried out, " Was it to this purpose, " you swore, gentlemen, that you would fly back, with " the enemy at your heels, to the camp? Are you so " much more afraid of these your most dastardly ene- " mies, than of Jupiter and Mars, by whom you have " sworn? I, who have not yet sworn, shall either return " victorious, or fall here, with my sword in my hand, " near thee, O Quintus Fabius."

Then Cæso Fabius, who had been his predecessor in office, steps up to the consul, and asks him, " Is it with " these words, brother, that you think to succeed with " soldiers? No. The gods by whom they have sworn, " will give them resolution. As for us, for the credit " of the rank we bear, and the honour of the Fabian " name, let us animate our fellow-soldiers, more by the " gallantry of our actions, than the force of our argu- " ments." With these words, the two Fabii flew with their lances, to the foremost ranks, and drew the whole battalion after them.

CHAP. XLVII.

Defeat of the Veientes, &c. Manlius killed. Fabius becomes popular.

THE battle being thus restored in one wing, the consul, C. Manlius, with no less gallantry began the action in the other, where fortune almost took the same turn. For, as in the other, the soldiers nobly supported Q. Fabius, so in this, they kept close by Manlius, driving the enemy before him, as if they had been totally routed, but receiving a dangerous wound, he retired from the field, and thinking he was killed, drew back; and they would have retreated, had not the other consul galloping up with some squadrons of horse, cried aloud, that his colleague was alive, and that he himself having routed the other wing of the enemy, was come to their assistance, and by that means recovered the fortune of the day. Manlius too, to re-animate his troops, placed himself again at their head.

The sight of the two consuls gave the Romans new courage. The enemy's ranks, were at this time, consi-

derably thinned; for trusting to the superiority of numbers, they had detached the corps-de-reserve, to storm the Roman camp. There, meeting with little resistance, they carried it at the first assault: but whilst they were more intent upon plunder than fighting, the Triarii,* who could not sustain the first charge, got time to send advice to the consuls of what passed in the camp, and putting themselves in a body, returned to the general's tent, and of themselves renewed the engagement. The consul Manlius too, posted back to the camp, planted guards at every gate, and left the enemy not an opening to retire through. Despair threw them into a fit of rage, rather than inspired them with courage. For, when they had often attempted to force their way, without success, a body of youth attacked the consul, whom they knew by the splendour of his arms. The first volley of darts was received by the soldiers who supported him; but the fury of the assailants at last prevailed, for the consul having received a mortal wound, fell from his horse, when all his party were routed.

This inspired the Etrurians with fresh courage, and spread universal terror throughout the Roman camp, and it would have ended in the total loss of the day, had not the lieutenants carried off the body of the consul, and opened one of the gates of the camp, for a passage to the enemy. Through it they rushed out with the utmost precipitation; and by the way, fell in with the other consul, who had been victorious, and by his party were almost all cut to pieces. Thus a glorious victory was obtained, but the joy was damped by the loss of two of their bravest officers.

Wherefore, the consul, after the senate had decreed him the honour of a triumph, declined it, with this apology, "That if the army could go through the ceremony of a triumph, without a general, their generous exertions in the war entitled them to that honour, and he would subscribe to it with pleasure; but for his own part, whilst his family were in mourning for the loss

* So called from their position, being marshalled in the third rank, as the strength and hopes of their party. They were commonly veterans of experience and known valour.

“ of his brother, Q. Fabius, and the republic for the loss
“ of one of its parents, he could not think of accepting
“ the laurel, defaced with public, as well as private
“ grief.”

The refusal of a triumph did him more honour than any triumph could have done; so true it is, that a proper neglect of glory sometimes considerably exalts it. His first care was to pay the last honours to his brother and his colleague: he pronounced their funeral orations himself, and set the glorious actions of both in the fullest light; by which means, the generous praises he bestowed, reflected in a very great degree upon himself. Agreeable to a plan he laid down to himself, in the beginning of his consulship, of bringing about a reconciliation between the senate and people, he distributed the wounded soldiers among the houses of the senators to be cured, and most into those of the Fabii, and they were drest nowhere else with so much care. From that date, the Fabii became popular, but by methods entirely consistent with, and salutary to the commonwealth.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Proposal of the Fabian Family.

IN consequence of this agreeable reverse, Cæso Fabius is chosen consul, with T. Virginus, as much by the good will of the populace, as the interest of the senate; and make a point of it, before he entered upon levies, wars, or any other public business, that the hopes of concord, which begun already to be conceived, should be nourished, so as the senate and people might quickly come to a perfect understanding. For this purpose, in the beginning of the new year, he made a motion, that before any tribune should have it in his power to revive the question about the Agrarian law, the senate should, in its own right, begin the division of the land taken from the enemy among the people, with all the impartiality in their power. For nothing was more just than that these people should have it, by whose blood and toil it had been purchased. The fathers would not agree to the motion; nay, some of them complained, that the

spirit of Cæso Fabius, which formerly appeared great in every manly exertion, through an excess of glory, was now enervated and effeminate.

After this, in the city, party prejudice continued dormant. The Latins were, however, harassed by the inroads of the Æqui. Cæso was dispatched with an army to chastise them, and entered their country to make reprisals. Upon this, the Æqui retired into their towns, and kept themselves within their walls, for which reason no remarkable action happened. By the rashness of the other consul, the Roman army suffered severely, in an action with the Veientes, and but for the seasonable intervention of Cæso had been all cut to pieces.

From this time, with the Veientes, there was neither solid peace, nor open war. Their views seemed to extend to rapine and plunder only. Upon the approach of the Roman legions, they fled into their capitol; and the moment they disappeared, they renewed their incursions upon the Roman territories, evading a general engagement, by appearing to be at peace, and all terms of accommodation, by repeated acts of hostility: so that this war could neither be dropped, nor finally discussed.

There were other nations too, as the Æqui and Volsei, who never continuing longer quiet, than till they had forgot their last loss, were on the point of declaring war; nor was it improbable, that the Sabines, the constant enemies of Rome, and all Etruria would quickly arm against them. But the Veientes, who were rather constant, than a formidable enemy, gave them more trouble by their frequent inroads, than apprehension of danger, which at no time could be so far overlooked, as to permit their attention to be directed to any other quarter.

Upon this, the Fabian family made a proposal to the senate, by the mouth of the consul, in name of the rest, to the following effect: "Conscript fathers, to oppose
"the enterprises of the Veientes, as you well know, requires rather an assiduous than a powerful party.
"Do ye take care of the other wars, and leave us of the
"Fabian family to manage the Veientes. We undertake to be the guardians of the majesty of the Roman
"name in that quarter. This war, we will carry on at
"our private expence, as if our family were only con-

cerned in it, so that the state may be at no charge in men, or money, upon that score." The offer was accepted with great acknowledgments; and the consul left the house, and retired home, accompanied by a number of his clan, who stood waiting in the porch, till they should know the resolution of the senate. They were ordered to rendezvous the next day in arms, at the consul's gate, and each of them departed to his own house accordingly.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Fabii leave the city to keep the Veientes in awe, who sue for peace.

THE news immediately spread over the whole city. Every body admired, every body extolled the Fabii to the skies. That one single family should take upon them the burden of the state; that the war with the Veientes should be carried on at the expence, and by the arms of private persons, was an act of generosity never heard of before. Were there two more such families in Rome, the one might take upon them the war against the Volsci, and the other against the Æqui, whilst the commonwealth would remain quiet, and all the neighbouring nations be added to its domain.

The next day, the Fabii appeared all accoutered as they had been ordered. When the consul came out in his military dress, he saw his whole clan drawn up in the court before his house, and being received into the middle of them, commanded them to march. Never did an army, so few in number, and so highly distinguished with the praises and admiration of all, march through the city. Three hundred and six heroes, all Patricians, all of the same family, of whom, not one but might be judged worthy of commanding an army, left the city, threatening destruction to Veii, by means of their intrinsic power alone. They were followed by a crowd of their friends and clients, animated with the same spirit and zeal, and actuated only by great and noble views.

Others excited, by public concern, and transported with esteem and admiration, cried out, "Go, brave men,

" may fortune be with you;—may your success be
" adequate to the generosity of your undertaking. Then
" may you look for consulships,—triumphs,—all the re-
" wards, all the honours, it is in the power of your
" country to bestow." Passing by the capitol, citadel,
and other temples, every body implored all the gods that
occurred to their eyes, or imagination, to favour their
departure and undertaking, and to grant them a speedy
and happy return to their country and parents. But
these prayers were not heard.

Marching out by an unlucky way, through the right
arch of the gate Carmentalis, they arrived at the river
Cremera, where they judged it would be proper to raise
works and leave a garrison for their defence, Lucius
Æmilius, and C. Servilius, were at that time chosen
consuls.

Whilst nothing was studied on either side but plun-
dering and reprisals, the Fabii found themselves suffi-
cient to protect the Roman territory; and by detaching
flying parties through all the country, where the Tuscan
territory borders upon that of Rome, protected their own
frontiers, and became very troublesome to that of the
enemy. But these devastations were cut short: For, to
enable the enemy to carry the works at Cremera, they
sent for an army out of Etruria. L. Emilius the consul,
in the mean time, coming up with the Roman legions,
immediately attacked them. The Veientes had no time
for battle arrangement; insomuch, that in the first hurry
and confusion, whilst they were drawing up in form,
and posting a corps-de-reserve, a wing of the Roman
cavalry charged them so suddenly in flank, that they
had neither room to form their lines, nor make an attack.
They were consequently routed: and retreating to the
Red Rocks, where they had their camp, humbly sued
for peace. That they obtained; but from the natural
levity of their tempers, before the Roman garrison was
withdrawn from Cremera, they were quite of another
mind.

CHAP. L.

The Fabii fall into an ambuscade, and are cut off.

ONCE more the Veientes resumed their operations against the Fabii, without any new preparations; nor did they content themselves with ravaging the country, or making sudden incursions, but sometimes measured their swords in pitched battles, upon fair ground. Thus one Roman family, frequently carried off the victory from a people, who were, at that time, the most opulent of all the Etrurian nations. By this the Veientes at first, thought themselves disgraced and highly affronted: and, in consequence, formed a design of laying ambuscades for their intrepid enemy; and rejoiced to find, that the forwardness of the Fabii increased with their repeated victories.

Wherefore, herds of cattle were frequently driven out in the way of foraging parties, as if they had lighted on them by chance; and by the flight of the peasants, vast tracts of land seemed to be abandoned. Parties of soldiers were also sent out to chastise the ravagers, who retreated oftener through a pretended than a real fear.

By this time, the Fabii held the enemy in such sovereign contempt, that they did not imagine they could stand against their victorious arms, let the occasion or ground be ever so advantageous. Elated with these hopes, and seeing some herds of cattle grazing in a plain, at a considerable distance from Cremera, although they were guarded by some small parties of the enemy, they ran from the fort to carry them off. Thinking themselves secure, they had passed the ambush laid for them on both sides of the way, and had dispersed in pursuit of the cattle, straggling through the fields, which they always do upon an alarm; the enemy suddenly quitting their lurking places, appeared all at once, in front and in rear, and on every side.

At first they raised a terrible shout, and then poured in a volley of darts upon them from every quarter. The Etrurians came closer together, till the Fabii were totally surrounded, by one strong uniform body of armed men,

and the more they were pressed by the enemy, they were obliged to contract their own circle in proportion; which at once discovered their weakness, and the enemy's vast superiority in point of numbers, when their ranks were crowded into so narrow a space. Then giving over an attack, which they made with equal vigour on all sides, they directed all their force to one point. Thither, drawing up in a wedge, by the weight of their bodies, and the points of their swords they opened a passage for themselves, that led by an easy ascent to the side of a hill, where they first halted.

As soon as the advantage of the ground had given them leisure to respire, and recover from the shock of so great a surprise, they beat back the assailants; and by the convenience of their post, small as their party was, were getting the better of them, when the Vejentes, by fetching a compass, possessed themselves of the top of the hill. Thus the enemy became again superior. The Fabii were all killed to a man, and the fort taken. It is universally admitted that three hundred and six fell there; and, that there only remained a youth of about fourteen years of age, as a stock to the Fabian family, which in future times, was to be the prop and stay of the Roman people, both by their counsel and their sword, upon the most trying occasions.

CHAP. LI.

The Vejentes punished.

THIS disaster happened in the consulship of C. Horatius and T. Menenius. The latter was immediately dispatched to chastise the insolence of the Etrurians, which their victory had created; but he was defeated, and the Janiculum taken. Moreover, as the city was in want of provisions, and the Etrurians already on this side the Tiber, the city would certainly have undergone a siege, had not the consul Horatius been recalled from the expedition against the Volsci. So close to the walls of Rome was this war brought, that the first battle was fought at the temple of Hope, with no advantage on either side, and the second at the gate there: although

the Romans could boast of no great advantage, yet that engagement gave them new spirit, and encouraged them to behave better in every future action.

A. Virginius and Sp. Servilius, succeeded as consuls; after the check the Veientes received in the last engagement, they declined coming to another: But they plundered the country; and from the fort Janiculum, they made incursions upon the Roman lands all around. Neither the farmers, nor their cattle, were any where safe. But they were at last taken in the same trap they had laid for the Fabii: For, pursuing some cattle, which had been sent out on purpose to decoy them, they fell headlong into the ambuscade; their numbers only served to increase the slaughter. Their extravagant resentment for this loss, laid the foundation of a much greater: For, passing the Tiber in the night, they attempted to storm the camp of Servilius the consul. But there they met with so warm a reception, that after a prodigious slaughter, with great difficulty they got back to the Janiculum.

The consul immediately crossed the river, and fortified his camp at the foot of the hill. Early next morning, a little flushed with success the day before, or rather impelled by the want of provisions, to take the shortest course, however dangerous, to procure them, he inconsiderately led his army up the hill to the enemy's camp, where he received a more shameful repulse, than he had given the day before: But his colleague came up and saved both him and his army. Between the two armies, a dreadful havock was made among the Etrurians, as they were endeavouring to escape, first from the one, and then from the other. Thus by a fortunate imprudent step, the war with the Veientes got a finishing stroke.

CHAP. LII.

Trial of Menenius and Servilius.

UPON the return of peace, provisions became cheaper in the city; for they had corn from Campania: and there being now no apprehensions of future scarcity, the citizens brought out what they had concealed and

hoarded up. Peace and plenty soon produced dissipation; and now when they had no disturbance abroad, they began to revive their old contentions at home.

The tribunes set the populace in a ferment, by their favourite topic, the Agrarian law. They inflamed them against the senators in the opposition; and in this, they not only pointed at the whole body, but at individuals also. Q. Confidius and T. Genucius, who revived the plea of the Agrarian law, at this time cited T. Menenius to take his trial. He was charged with the loss of the garrison at Cremera, when his camp lay but a small distance from it. They condemned him, although the fathers had interested themselves, no less for him, than they had done for Coriolanus, and the popularity of his father Agrippa, not yet totally forgot. The tribunes restricted his punishment to a fine; for though they had sentenced him to die, after his condemnation, they only fined him in two thousand asses of brass.* This cost him his life: for, it is said, that being unable to bear the disgrace, and the grief it occasioned, he soon fell a victim to a distemper, brought on him by it.

Another senator, Sp. Servilius, was also impeached, immediately on the expiry of his office, in the consulship of C. Nantius and Publius Valerius; the tribunes L. Cædicius and T. Statius, having, in the beginning of the year, appointed him a day for his trial. He did not, like Menenius, by himself, or the fathers, descend to make mean supplications to the people; but confiding in his own innocence and personal interest, he boldly opposed himself to all the attacks of the tribunes.

The charge against him, was the action with the Etrurians at the Janiculum. But, being a man of a daring spirit, he was as intrepid before their tribunal, as he used to be on a day of action, confuting in a bold speech, both tribunes and commons, upbraiding them with the condemnation and death of Menenius, by the good offices of whose father, the populace were brought back to the city, and enjoyed these laws and those magistrates, the ministers now of their illiberal prosecutions; and thus by his bold and determined behaviour, outbraved

* Five pounds sterling.

the danger. The testimony of his colleague Virginius too, had its own weight, as he generously shared with him the honour of the success: but what turned the scale entirely in his favour, was their shame for the sentence they passed on Menenius, so much was their disposition changed upon reflection.

CHAP. LIII.

War with the Veientes and Sabines.

NO sooner were their domestic troubles over, than a war broke out with the Veientes, with whom the Sabines had joined in a confederacy. The consul, Publius Valerius, having called in the Latins and Hernici as auxiliaries, was sent against Veii with an army, and immediately opened the campaign by attacking the camp of the Sabines, which they had set down before the walls of their allies. This struck them with such consternation, that whilst they run different ways in broken companies to repel the assailants, the gate where the grand attack began, was carried by the Romans. Within the rampart, it was not a contest, but a massacre. The confusion from the camp, found its way to the city, and put the Veientes in such terror, that they run to their arms, as if their city had been taken. Some of them fly to the assistance of the Sabines, whilst others fall upon the Romans with all their force, who were totally engaged in carrying the camp. They fell back a little in some confusion; but recovering themselves, faced about, and forming a double front, made head against both armies. The horse too, by orders of the consul, charging the Etrurians, broke and routed them entirely.

Thus were two armies defeated, and two of the most opulent and powerful of all the neighbouring states, subdued in the same instant of time. During these operations at Veii, the Æqui and Volsci had encamped in the Latin territories, and were ravaging the country. Without a general, or any other assistance from Rome, the Latins, in conjunction with the Hernici, forced their camp, and possessed themselves of a vast booty, besides what had been taken from them. The consul C. Nan-

tius, was sent from Rome against the Volsci, at the head of an army; because, as I imagine, they did not choose it should become a precedent for the allies to carry on war, upon their own footing only, without a Roman general at their head, and an army to support them. The Volsci were harassed with all the calamities of war, and loaded with the most bitter reproaches; but neither could induce them to risk an engagement.

CHAP. LIV.

A new check to the Tribunitian power.

L. Furius and C. Manlius succeeded to the consulate. The Veientes fell to Manlius as his province; but the war did not continue. At their request a truce for forty years was granted them, on condition of paying a yearly tribute, and a certain quantity of corn.

Peace abroad only served to revive their contests at home. Spirited up by the tribunes, the people raged about the Agrarian law. The consuls, neither intimidated by the fate of Menenius, nor the danger of Servilius, were equally keen in the opposition. As they were retiring from office, they were even impeached by Genucius the tribune.

In the consulate, they were succeeded by L. Æmilius, and Opiter Virginius, though some authors mention Vopiscus Julius instead of Virginius. But however that be, it is certain that Furius and Manlius were impeached that year, and went about in a miserable plight supplicating the people; nor them only, for they were equally assiduous and importunate with the younger senators, advising them by all means, "From thenceforth to renounce the honours and government of the state; and look upon the fasces of the consuls, the prætexta, and curule chair, as neither less nor more than the pomp of their funerals; and that they were only adorned with these ensigns of dignity, to be destined as victims for the altar. That supposing the consulship had charms to attract their attention, they ought to reflect, that it was now no more than a name, the power of the tribunes having swallowed up and enervated its

“ efficacy. That the consul, like one of the tribune’s
“ serjeants, could only act by their order, and at their
“ pleasure. If they entertained the least thoughts of
“ throwing off those chains, of restoring the power of
“ the senate, or establishing any other authority in the
“ Republic than that of the people, they should set be-
“ fore their eyes the banishment of C. Marcius, and the
“ condemnation and death of Menenius.”

The fathers, animated with speeches to this purpose, no longer concerted measures publicly, but in secret; making very few privy to their designs. As there it was concluded, that right or wrong, the accused must be secured, the most violent measures were relished most: and it was easy to find persons ready for any undertaking.

Wherefore, upon the day of the trial, the people stood in anxious expectation in the forum, surprized that the tribune had not appeared; but at length when their patience was wearied out with waiting, their suspicions were raised, that, intimidated by the Patricians, he had deserted and betrayed the public cause. At last, they who had remained at his door, brought word that he was found dead in his bed.

The news having spread among the people, they dispersed on all sides, trembling and terrified, like an army after the loss of their general. But the tribunes were particularly affected, being instructed by the event, that even the laws which made their persons sacred, were not sufficient for their protection. The senators, on this occasion, took no care to moderate their joy; nay, they were so far from shewing any remorse for the crime they had committed, that even those who had no hand in it, were proud to be thought the perpetrators; declaring in every company, that nothing but an extraordinary blow could subdue the power of the tribunes.

CHAP. LV.

The Senators exult on their victory, but meet with a check.

IMMEDIATELY upon this victory, obtained by a most pernicious precedent, the levies were appointed,

which, the tribunes having lost all courage, the consuls completed without any interruption. The people were more provoked at the silence of their tribunes, than the imperious behaviour of the consuls, crying out, "That there was an end of all liberty now: That they were fallen again into their ancient state.—That the tribunitian power had expired, and was laid in the grave with Genutius.—That they must now fall upon other measures to oppose a barrier to the violence of the senators.—That they had still one resource left, and that was in themselves, since every other means of protection had failed them.—That the consuls had no other guard, but twenty-four lictors, and these too, plebeians: a weak and contemptible aid indeed, if there were but men who knew how to despise them. Such was the power which imagination only magnifies, and represents as terrible."

By such discourses, as they were spiriting up each other, a lictor was sent by the consuls, to one Volero Publius, a plebeian, who insisted, that he could not be compelled to serve as a single centinel, having formerly had the rank of centurion. Volero called to the tribunes; but none of them moving to protect him, the consuls ordered the lictors to strip and scourge him with rods "I appeal," says Volero, "to the people, since the tribunes choose rather to see a Roman citizen scourged before their eyes, than be strangled in their beds by you."

The more vehemently he cried out, the more eager the lictor was to tear and take off his clothes. But Volero, being robust of himself, and having got others to assist him, beat off the lictor, and got into the thickest of the crowd, where he saw the greatest ferment and indignation raised on his account, crying out, "I appeal to the people;—I implore their protection! stand by me citizens! stand by me fellow soldiers! you have nothing to expect from your tribunes; alas! they have occasion themselves for your aid."

The ferment spread among the people; they prepared as for a battle; and there seemed not a doubt, but matters would be carried to the most violent height, without regard to birth, age, or dignity."

The consuls attempted to dispel the storm; but they soon found, that the dignity of their office was but a feeble support without force. Their lictors being beat, and their fasces broke to pieces, they were driven out of the forum into the senate-house, uncertain how far Volero would carry his victory.

When the storm had blown over, the consuls ordered the senators to be summoned to the house, where they made loud complaints of the bad treatment they had received from the people, and the intolerable insolence of Volero. After many violent speeches, the elder senators, prevailed, who by no means approved that the Patricians should oppose passionate measures to the rashness of the commons.

CHAP. LVI.

Great disputes about the mode of electing Tribunes.

VOLERO became a mighty favourite with the people, who, at the next election, created him tribune. L. Pinarius and P. Furius, were consuls that year. Every body imagined, that by his means the whole weight of the tribunitian power would have fallen upon the consuls of the preceding year; but forgetting his private resentment, in order to promote the public interest, used not a single expression to their prejudice, and only preferred a bill, that the plebeian magistrates should be chosen in the Comitia by tribes.

This, though at first it did not seem to affect the senate much, was a motion of no small importance, as in that case, the Patricians could not choose whom they pleased for tribunes, by the votes of the client. The fathers strained every nerve in the opposition of a law that was so acceptable to the commons: but neither the authority of the consuls, nor the interest of the Patricians, could prevail on any one of the college of tribunes to enter their dissent, though that was the only valid obstruction against it. The weight, however, and importance of the bill itself, created disputes, which put it off for the course of the year.

Volero was chosen tribune a second time; and the

fathers imagining that all their force would be exerted now, they chose Appius Claudius for consul, the son of that Appius, who by long family disputes, was an open enemy to the commons, and was equally hated by them. Titus Quinctius was given him for his colleague.

The first thing brought on the carpet, in the beginning of the year, was the law: and, as Volero, who first moved it, continued firm in its interest, his colleague Lætorius, being a later advocate for it, for that reason exerted himself more strenuously. He was a man of known valour; and the glory he had purchased in war, furnished him with resolution and assurance. Volero was not severe, in any of his discourses, against the consuls, but confined himself entirely to the law; but Lætorius insisted on the excessive pride and cruelty of Appius and his family, to the people, affirming that the senate, in him, had not created a consul, but a butcher, to cut the people's throats, and tear them to pieces. Bred in the camp, he had not words to express his sentiments adequate to the freedom which he took. Wherefore, being at a loss for expression, he cried out, "As I do not speak with the same ease, as Iact, Romans, come hither to-morrow, I will pass the law, or die in your presence."

The tribunes placed themselves in the temple next day; and the consuls, with all the Patrician order, assembled to oppose the law. Lætorius ordered the forum to be cleared of all who had no right to vote; and as some of the young nobility refused to obey, he ordered some of them to be seized. The consul Appius insisted, that the authority of a tribune extended only to the commons: for he was not a Patrician, but a Plebeian magistrate, and that he himself had no power to remove them by any former precedent, the form of addressing them, being, "Depart, Romans, if it be your pleasure."

It was easy to confound Lætorius, by talking fluently and contemptuously of the forms of court. Transported, however, with passion, he sent his serjeant to the consul, who, in return, sent his lictor to the tribune, crying out, that he was only a private person, that he was no magistrate, and had no right to command; and, without doubt, the tribune would have suffered violence, had

not the whole assembly, highly incensed at the behaviour of Appius, taken part with their tribune against the consul, great numbers of their body, upon the alarm, flocking thither from all parts of the city. Appius, however did not flinch, but stoutly stood the storm, which would certainly have ended in blood, had not Quinctius, the other consul, given it in charge to the senators of consular dignity, to remove his colleague from the forum by force, if persuasion should be ineffectual, whilst he himself endeavoured to mollify the people by the warmest intreaties, and conjured the tribunes to dismiss the assembly, and give their passion time to subside, "That a few hours delay would not diminish their power, but would add wisdom to direct it: That the consul would be advised by the fathers, and the fathers would comply with the people."

CHAP. LVII.

Peace restored by means of Quinctius. Obstinacy of the army under Appius.

IT was with some difficulty that Quinctius composed the people, but in bringing the other consul to himself, the senate found still more. At length when the assembly of the people was dismissed, the senate was convened by the consuls. Anger and fear dictating by turns, produced a variety of sentiments; but the longer they deliberated, the more they saw the folly of continuing these contests; insomuch, that Quinctius had the thanks of the house for interfering so seasonably, to suspend the dæmon of discord. On the other hand, they conjured Appius, "Not to carry his zeal for the dignity of the consulship, beyond what was consistent with the peace and harmony of the state. That whilst the consuls and tribunes were dragging every thing to themselves, the state was left naked and impotent between them, each side seeming less intent upon its safety, than upon making themselves its masters."

On the other hand, Appius "called gods and men to witness, that they abandoned and betrayed the commonwealth, through mere pusillanimity.—That the

" consul was not wanting to the senate, but the senate
" to the consul. That they were going to accept laws
" more pernicious than those of the Mons Sacer." He
was prevailed upon at last, by the unanimous authority
of the senate, to be silent, and the law accordingly passed
without contradiction.

CHAP. LVIII.

Claudius being chosen Consul, sent against the Volsci.

THEN, for the first time, were the tribunes chosen in
the Comitia by tribes. According to Piso, three additional
tribunes were added to the college, their number
hitherto, having been only two. He also mentions their
names, viz. C. Sicinius, L. Numitorius, M. Duilius, Sp.
Icilius, and L. Mæcilius

Encouraged by these disturbances at Rome, the Volsci
and Æqui, once more renewed the war. They had laid
waste the country, expecting, that in case of a secession,
the people would fly to them for refuge; but finding
every thing was settled, they decamped, and led back
their army.

Ap. Claudius was sent against the Volsci, and Quinctius
against the Æqui. Appius discovered the same
wildness in his temper abroad, as he had done at home;
and he acted with the greater liberty, as he was under
no restraint from the tribunes. He hated the people still
more than his father had done.—They had triumphed
over him. They had got a law passed during his consul-
ate, which his predecessors in office, from whom the
senate had not such high expectations, had the address
to get suspended, although he had been elected for the
sole purpose of opposing it. This secret vexation that
engrossed and preyed upon him, set him upon torment-
ing his army by the greatest severity of discipline: but
he was not able to break their obstinacy, so much was
their aversion steeled against him. In all things, they
acted with slowness, indolence, carelessness, and a spirit
of contradiction. They were neither affected with shame
nor fear. If they were ordered to march with expedi-
tion, they moved slower on purpose. If he stood by to

encourage the work, every thing slackened that instant. When he was present, all held down their heads, and as he passed them, they muttered curses against him : his haughty soul, till now, proof against the popular odium, began to be sometimes affected. Having spent all his ill-nature upon the soldiers to no purpose, he said the army had been corrupted by the centurions, whom, in derision, he sometimes called tribunes of the people, and sometimes Voleros.

CHAP. LIX.

Appius decimates his army for cowardice.

THE Volsci had information of every thing that passed in the camp, for which reason they pressed the Romans more closely, expecting their army would behave to Appius, as they had done before to Cæso Fabius. But their hatred to Appius, was much more inveterate than to Fabius : For the army under Fabius had only resolved not to conquer, but they carried matters farther, and resolved to be conquered. The moment they were led on to battle, they shamefully fled back to their camp, and did not stop till they saw the Volscians ready to force their entrenchments, and making prodigious havock on their rear. Then it was, that they were obliged to fight, to drive the exulting enemy from their lines. But it was evident, they meant no more than to save the camp. To some of them, their defeat and disgrace gave pleasure.

Notwithstanding all this, the ferocity of Appius' spirit continued inflexible ; and being determined to chastise the whole army without mercy, he summoned an assembly. The lieutenant-generals and Tribunes, made haste to wait on him, and cautioned him, not to make an unreasonable experiment of his authority, because its whole force depended on the consent of those who obey ; that in general, the soldiers refused to attend the assembly, and many of them insisted, that he should decamp from the territories of the Volsci. That the victorious enemy, had a very little before, not only advanced to the gates of the camp, but made an attack upon their lines ; and

there was the greatest reason to conclude, from many concurring circumstances, too evident to be doubted, that some remarkable calamity was ready to fall upon them.

Compelled at last by necessity, he put off the assembly, which did nothing more to the army, than procure them a reprieve from punishment; he gave orders for marching the next morning, and accordingly gave the signal, by sound of trumpet, the moment light began to appear.

When the troops were drawn out of the camp, the Volsci, who had been put in motion by the Roman signal, fell upon their rear guard. Terror and tumult spread like lightning, and reached the foremost ranks; so that neither the orders of the commanders could be heard, nor the troops be drawn up in order of battle. None thought of any thing, but how to escape, so that they fled in the greatest disorder over heaps of dead bodies and arms, nor did the Romans cease to fly, even when the enemy gave over the pursuit.

At length, when the soldiers were drawn together, after this scattered rout, the consul who had stuck close by them, calling upon them in vain to do their duty, encamped where there was no danger of an attack, and summoned the assembly. He reproached them with great reason, for their perfidious cowardice and criminal treason, asking the soldiers and ensigns, one by one, what had become of their arms and colours? The centurions and serjeants, who had quitted their ranks, he scourged and beheaded; and one out of every ten, to whose lot it fell, of the rest of the army, was put to death.

CHAP. LX.

Quinctius more successful and beloved. Volero's law passed.

THE conduct of the other army, sent to chastise the *Æqui*, was very different. Between the consul and the soldiers, there was a generous emulation in courtesy and acts of kindness. Quinctius was formed by nature to gentleness and mildness; and the fatal effects of his colleague's ferocity, gave him reason to congratulate himself on his own turn of mind. In consequence of the

good understanding that subsisted between the general and the army, the Æqui were afraid to shew themselves in the field, and suffered their country to be ravaged at pleasure, whence it followed, that the booty was more considerable than they had taken from the Æqui in any former war; and it was all given to the soldiers, and with it, the praises they merited, which gave them a pleasure no less sensible, than more substantial rewards.

The army returned to Rome, with the warmest sentiments of regard to their general, and on his account, in a great measure, to the whole order of the Patricians, telling every body, that the senate had in their general, given them a father: but in Appius, to the other army, a cruel master.

In the course of this year, there was various success in war, and violent commotions at home and abroad. It was peculiarly memorable for the election of the tribunes by tribes, a circumstance which derived its importance, rather from the victory gained over a violent opposition, than any real advantage that attended it: for the Comitia suffered more in point of dignity by excluding the fathers from that assembly, than the power acquired by the people, or lost by the senate, was really worth.

CHAP. LXI.

Trial and death of Appius.

L. VALERIUS and T. Æmilius were consuls the following year, when the commotions ran higher than ever, both on account of the contests between the orders of the senate, occasioned by the Agrarian law, and also on account of the trial of Appius, for which M. Duilius and C. Sicinius appointed a day, because he opposed the law, and supported the pretensions of the possessors of the public lands, with the same violent and inflexible spirit, as if he had been chosen consul for the third time.

Never was a criminal cited before the people, more generally detested than he. To their tribunal he brought with him all the grievances charged against his father, as well as the crimes objected to himself; nor did the Patricians, on any former occasion, interest themselves

more warmly to save any one of their order. They could not see, without extreme concern, the guardian of the senate, the avenger of their dignity, and the invincible bulwark of their rights, against the attacks of the tribunes and their abettors, given up to the rage of the populace, and that only because his passion had carried him a little beyond the bounds of moderation, in the heat of the dispute.

Of all the senators, Appius was the only one that held the tribunes, the people, and the judgment they were about to pass, in sovereign contempt. Neither the threats of the commons, nor all the entreaties of the senate, could ever prevail upon him even to change his dress, or humble himself to solicit the favour of his judges: nay, nor in making his defence, to abate any thing of his usual haughtiness, or sharpness of stile. In every thing, he retained the same externals, the same air of confidence, and the same boldness of speech; so that the people, for the most part, were no less awed by him, when cited before them as a criminal, than they were before, when he was consul. He pleaded his cause once, but then it was with his usual tone, and the authority of an accuser; and so much were the people and tribunes astonished at his resolution, that unsolicited, they put off his trial to a future day, and thereafter were prevailed on to renew the prorogation. But, before that day arrived, he died of a distemper. The tribunes attempted to hinder the pronouncing his funeral oration; but the people would not consent that so great a man should be deprived of an honour so justly his due. They heard his praise after his death, with as much pleasure as they had his accusation when alive. Nay, many of them assisted at his funeral.

CHAP. LXII.

The country of the Æqui and Sabines plundered.

THIS same year, Valerius the consul, led an army against the Æqui, and finding it impracticable to draw them to a battle, attempted to storm their camp. A terrible tempest accompanied with thunder and hail, put a

stop to his design. What increased their wonder, was the sudden calm and serenity that ensued, the moment he sounded the retreat: For they imagined, some deity had interposed to save the camp, and their religious scruples prevented them from making a second attempt; wherefore, all their fury was discharged upon the country, which they plundered without opposition. The other consul Æmilius, conducted the war against the Sabines, who confined themselves within their walls: for that reason, he laid waste their country, burning not only the farm-houses, but also large and populous villages. This forced the Sabines out of their strong-holds, who, meeting with a foraging party, had an engagement with them; but victory declaring for neither party; when they retired from the field, they marched off next day to a place of greater security. This the consul considered as a sufficient victory in his favour; and upon their retreat, returned home, leaving the war unfinished.

CHAP. LXIII.

War with the Volsci and Æqui.

DURING these wars abroad, and civil commotions at home, T. Numicius Priscus and A. Virginius were chosen consuls. The commons seemed now resolved to admit of no evasions with respect to the Agrarian law, and were accordingly preparing to set every engine to work, when the flight of the country people, and the smoke of the houses, all in flames, informed them, that the Volsci were at hand. This invasion suppressed the sedition, which was now ripe, and on the point of breaking out.

The senate obliged the consuls to march immediately against the enemy; and when the youth had once quitted the city, the rest of the people made no more noise. But the Volsci contented themselves with the pleasure of having put the Romans in a needless fright, and without attempting any thing further, made all the haste they could out of their territories. Numicius pursued them to Antium, and Virginius marched against the Æqui. There the army fell into an ambush, and narrowly escaped being cut to pieces.

They were, however, rescued from the danger, into which the consul's carelessness had led them, by their own noble exertions. The war with the Volsci was conducted with more address; for, in the first battle they were routed, and driven to Antium, a very rich city. Numicius not daring to besiege it took Cenon, another city belonging to the Antiates, but not so opulent as Antium.

Whilst the Romans were thus employed against the Æqui and Volsci, the Sabines entered their territories, and advanced to the very gates of the city, plundering the country. They did not pass unpunished; for, in a few days after, both the consuls, with their two armies, entering their country, and breathing nothing but vengeance, made large reprisals.

CHAP. LXIV.

War with the Volsci. Device of Quinctius.

ABOUT the end of the year, the city had some respite from war; but, as usual, it was disturbed by the contests between the patricians and plebeians. The commons were so much incensed, that they would not countenance the election of the consuls; so that it was held by the patricians and their vassals, who made choice of T. Quinctius and Q. Servilius.

The beginning of the year was disturbed by domestic factions, but these were stifled by the eruption of a foreign war. The Sabines having made a hasty march, through the territory of the Crustumini, ravaged all the country about the banks of the Anio, with fire and sword; and, though they were repulsed, after they had penetrated almost to the walls of the city, and the gate Colina, yet they carried off a vast booty in men and cattle. But the consul Servilius pursued them with an army sufficiently exasperated; and when he could not get up with them, so as to bring them to an action on fair ground, he spread desolation in their country wherever he went, insomuch that he suffered nothing to escape the calamities of war, and returned to Rome with prodigious spoils.

The good conduct of the general, and valour of the troops, were equally conspicuous in the war with the Volsci.

They engaged first in a plain; the battle was bloody, and the slaughter great on both sides, which being more sensibly felt by the Romans, as they were less numerous, a defeat would have followed, had not the consul, by a well-timed fiction, inspired them with fresh courage, crying out, that the enemy was routed in the other wing. Wherefore, the army making a fresh attack, and believing themselves victorious, became really so. The consul, afraid to push his success too far, lest they should rally, sounded a retreat. For some days, both armies continued so quiet, that one would have imagined they had privately consented to a truce.

During this respite, the army of the Volsci was considerably reinforced by numbers of their own country, and that of the Æqui, imagining, that the Romans, the moment they were advised of this accession, would march off in the night: impressed with this opinion, they came before the third watch to storm the camp. Quinctius having dissipated the terror occasioned by this sudden alarm, gave orders, that all should remain quiet in their tents, and led out of the camp a body of the Hernici for an advanced guard; and to keep the enemy in a constant alarm till day-light, he set the trumpeters and blowers on the horn, on horseback, with orders to play, from time to time, before the rampart. For the rest of the night, every thing was so quiet in the camp, that the Romans were sufficiently refreshed.

The appearance of a body of infantry in arms, whom the Volsci took for Romans, superior in number to themselves; the noise and neighing of the horses, which, unaccustomed to this kind of riders, and frightened with the sound of their instruments, were very untractable, kept the Volsci as much upon their guard, as if they had been every moment to be attacked by the enemy.

CHAP. LXV.

The Volsci defeated, and their camp taken.

WHEN the light appeared, the Roman army, quite vigorous and refreshed with sleep, marched out to battle; and at the first charge obliged the Volsci to give way, being already exhausted with standing under their arms, and watching all night. They were not, however, entirely routed, they only fell back to some steep places behind the centre, whither, without breaking their ranks, they retreated in safety.

The consul, when the army had advanced to the rising ground, gave orders to halt. These orders were obeyed with the greatest reluctancy, the soldiers crying out, and urgently requesting, to be permitted to pursue the enemy already giving ground. The cavalry were particularly urgent, crowding round the general, expressed the greatest ardour, declaring loudly, that they would go before the ensigns to the charge. While the consul was balancing between the ardour of his troops, and the disadvantage of the ground, they all, by a general shout, expressed their resolution of going on, and immediately began to march. To help them over the steep places, they fixed their javelins in the ground, and these surmounted, run towards the top of the hill.

Whilst they were advancing, the enemy having spent all their darts at the first attack, tumbled down the stones upon them, which lay scattered among their feet, of which they discharged such numbers, that their ranks were broke, and they forced to fall back from the eminence they had gained. The left wing of the Romans was so overpowered, that it was on the point of giving way, when the consul reproaching them with their rashness, and want of resolution, made shame get the better of their fear. Upon this, then, they renewed their exertions with the most determined ardour; and as they could gain a little ground, still continued to advance, and setting up the other shout, encouraged the whole army, by repeating their efforts, they got over the difficulty of the place. They were now within a little of

the top of the eminence, when the enemy took to their heels; and scattering in their flight, the pursuers and fugitives entered the camp much about the same time, when, in the midst of the confusion, the camp is taken. such of the Volsci as could make good their escape, fled to Antium, whither Quinctius followed with his army, and after it had been invested a few days, it surrendered previous to any assault, so much were they affected with their late defeat, and the loss of their camp.

TITUS LIVIUS'
ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

CONTAINING THE DISPUTES BETWEEN THE ORDERS, FOREIGN WARS, THE CREATION AND EXPULSION OF DECENVIRI, AND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSULAR GOVERNMENT AND POPULAR MAGISTRATES, DOWN TO THE YEAR 306.

Contests about the Agrarian law. War with the Æqui.

AFTER the taking of Antium, T. Æmilius and Q. Fabius were elected consuls. This was that Fabius, who alone, of all the Fabian family, survived the slaughter at Cremera. Æmilius, in his former consulship, had declared for the partition of the lands among the people. Wherefore, in his second consulship, the friends of the Agrarian law were encouraged to hope, that they might now get it passed; and the tribunes persuaded, that by having one of the consuls in their interest, they might now accomplish, what they had in vain attempted, when both were in the opposition, brought the affair once more upon the carpet.

Æmilius had not shifted sides. They who were in possession of the lands, and the majority of the senators, complained much, that a chief magistrate of the city, should be active in promoting the claims of the tribunes,

making his court to the people at the expence of others, and turned the whole odium from the tribunes upon the consul.

The contest would have been very warm, had not his colleague, Fabius, proposed an expedient which seemed disagreeable to neither party. That Titus Quinctius, who commanded the army against the Volsci last year, had taken from them some lands: That a colony might be sent to Antium, a neighbouring and commodious city, situated on the sea-coast; by which means, the people might be provided in lands, without interfering with the possessions of others, or giving any disturbance to the state. This proposal was received with applause; and T. Quinctius, A. Virginus, and P. Furius, were commissioned to settle the partition accordingly. The candidates were called to give in their names: But, as it generally happens, what can be easily attained, has no charms. Wherefore, so very few appeared to be enrolled, that to make up the complement, they were obliged to admit the Volsci, the people chusing rather to continue their clamours for lands at Rome, than be put in possession of them elsewhere. Q. Fabius led an army against the Æqui; and, at their request, granted them a peace; but it was of no long standing, for they soon after made an irruption into the territories of Latium.

CHAP. II.

The Æqui defeated.

THE next year, Q. Servilius, who had been elected consul with Posthumius, was sent against the Æqui, and encamped in the country of the Latins. A distemper which raged among the troops, confined them to the camp, so that the war was protracted till the third year, when Q. Fabius and T. Quinctius were consuls. By an extraordinary commission, the province of the Æqui was assigned to Fabius, who had conquered, and at their request granted them a peace. He set out accordingly, not doubting in the least, but the very mention of his name would bring them to submission, and accordingly sent deputies to represent in their supreme council,

" That they had it in commission from Q. Fabius, the
" consul, to inform them, that he once carried peace
" from the Æqui to Rome, and that from Rome, he was
" now carrying war to the Æqui, the same right-hand
" being armed against them, which before he had
" given them in token of peace. By whose perjury
" and perfidious conduct, this reverse had happened,
" the gods were the witnesses now, and ere long would
" be the avengers. For his own part, however, with-
" out descending to particulars, he would even at this
" moment, rather wish they would, by a voluntary
" submission, express a conviction of their error, than
" oblige him to subject them to all the calamities of
" war. Were they only to repent, they should be re-
" ceived into the protection of that clemency, they
" had formerly experienced: but, if they exulted in
" their perjury, they would do well to remember they
" had the wrath of the gods, rather than the arms of
" an enemy to contend with."

So far was this embassy from influencing the Æqui, that the deputies were in danger of being insulted, and an army was sent to the Algidus,* to oppose the progress of the Romans.

The moment advices of these transactions were transmitted to Rome, the other consul left the city, roused rather by indignation, than any fear of danger. Thus two consular armies approached the enemy, drawn up in form, determined to make an immediate attack. But as it happened that the day was far spent, one of the enemy's advanced guard, cried out; " Romans, this is
" not fighting, but an empty parade; you draw up in
" battalia, for the approach of night. More sun will
" be necessary to render the action before us decisive.
" To-morrow, the moment light appears, return to the
" field, and you shall have enough of fighting, I will
" be bound for it."

Stung with this reproachful commentary, the Roman soldiers were led back to the camp, to wait till next morning; and the hours of the night seemed to pass heavily on, which kept them from measuring swords with the enemy. They refreshed themselves with vic-

* A hill twelve miles from Rome.

tuals and sleep, and next morning, as soon as it was light, the Roman army was drawn up, a little before the Æqui made their appearance, who, at length, advanced in battalia.

The battle was obstinate on both sides. Revenge and passion animated the Romans, whilst the Æqui, conscious of having involved themselves in this difficulty, by their perfidy; and despairing of future credit, were stimulated to make the boldest efforts. They could not, however, stand the charge of the Roman army, but were defeated, and obliged to retire into their own country. Notwithstanding of this chastisement, they were as little as ever inclined to peace, the licentious populace, upbraiding their leaders with risking their cause to a pitched battle, in which the excellency of the Romans consisted. That the Æqui succeeded best, when disposed in plundering parties, by making inroads, and that it was much safer to trust to an irregular war, by skirmishing parties properly disposed, than to their whole force, in one decisive action.

CHAP. III.

New attempts of the Æqui, who are discharged.

WHEREFORE, leaving their camp under a guard, they sallied out with such fury upon the Roman territories, that they spread terror, even to the city. The terror of this invasion was greatly heightened by the surprise; for an enemy already conquered, and as it were, besieged in their camp, could not be in the properest trim for plundering excursions, and consequently no formidable object. The country people, struck with a panic, run up to the very gates, and their fears shewing them every object in a magnifying glass, cried out, that it was not small foraging parties, but a regular army, and whole legions of enemies advancing with every hostile purpose to storm the city. They who were nearest the gates, retailed this intelligence to others, and the farther it spread, the more it was magnified. Such was the confusion and noise whilst they called to arms, that, had the city been taken, the terror could not have been much

greater. Luckily, indeed, the consul Quinctius had just returned from the Algidus, which served to allay their fears. Having brought them to reason, he rebuked them for being afraid of conquered enemies, and posted guards at the gates. Then having convened the senate, and proclaimed a general vacation in the courts of justice, by the authority of the fathers, he consigned the government of the city to Q. Servilius, and marched out to protect the country, but then no enemy was to be found.

The other consul had been very alert. Having got intelligence of the enemy's rout, he fell upon them loaded with booty, and by that means, encumbered in their march, so that this plundering match cost them very dear: few of the enemy escaped the trap he had laid for them, and all the booty was recovered. Upon Quinctius's return to the city, the courts of justice which had been shut for four days, were opened again. Then a census was held, and when Quinctius had finished the lustrums, the number of citizens enrolled is said to have amounted to one hundred and twenty-four thousand two hundred and fifteen, besides orphans of both sexes. After this, the *Æqui* made no great figure. They kept themselves within their walls, whilst their effects were burnt or plundered with impunity. The consul Fabius, when he had repeatedly spread desolation in the enemy's country, with fire and sword, returned to Rome, full of glory, and loaded with spoils.

CHAP. IV.

Fabius over-reached by the Æqui.

AFTER this, A. Posthumius Albus and Sp. Furius Fusus, were elected consuls. The Furii, are by some authors, called Fusii. I mention this, that none may be led into a mistake, as to the persons, by this change of names. It was fully expected, that one of the consuls would prosecute the war against the *Æqui*; for which reason, the *Æqui* solicited aid from the Volsci, who inhabited *Ecetra*. Their request was cheerfully granted, so inveterate was the hatred of these states against the Romans; wherefore, they made the most vigorous preparations for war.

The Hernici got intelligence of these motions, and advised the Romans accordingly, that the Ecetrans had joined in a confederacy with the Æqui. The colony of Antium was likewise suspected, because, when that city was taken, many of the inhabitants had fled to the Æqui, and during the war, had signalized themselves in their service. When after this, the Æqui were compelled to take refuge within their walls, these troops retiring privately, had retired to Antium, and encouraged the colony, naturally averse to the Roman government, to shake off the allegiance entirely. As they were not yet in a condition to throw off the mask, when the senate was informed of their designs, they recommended to the consuls to send for the principal men of the colony, and demand an explanation. They readily obeyed the summons, and being, by the consuls, introduced to the senate, returned such answers to their questions, as rather confirmed than lessened the suspicions entertained of them.

After this, the war was looked on as certain. Sp. Furius, one of the consuls, whose province it was, marched against the Æqui, and found them busy in laying waste the territories of the Hernici. Unacquainted with their numbers, as they had never appeared in a body, he rashly gave them battle, when his army was much inferior; and consequently been routed at the first charge, fled back to his camp. Nor did the danger stop here; for, all the succeeding night, and day after, his camp was so closely blocked up, and so furiously attacked, that to send intelligence to Rome of his situation was quite impracticable.

The news, however, of the loss of the battle, and the manner in which the consul and the army were blocked up in the camp, were transmitted by the Hernici. So much was the senate alarmed at this intelligence, that they gave it in charge to the other consul, Posthumius, "To take care, that the republic suffered no detriment;" a clause, in acts of the senate, expressive of the utmost danger. It was judged most prudent, that the consul himself should remain at Rome, to enlist all who were able to bear arms, and to dispatch Titus Quinctius, in

quality of pro-consul *, with an army of the allies, to the relief of the camp. The Latins, Hernici, and colony of Antium, were ordered to make up his compliment with *subitarii*, for so auxiliaries raised on a sudden were called in those days.

CHAP. V.

Relieved by Quinctius. Great slaughter of the Æqui.

IN the mean time, the enemy were every where in motion, making different attacks in different places, at one and the same time; for being superior in point of numbers, they endeavoured, by dividing the Roman forces, insufficient for the defence of every place at once, to cut them off in small parties: At the same time that they endeavoured to force the camp, they sent out parties to lay waste the country, and to carry desolation to the city itself, should they find a favourable opportunity. L. Valerius was left to guard the city, whilst the consul Posthumius was sent to drive the plunderers from the frontiers. Nothing was omitted, in any instance, in point of care or vigilance. Guards were placed in the city, centinels at the gates, and strong parties to defend the walls: and what became necessary in such confusion, a vacation of all courts of justice was appointed for several days.

In the mean time, the consul Furius, although he had suffered himself, without bustle, to be blocked up in his camp, made a sudden sally from the back gate, upon the unguarded enemy; and although he might have pursued his advantage, he stopped short, fearing his camp might be in danger from some other quarter.

His brother Lucius, who was also his lieutenant-general, went too far, his eagerness in the pursuit preventing him from observing the return of his friends, or the enemy's attack on his rear. Being cut off in this manner, from the body of the army, after he had often attempted to open himself a passage to the camp, he fell,

* The pro-consul acted in all respects as consul, in the province committed to his care, but nowhere else.

having sold his life as dear as possible. Upon the news of his brother's disaster, the consul returned to the engagement, and rushing with more haste than caution, among the thickest of the enemy, he was wounded, and with difficulty carried off the field by those about him; a circumstance which dispirited the Roman army not a little, and inspired the enemy with a greater degree of confidence, who, proud that they had dispatched the lieutenant, and wounded the consul, carried all before them, drove the Romans back to their camp, and there besieged them again, inferior in strength, and without the least ray of hope to support them.

Such was their miserable situation, when Quinctius came to their relief with an army of the Latins, Hernici, and other foreign troops. Whilst the Æqui directed all their force against the Roman camp, and insulting the besieged, by exposing to their view the head of their lieutenant-general, Quinctius attacked them in rear, whilst, upon a signal from him at a distance, a sally was made from the camp, so that the enemy was in a great measure surrounded. No great slaughter ensued, as they fled in straggling parties, through the Roman territories.

Whilst they were straggling thus, and plundering by the way, Posthumius, with some detachments, which he had posted in proper places, gave them a very warm reception; and, after they had escaped the fury of Posthumius, they fell in with Quinctius, who, after his victory, was returning with the wounded consul. Here the consular army took full revenge for their lieutenant-general and his cohorts, as well as the wound received by the consul. The slaughter was great on both sides, for those times.

It is indeed, next to impossible, to ascertain with precision, at this distance of time, what numbers were engaged, or fell: although Antias Valerius finds no difficulty in condescending on the exact number. According to his account, there fell of the Romans, in the country of the Hernici, five thousand three hundred. Of those Æqui, who in scattered parties, pillaged the Roman territories, Posthumius dispatched two thousand four hundred; but it was Quinctius who gave them the fatal

blow, as he met with them carrying off their booty ; for, by this minute reckoning, four thousand two hundred and thirty of them were cut to pieces.

After this, they returned to Rome, when all the courts of justice were opened. At this time, the heavens seemed to be all in flames. Many other phenomena were really seen, or seemed to be so, by people overcome with their fears. To avert these dreadful omens, three solemn fast-days were appointed, during which, the temples were crowded with multitudes of both sexes, imploring the protection of the gods. Then the Latin and Hernician troops were dismissed by the senate, who returned them their warmest acknowledgments for their signal services in the war ; but a thousand soldiers from Antium, who came too late to share in the glory of the day, had not so honourable a discharge.

CHAP. VI.

A pestilence at Rome. A. R. 291.

UPON this followed an election, when L. Æbutius and P. Servilius were chosen consuls, and entered on their office, the first of August, which, at that time, was the beginning of the year.* This was a melancholy year, rendered so particularly by a plague, which raged in town and country, and carried off both man and beast. The fear of an invasion, contributed not a little to spread the infection, the peasants and their cattle being all received into the city. This medley of animals of every kind, raised an intolerable smell, which became nauseous to the citizens, and stifled the country people, whilst they were pent up in close rooms, with heat and want of sleep: Besides, their attendance on each other, with the infectious nature of the distemper, propagated it every where.

When they were scarce able to support themselves un-

* The beginning of the consular year, was at this time, and long after, quite fluctuating and uncertain; sometimes commencing in March, sometimes in October, August, July and December: but, at last, A. R. 599, it was fixed to commence in January, which ever after it continued to do, till the ruin of the republic.

der the pressure of these calamities, advices all of a sudden were brought from the Hernici, that the confederate forces of the Æqui and Hernici had encamped in their country, and were proceeding with a huge army to pillage their lands. A thin senate easily discovered to the allies, how much the city had been reduced by the plague, and, besides, carried back this uncomfortable answer: "That the Hernici, in conjunction with the Latins, must for this time depend entirely upon their own internal resources, for the anger of the gods had depopulated Rome by a sudden plague. Should the rage of the pestilence subside, they would not be wanting to give their allies the assistance they had afforded them last year, and on other occasions." Upon this they departed more disconsolate than they had set out; for they could not of themselves support a war, which they could only maintain with difficulty, sustained by the Roman ensigns.

The enemy did not make a long stay in the country of the Hernici, but marched in a hostile manner into the territories of Rome, which were desolate enough without the calamities of war. Meeting nobody with or without arms, and finding every thing defenceless and even uncultivated, they penetrated by the Gabinian way, within three miles of Rome. Æbutius, one of the consuls was dead; Servilius his colleague was scarce alive, and most of the nobility were affected, as were the greater part of the fathers, and also every one else fit to bear arms; insomuch, that so far from having forces to stem the torrent of the war, with which they were threatened at present, they had not a sufficient number of guards for common duty. The senators, whose age and health permitted them, mounted guard in person, and stood sentry. The Ædiles went the rounds and gave orders: For on them the administration of government, together with the consular authority, had totally devolved.

CHAP. VII.

Ill success of the Hernici. The plague rages. Recourse to devotion.

WHILE thus abandoned, without a head to conduct or strength to execute, the tutelar gods and fortune of the city preserved it, and converted the hostile intencion of the Æqui and Volsci into a plundering scheme. For they were so far from entertaining hopes of carrying the city, that they never once thought of marching up to its walls. The sight of the houses at a distance, and the threatening tombs, had such an effect on their feelings, that they began to murmur throughout the whole camp, "That they were wasting their time without plunder, in a wild and depopulated country, where they could meet with nothing but rotten carcases of men and beasts, while they might have gone to healthy places, to the rich plains of Tusculum. That they ought immediately to pull up their standards, and, by marching through the Lavican territories, proceed to the hills of Tusculum." Thither therefore did they carry all the force and fury of the war.

In the mean time, the Hernici and Latins, not only from a principle of humanity, but of shame, that they had suffered their common enemy to march to Rome without the least interruption, and had brought no assistance to their allies when besieged, marched with their confederate army to Rome. When they found the enemy had disappeared, they got intelligence of their motions, and pursued their track, till they met them coming down from the Tusculan hills into the valley of Alba. There they fought with great disadvantage, and for the present, their success was not equal to their fidelity to their allies.

The havock was no less at Rome by means of the plague, than of the allies by the sword. The only consul that had hitherto survived, and with him other men of distinction, as M. Valerius, T. Virginus Rutilus, the augurs; Ser. Sulpitius, the arch Curio, were all swept away. Great numbers of the lower people were also de-

voured by the plague. The senate, destitute of all human aid, recommended to the people to look up to the gods, and have recourse to prayer, ordering them to go with their wives and children in procession, and supplicate the divine mercy. Called upon thus, by public authority, to act a part, which every one's distress, as an individual, made his bounden duty, all the temples were crowded, where the matrons prostrating themselves on the floors, which they brushed with their hair, deprecated the divine wrath, and implored the gods to put an end to the plague.

CHAP. VIII.

The plague abates. Great slaughter of the Volsci.

FROM this time, the sickness gradually abated; whether it was the effect of their prayers, or that the sickly season was past, all signs of disease began to disappear, and give place to health and vigour. Now they directed all their attention to public affairs; and after several interregnums, P. Valerius Publicola, the third day, after he had been chosen inter-rex, nominated L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, and T. Veturius Geminus, consuls. In some historians, the last is called Vetusius. They entered upon their office on the ninth of August; at which time, the citizens were so much recovered, that they were in a condition not only to act upon the defensive, but to carry the war into the heart of the enemy's country.

In consequence of advices from the Hernici, that their country was invaded, the Romans readily promised them assistance. Two consular armies were levied. Veturius was sent to attack the Volsci in their own country, and Tricipitinus having posted himself so as to prevent the country of the allies from being plundered, went no farther than the territories of the Hernici. In the very first action, Veturius obtained a complete victory over the Volsci. The pillagers escaped the vigilance of Lucretius, as he lay encamped in the country of the Hernici; and marching along the tops of the hills of Præneste, made a descent upon the plains. There they ravaged the lands of Præneste and Gabii; and from Gabii marched round the hills of Tusculum.

Rome was in the most dreadful consternation; not that they wanted the means of defence, but because the alarm was so sudden and unexpected. The government of the city had, at that time, been committed to Q. Fabius. He armed all the youth; and having posted guards in proper places, put the city in a state of safety and quiet. Wherefore, as the enemy, having seized upon all they could in the adjacent countries, were fetching a compass to return home, not daring to advance nearer the city, and growing more careless in their march, the farther they got from it, fell in with the consul Lucretius, previously informed of their route by his scouts, and every way prepared for action. Wherefore, the courage of the soldiers being already wound up to the highest pitch, they charged the confederates, who were struck with a sudden panic, and though somewhat inferior in point of numbers, gave them a total overthrow. They fled into the valleys, whence the outlets were difficult, and so were surrounded on all sides. There the whole nation of the Volsci was almost all cut to pieces.

Some annals ascertain the number of the slain in the action and the flight, to be 14,470, the number of prisoners 1,250, and add, that twenty-seven standards were brought out of the field. It is very possible this number of killed may be somewhat exaggerated; but it is very certain, however, that the slaughter was prodigious.—The victorious consul returned with a great booty, back to his camp.

Then both consuls encamped together; and the Æqui and Volsci also joined the wreck of their armies. A battle was the consequence, the third this year. [*A. R.* 291.] Fortune still continuing to side with the Romans; for the enemy were routed, and their camp taken.

CHAP. IX.

A law proposed to retrench the power of the Consuls, and opposed by Q. Fabius.

THUS, once more, did the Roman state resume its former splendour: But success abroad, was immediately productive of commotions at home. C. Terentillus Arsa, was this year tribune of the people. He thinking the

absence of the consuls a proper opportunity for introducing the claims of the tribunes, had for some days been inveighing against the pride of the senators before the people, and particularly against the consular power as too despotic and intolerable in a free state; representing, "That it differed from regal despotism only in name, for in effect it had in it something still more odious. That instead of one king, they had got two, whose power was boundless and immoderate; and being themselves neither confined nor restrained by any law, turned the whole terror and severity of the laws against the common people. That this licentiousness might not be perpetual, he intended to prefer a bill for getting five commissioners appointed to draw up laws for regulating the consular authority. That in consequence, the consul should have no other right over the people, than the people themselves should think proper to give them; nor substitute their own passion and caprice in place of law."

This law being proposed, the Patricians were not a little afraid, that in the absence of the consuls this yoke might be wreathed about their necks, when Q. Fabius assembled the senate as governor of the city. There he gave full scope to his indignation, in inveighing against the bill and its author, insomuch, that had both consuls been present, determined to pull the tribune to pieces, they could not have opened on him with greater fury, or employed more dreadful menaces. "This fellow," (says he,) lies in wait, and takes advantage of the absence of the consuls, to strike a blow against the commonwealth. Had the gods in their wrath, only the year before, given Rome such a tribune, in the midst of the plague and the war, his villainy might have been then triumphant. The two consuls being no more, and the city labouring in sickness and general confusion, he would have proposed the abolition of the consulship, and placed himself at the head of the Æqui and Volsci to attack the city. What can he plead in excuse for such licentiousness? If the consuls, in the abuse of their authority, oppressed any citizen, they might be cited before the people, at whose tribunal they were obliged to answer; and of this order, the complainant himself is a member. Proceeding

" like this would not only render the consular, but the tribunitian power, odious and insupportable, which having only of late been made familiar, and reconciled to the minds of the patricians, would again become their abhorrence."

" I am not, (says he,) to insist, that you should give up your proposition;" and addressing himself to his colleagues, " It is you whom we conjure, first of all to consider, that the original design of the tribunitian power was for the protection of individuals, and not for the destruction of the whole community. You were made the tribunes of the people, not the persecutors of the senate. Should the majesty of the Republic in the absence of its magistrates be violated, it would be painful to us;—to you it would be an invidious affair. A tittle of your power you will not lose, but you will avoid much hatred. Use your interest with your colleague, to suffer the matter to rest as it is, till the return of the supreme magistrates. The very Æqui and Volsci had the humanity to desist from a cruel and destructive war against us last year, when the plague had deprived us of both our consuls." His colleagues interposed, and Terentillus complied; and the bill being in appearance put off, though in reality it was withdrawn, the consuls were immediately recalled.

CHAP. X.

*Lucretius is appointed a triumph. Prodigies.
Tribunitian contests.*

LUCRETIUS returned to Rome with prodigious booty, but still greater glory. On his arrival, he exposed the whole spoils in the Campus Martius, for three days together, that individuals might know, and carry away their own property, which considerably enhanced his reputation. What nobody appeared to claim, was sold. A triumph was unanimously decreed him, but it was suspended; the tribune still insisting on his bill, which in course came in before the decree relating to the consul. For some days it was warmly debated in the senate, and before the people; but the tribune at length yielded to the consuls' authority, and withdrew his bill.

Upon this, Lucretius had the honour paid him due to himself and army: For, he triumphed over the Volsci and Æqui, his soldiers following in the procession. An Ovation * was also granted to his colleague, who entered the city without his army.

The next year, an attempt was made on the new consuls, to revive Tarentinus' bill; in promoting which, the whole college of tribunes warmly joined their interest. The consuls were P. Volumnius and Ser. Sulpicius.

That year the heavens seemed to be on fire, and there was a terrible earthquake: and what seemed incredible the year before, that a cow had spoke, now passed current. Among other prodigies, a dreadful shower fell of raw flesh, which, it is said, was caught as it fell, by swarms of birds fluttering around it; what escaped them, lay scattered on the ground, without changing its smell. The duumvirs, who presided over sacred things consulted the Sybilline books. They declared, that the city was threatened with an irruption of strange enemies, and to prevent any attack upon the higher parts of the city, and the slaughter that might ensue, among other things it was strongly recommended to give sedition no countenance. The senators were accused by the tribunes of contriving this to obstruct the passing of the law, and in consequence, the dispute ran very high.

In the mean time, advices are brought from the Hernici, that the Volsci and Æqui, for all the fatal blow they had received, were recruiting their army, just as if the war were every year to take the same turn. That the Antiates, who openly held their councils at Ecetra, were the principal support of the enemies of Rome. That the head of the confederacy, was Antium, which furnished troops for the war. When these things were laid before the senate, they ordered an army immediately to be levied. The management of the war was committed to the consuls conjunctly, the one to march against the Volsci, and the other against the Æqui.

The tribunes, in the mean time, exclaimed loudly in

* A lesser kind of triumph, decreed to those who obtained a victory of small importance, where the opposition was not formidable. In this case, the general did not enter the city in a chariot, nor was he crowned with laurel.

the forum, " That the war with the Volsci was a mere
 " bugbear, and that the Hernici had been previously
 " instructed to act their parts. That, at present, no
 " open attack was made upon the liberties of the people,
 " but they were undermined by artifice. That the
 " Volsci, who had been almost exterminated, should,
 " in conjunction with the Æqui, without any provoca-
 " tion, put their troops in motion, was inconsistent with
 " common sense. They must, therefore, look for new
 " enemies. A faithful, a neighbouring colony, is de-
 " famed. War must be denounced against the innocent
 " Antiates, but carried on against the commons of Rome,
 " whom they were dragging headlong out of the city,
 " loaded with arms, that by banishing the citizens, or
 " sending them out of the way, they might have the
 " tribunes at their mercy. But, that they might not be
 " deceived, they could assure them, there was no other
 " point in view, but to evade the law, which would be
 " the case, if now, whilst it was on the carpet, and whilst
 " they were in their gowns, they did not take care, how
 " they were dragged out of the city, or received a yoke
 " of slavery. If they had only resolution, they should
 " find assistance. The tribunes were unanimous. There
 " was no fear of an invasion, nor prospect of danger.
 " The gods had last year taken care, that their liberty
 " should be safely protected."

CHAP. XI.

*Struggles of the young Patricians with the Tribunes.
 Impetuosity of Cæso, who is appointed a day.*

SUCH were the remonstrances of the tribunes. On the other hand, the consuls erected their tribunals in their presence, and began to make the levies. The tribunes repaired thither with all haste, and the whole assembly in their retinue. A few were called on by way of experiment, which produced a tumult in an instant. Whenever by order of the consul, a lictor laid hold of any one, that moment a tribune ordered him to be released. Neither party took their measures from the laws, their sole dependence lay in force and violence, to compass their designs. The same activity which the tribunes showed

in opposing the levies, did the Patricians exert in opposing the law, which was constantly proposed every comitial day. A quarrel arose, when the tribunes ordered the people to leave the forum, from which, the Patricians would, by no means, suffer themselves to be removed.

As the debates in these assemblies were not managed with temper, the aged senators seldom appeared there, leaving the conduct of the opposition, to the rash and audacious young nobles. For some time, too, the consuls kept away, for fear of exposing the dignity of their office to insult, in such a mixed convention. There was one Cæso Quinctius, a young nobleman of high spirit, with which, his high birth, extraordinary size, and great strength, inspired him. To these advantages the gods had bestowed upon him, he had added many honours gained in war, and was an excellent speaker, so that the republic could not boast of a better soldier, or a greater orator.

This youth, when enriched by his band of nobles, was always most conspicuous; and as if his strength and eloquence had invested him with all consular, and even dictatorial power, he boldly sustained the storms of the tribunes, and fury of the mob. Under his conduct, the tribunes had been frequently driven out of the forum, and the rabble dispersed and put to flight. Whoever offered to resist, did not fail to be roughly handled and stripped naked. Hence, they easily saw, that unless he got a severe check, their exertions to promote the law would signify nothing.

When the other tribunes had given over all for lost, one of their number, A Virginus, summoned Cæso, against a certain day, to be tried capitally. This step, far from abating, served only to enflame the courage of this impetuous youth. He still persisted in opposing the law with more vehemence than ever, redoubled his insults of the plebeians, and attacked the tribunes without any reserve, as having then a just cause for making war upon them. His accuser, after his impeachment, suffered him to go every length, that by his outrages, he might increase the odium against him, and furnish them with new matter of grievance.

In the mean time, he continued to push the law, not so much from any hopes he had of carrying it, as to

provoke this rash young nobleman. Many things that had been said and done without consideration, by the young nobility, were all charged upon Cæso, who was now become odious. Notwithstanding of which, he persisted in his opposition to the law.

A Virginius was every now and then trumpeting to the people, to this effect: "Are you not sensible, fellow-citizens, that you cannot retain Cæso, and carry the law you are so much set upon? But why do I mention the law? He is an enemy to your liberty, and in pride, exceeds all the Tarquins put together. Only wait till he is made consul or dictator. You see with what force and violence he lords it now, while only a private citizen." Many approved of the tribune's speech, complaining, that they had been roughly handled by him, and urged the tribune, to strain every nerve to bring him to condign punishment.

CHAP. XII.

Cæso deprecates the wrath of the people.

THE day for the trial came, and the people in general seemed to think, that their liberty depended on the condemnation of Cæso. Urged, therefore, by necessity, with much inward indignation, he went about soliciting their favour one by one; his relations and friends, the principal men of the city, attending him. T. Quinctius, who had been thrice consul, after recounting the honours which he himself, and others of his family had acquired, by their gallantry, affirmed, "That neither the Quinctian name, nor even the whole Roman state, had ever produced a more excellent genius, or a soldier of more consummate bravery:—that he had marked him as the first soldier in the army, as he had often seen him signalize himself, when engaged with the enemy." Sp. Furius bore testimony, "That when he was in the most dangerous situation, Quinctius sent Cæso to his relief; and that his valour, upon that critical occasion, was peculiarly essential to the prosperity of the state." Lucretius, one of the last year's consuls, covered with fresh laurels, divided his glory with Cæso; enumerating his combats, and glorious

achievements in pitched battles, as well as detached parties; and with the most persuasive arguments, he exhorted the people, "To make it their choice, that a youth possessed of so many excellent endowments, which must render him a valuable acquisition to any state, whither he might retire, should rather be a citizen of Rome, than of any other city whatever. The fire and spirit, which they found fault with would evaporate with an increase of years, and give him prudence in exchange, which was the only thing he wanted; his faults declining, whilst his virtues were perpetually advancing to maturity, they would find their account in suffering so great a man to improve and grow old in his country." Among the rest, L. Quinctius, surnamed Cincinnatus, pleaded also for his son, not by extolling his merit, for fear he would thereby only exasperate his enemies, but by entreating the assembly to impute his errors to his youth, and for his father's sake, to forgive them, whom none of them could accuse of having injured them in any instance, either by word or deed. Some of the assembly made no return to their submissions, either through modesty or fear, whilst others complaining, that they and their friends had suffered by his blows, by the rashness of their return, plainly discovering what their sentence was to be.

CHAP. XIII.

Cæso arrested, finds bail, and banishes himself.

THERE was one charge brought against Cæso, which hung heavier on him than all the public odium besides, in support of which, M. Volscius Fictor, who had been tribune of the people some years before, rose up to give evidence. He averred, "That soon after the city was freed from the plague, he had fallen in with a set of libertine young Patricians, rioting in the Subura, and a quarrel ensuing, his elder brother, who had not then got entirely over his complaints, was knocked down by Cæso, and left almost expiring; being carried home between men's hands, he died; and, he had reason to think, that it was in consequence of that blow. But

“ the consuls, for the preceding years, would not permit him to prosecute Cæso, as the author of this inhuman murder.” The people were so exasperated at this charge, that in their fury, they were not far from taking immediate vengeance on the spot.

Virginus ordered him to be seized and carried to prison; but the Patricians prevented the execution by force. His father, T. Quinctius, insisted, “ That it was quite inconsistent with all law, to do violence to the person of any citizen accused of a capital crime, for which he was to be tried, before he was heard in his own defence and condemned.” The tribune replied, “ That he had no intention of hurting his person, till he should be legally condemned, but only to secure him in prison till the day of his trial, that as he had been guilty of murder, the Roman people might have it in their power to punish him for it.”

When an appeal was made to the tribunes, they exerted their right of relieving the oppressed, by taking a middle way. They agreed, that he should not be imprisoned, but should find bail for his appearance in judgment, on the day appointed, under a penalty, to be forfeited to the people, in case of non-appearance. There was a dispute about the extent of the penalty, which was at last submitted to the nomination of the senate; and during the deliberation of the fathers on that point, Cæso was kept under arrest in the forum. They fixed the sum in which each surety should be bound, at three thousand asses of brass;* but left it to the college of tribunes to determine the number. They demanded ten, and ten were bound for Cæso's appearance accordingly. This was the first instance of a state criminal's finding bail.

Being now at liberty, the very next night, he left Rome, and retired in exile among the Etrurians. When the day fixed for his trial came, it was pled, that Cæso having banished himself, he was not amenable to their assembly; but Virginus held the *Comitia* notwithstanding, and an appeal being entered to the other tribunes, the assembly was dismissed. The penalty was, however,

* Nine pounds thirteen shillings and sixpence.

rigorously exacted of the father; so that having sold the better part of his estate, he lived for some time, like an exile, in a retired and solitary cottage, on the other side of the Tiber.

CHAP. XIV.

The young Nobility, by their complaisance, get the better of the Tribunes.

THIS trial and promulgation of the law, kept the whole city employed, for there was no foreign war to disturb them. The tribunes, as if they had really obtained a victory, concluded, that now, the Patricians being effectually intimidated, by the banishment of Cæso, that they were at last secure of getting the bill passed; and, that the elder senators, having withdrawn themselves, in a great measure from the administration, seemed to yield to them all authority in the state.

The young nobility, especially the late companions of Cæso, without any diminution of their courage, became still more incensed against the plebeians. But in one respect, they were much improved, for they had learned to manage their fury with more caution. The moment the law was proposed, after the banishment of Cæso, being quite prepared, and supported by a great number of their clients, whenever the tribunes furnished them with an excuse for violence, by attempting to remove them from the assembly, they attacked them in such a manner, that no one of the assailants could be singled out as the author, to incur the odium or the honour. The people complained, that instead of one Cæso, they had now to struggle with a thousand.

In the intermediate days, when the law was not in question, no men were more composed or complaisant, than these young nobles. They addressed the commons with the greatest shew of affability, entered into the most familiar conversation with them, inviting them to their houses, assembling with them in the forum, and in other matters, suffering the tribunes to hold their plebeian councils, without the least interruption. Neither in public, nor in private, did they discover any rancour, ex-

cepting when the law was in question. On all other occasions, they were all affability and complaisance to the commons. Nay, the tribunes had not only full liberty to do their other business quietly, but without a contradictory word, or the least violence offered them, were re-chosen to their office for the ensuing year; condescensions and compliances, by which they gradually soothed the multitude, and effectually defeated every attempt in favour of the laws for all that year.

CHAP. XV.

Herdonius' attempt upon Rome. A. R. 293.

WHEN C. Claudius, son of Appius, and P. Valerius Publicola, succeeded to the consulship, they found greater harmony in the state, than it had enjoyed for some time before. The new year produced nothing remarkable, as to getting the bill passed; and to prevent it, continued to be the sole object of public attention. The more the young nobles insinuated themselves into the good graces of the Plebeians, the more vigilant were the tribunes in setting every engine at work, by loading them with calumnies, to render them suspected. They alledged, "That there was a conspiracy on foot;—that
" Cæso was actually at Rome;—that measures were
" concerted for murdering the tribunes, and massacring
" the commons: That the elder senators had given it in
" charge to the younger, to suppress the tribunitian
" power, and to restore the state to that form of govern-
" ment which prevailed in Rome before the secession
" to the *mons sacer*." Moreover, they dreaded a war with the Æqui and Volsci, which was now become common, as it happened regularly almost every year: but, in the mean time, another new and unexpected calamity became the object of their attention, nearer home.

The capitol and fortress adjacent to it, was surprised and seized in the nighttime, by 4500 out-laws and slaves, with Appius Herdonius, a Sabine, at their head. All that were found in the citadel, who refused to join in their enterprise, and take up arms with them, were immediately put to death. In the confusion, some agi-

tated with fear, ran precipitately into the forum, where "to arms,—the enemy is in the city," was the universal cry.

The consuls, at a loss to determine, whether this sudden blow was struck by foreign or domestic foes, whether it originated in the discontent and enmity of the commons, or in a plot of the slaves, were equally afraid to arm the Plebeians, and to leave them unarmed. They endeavoured to settle the confusion, but their endeavours sometimes only increased it. The multitude, struck with consternation and affright, could not be brought under any government whatever. They however gave out arms, but not to all indiscriminately, only to such as they could confide in most; and of these only, such a number as were sufficient to guard every place against the attacks of an enemy, of whom they had as yet no idea. Therefore, being totally ignorant, what enemy, or what number they had to oppose, they passed the remainder of the night in great perplexity, posting guards wherever they were thought necessary.

At last day-light made the wished-for discovery, whence the war proceeded, and by whom it was conducted. Appius Herdonias from the capitol proclaimed liberty to the slaves, declaring, "That he had undertaken the cause of the miserable, to restore exiles, unjustly banished, to their country; and to deliver slaves from the oppressive yoke. That he had rather the Roman people would do this uncompelled; but if he saw no hopes of relief from that quarter, he would have recourse to the Æqui and Volsci, and leave nothing unattempted to effectuate his purpose."

CHAP. XVI.

Obstructions of the Tribunes.

THE mystery being now somewhat cleared up, the consuls and senators, besides what was publicly threatened, became very uneasy with the apprehension, that this enterprise had been concerted with the Veientes and Sabines; and whilst they had so many of the enemy already in the city, the Sabine and Etrurian legions

might soon arrive according to concert, followed by those of the Æqui and Volsci, the eternal enemies of Rome; who would not come to ravage the country as formerly, but to take possession of a city, already half taken. Among so many causes of distrust, their principal terror was with respect to the slaves, no man knowing but he had an enemy in his house, in whom they neither could safely confide, having no assurance of their fidelity, nor seem to distrust, for fear of making them enemies. Such was their embarrassment, that they did not imagine that a thorough reconciliation between the orders, would be sufficient to save the state. However, among all the calamities that threatened them, they had not the least apprehension of danger from the people or their magistrates. Their domestic dissensions they considered as evils of a gentle kind, being ever the consequences of freedom from all other calamities, and for the present seemed to be absorbed in this foreign alarm. However, it was this that bore heaviest upon them, when tottering this under the pressure of other troubles. The phrenzy of the tribunes rose so high, that they insisted the war was a mere bugbear,—that the capitol had been seized with no other view than to make them forget the bill: but were it once passed, they would see those clients and creatures of the Patricians, finding all their riotous exertions to obstruct it ineffectual, steal away in as great silence as they entered. Then calling the people from their arms, they held an assembly to pass the law. In the mean time, the consuls convened the senate, more afraid of the tribunes than of the enemy, who had alarmed them in the night.

CHAP. XVII.

Animated speech of Valerius. Obstinacy of the Tribunes.

WHEN word was brought that the people had laid down their arms, and quitted their posts, Publius Valerius, leaving his colleague to keep the senate together, left the senate-house in a great hurry, and flew to the temple to the tribunes. "What is the meaning of this," said he,) tribunes? Will nothing less serve you than

“ a subversion of the commonwealth, under the conduct
“ and auspices of Herdonius? Has he, who had not sufficient influence to entice our slaves to join him, found
“ the way to bring you over to his party? How! whilst
“ the enemy are over our heads, do you order the people
“ to lay down their arms, that they may make
“ laws?” Then, addressing himself to the people, he continued, “ If you should be under no concern for
“ the city, and should you be quite insensible of your
“ own danger, you ought at least to have some regard
“ to the gods of your country, who are in the hands of
“ the enemy. Jupiter, the most high, the most benevolent, queen Juno, Minerva, and all the gods and
“ goddesses are at this moment suffering a siege. Slaves
“ are encamped round your tutelar gods. Do your proceedings evince that you are in your senses? While
“ so formidable an enemy is not only within our walls,
“ but in the citadel, overlooking the forum, and place
“ of our assemblies; yet we hold our assemblies with indifference, and deliberate with as much unconcern, as
“ in times of the greatest tranquillity. Ought we not
“ rather, Patricians, plebeians, consuls, tribunes, citizens, every man to take arms and lend their aid?
“ Ought we not to fly to the capitol, to deliver and regain that august habitation of the almighty Jupiter?
“ O thou, father Romulus, inspire thy descendants with
“ the same gallant spirit which animated thee, when
“ thou didst formerly recover this citadel from the same
“ Sabines, after they had obtained it by the power of
“ gold. Move them to march the same way by which
“ thou didst conduct thy army. As for me, I am ready
“ as consul, to be the foremost in following thee, and
“ tread thy paths, as far as a mortal man can follow a
“ god.” At the conclusion of his speech, he declared,
“ That he would take arms, and called upon every Roman to do the same; protesting, if any one should
“ dare to hinder them, that without regard to consular
“ authority, tribunitian power, or the sacred laws themselves, that whatever was his quality, or wheresoever
“ he should find him, he would treat him as an enemy
“ to the state. That the tribunes, if they pleased, since
“ they had forbidden them to arm against Herdonius,

" might now command them to take arms against Valerius the consul; and he would not hesitate to act by the tribunes, as the founder of his family had done by the kings."

Matters seemed now to be in that train, that nothing but the utmost violence would have been the issue, when a sedition of the Romans would have been exhibited as a spectacle to the enemy. The tribunes could not proceed in passing the bill, nor could the consul march against the capitol, till night came on and suspended the dispute. During the night, fear of the armed citizens, who were at the consuls devotion, kept the tribunes quiet. Wherefore, when these Dæmons of discord were out of the way, the senators went round among the people, and mixing with them in their crowds, entered into conversation with them suitable to the times: conjuring them, "To take care how they plunged the Republic into this extremity of danger.—That the contest now was not between the Patricians and Plebeians, but that both alike, the citadel of Rome, the temples of their gods, the tutelary gods of the state, the domestic gods of every citizen, were abandoned to their enemies."—Whilst the senators were thus employed in bringing the multitude to reason in the forum, the consuls in the mean time, posted guards at the gates and walls, to prevent any surprise from the Sabines and Veientes.

CHAP. XVIII.

Kindness of the Tusculans. The Capitol relieved, but Valerius killed.

THAT very night, the news of taking the citadel, surprising the capitol, and of the confusion that raged at Rome reached to Tusculum, where Mamilius at that time presided as dictator. He immediately convened the senate, introduced the messengers, and warmly remonstrated, "That they ought not to wait till Rome should demand their assistance in form; that the danger and hazard, their confederate gods, and the sacred obligation of treaties, required the utmost dispatch. The gods could never give them a better opportunity of eviden-

“cing their zeal and attachment to so powerful a neighbouring city.” They cheerfully consented to send them assistance, and their youth were immediately mustered and armed.

They reached Rome early next morning, and at a distance were taken for the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, coming against them. When they were convinced of their mistake, they received them into the city, where they marched in a body to the forum and joined *Valerius*, already drawing up his troops, having left the guard of the gates to his colleague.

The character of *Valerius* had great weight with the people, when he assured them, “That whenever the capitol should be recovered, and the tranquillity of the city restored, if they would permit him then to inform them of the artful, self-interested views, concealed under the specious law in question, he would neither be forgetful of his ancestors, nor his surname, entailed upon him by his progenitors, as an hereditary obligation to support the interest of the people, and for his own part, would give no interruption to their assemblies.” Accordingly they followed him, in spite of all the tribunes could urge, and gained the declivity of the *Capitoline-hill*, in conjunction with the *Tusculan auxiliaries*.

Here a noble emulation of being foremost in the charge, animated the Romans and allies. They were encouraged by their leaders on both sides. The enemy then began to be afraid, having no other resource, but in the strength of the place. The confederates took advantage of their disorder, and charged them briskly, and had already broke into the porch of the temple, when *P. Valerius*, who fought at the head of his troops, was killed. *P. Volumnius*, a consular gentleman, saw him fall, and ordering his men to cover his body, flew to take his place. The ardour and fury with which they fought, kept them insensible of the melancholy event: so that they had gained the victory before they perceived that they had fought without a general. The temple was polluted with the blood of many of the exiles, many were taken alive; but *Herdonius* himself was among the slain. Thus then was the capitol recovered. The pri-

soners were punished according to their quality, as freemen or slaves. The Tusculans had the public thanks. The capitol was cleansed and purified, and the people are said to have cast farthings into the consul's house, that he might be buried with the greater pomp.

CHAP. XIX.

The Tribunes over-ruled, by the noble efforts of Cincinnatus.

THIS affair was no sooner happily terminated, than the tribunes became importunate with the senators, to perform the promise made them by P. Valerius. They pressed Claudius, to deliver the manes of his colleagues, from the imputation of treachery, by suffering them, without interruption, to go on in the affair of the law. Claudius told them that the question was inadmissible, till once they had given him a colleague. They continued to wrangle upon this point, till the Comitia were held for the election of a new consul. In the month of December, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, Cæso's father, owing to the indefatigable application of the fathers, was appointed to the consular fasces.

This choice was a thunder-stroke to the people, as they were now under the government of a magistrate of great abilities, great credit in the senate, and highly exasperated against them, and besides had three sons; in magnanimity not inferior to Cæso, and in prudence far surpassing him, when they had occasion to display it.

He no sooner entered upon office, than in the speeches which he daily made from his tribunal, he applied himself no less to rouse the senate from their lethargy, than to check the licentiousness of the people. Addressing himself to the senators, he told them, " That it was
" owing to their constant facility, and want of resolution,
" that the same men were continued in the tribuneship
" from year to year, men, who by their impeachments
" and foul language, lord it over the state, as a set of
" bullies do over a brothel. That courage, constancy,
" in fine, every virtue, civil and military, that adorn
" youth, was driven from Rome, with his son Cæso.
" Babblers, hatchers of sedition, and divisions in the

“ state, prevail by their vile intrigues, to be continued
“ in the office of tribunes, for two or three years, and to
“ act in it with tyrannical wantonness.” What !” continued he, “ has this Aulus Virginius, because he was
“ not in the capitol, deserved less punishment, than Ap-
“ pius Herdonius, who seized it ? I affirm if the circum-
“ stances be properly attended to, it will be evident, that
“ he deserved it more. Herdonius, in declaring himself
“ your enemy, did in some measure, put arms into your
“ hands ; but this tribune, in maintaining with effrontery,
“ that there was no war,—no enemy, wrested your arms
“ from you, and gave you up defenceless to your slaves
“ and exiles ; and did you march your troops, (with de-
“ ference to my colleague, C. Claudius, and the dead
“ Valerius, be it spoken) did you march, I say up to
“ the capitol, before you had cleared the forum of these
“ wretches, the more dangerous enemies of Rome ?
“ What a shame in the sight of gods and men ! Whilst
“ the enemy were in possession of the capitol and cita-
“ del, and a captain of a banditti composed of exiles and
“ slaves, after they had profaned every thing, and taken
“ up their quarters in the temple of the most high Jupi-
“ ter, the Tusculans should have armed in our defence,
“ before we did it ourselves ! There is still reason to
“ doubt, whether it was L. Mamilius, the general of
“ Tusculum, or the consuls, Valerius and Claudius, that
“ delivered the citadel of Rome. And, that we, who
“ would not even permit the Latins to arm in their own
“ defence, even when the enemy was in their country,
“ should, upon this occasion, have been struck out of ex-
“ istence, as a state, had not these same Latins, as a pure
“ effect of their good-will, armed for our relief. And is
“ this what you, tribunes, call *aiding the plebeians*, to
“ give them up unarmed to be slaughtered by the enemy ?
“ If any one, the lowest of the people, with whom you
“ herd, and of whom you have formed a country and
“ republic, distinct from the state, peculiar to yourselves,
“ should come and inform you, that his house was in-
“ vested with a body of armed slaves, you might think
“ it incumbent on you to run to his relief : but the most
“ high, the most benevolent Jupiter, was not worthy to
“ be rescued by human aid, when beset with armed

“ slaves and outlaws. Shall they, to whom the gods are
 “ not sacred, have the impudence to insist after this, that
 “ their persons are sacred and inviolable? And, do you
 “ flatter yourselves, that covered as you are with crimes,
 “ both before gods and men, that you shall pass your
 “ bill this year? By all that is sacred, if you even offer
 “ to prefer it, the day in which I was chosen consul, will
 “ prove more unfortunate, than that on which the re-
 “ public lost Valerius. But my colleague and I have
 “ taken our measures; and first of all, we are to march
 “ the legions against the Æqui and Volsci. How it
 “ comes about, I cannot say, but the gods are ever more
 “ favourable to us in war than in peace.—What would
 “ have been the consequence, had it transpired among
 “ these nations that the capitol was taken by exiles?
 “ However, it is better to form suspicions of what might
 “ have happened, when all is over, than to put it to the
 “ test by actual experiment.”

CHAP. XX.

The Senate encouraged, and the people depressed.

SO vigorous a discourse quite stunned the people. The
 senate pulled up their spirits, and began to think that
 the republic was restored. The other consul, a better
 assessor than principal, easily suffered his colleague to
 take the lead in this weighty business, but claimed to
 himself a share in the execution, which appertained his
 office as consul. The tribunes treated all these me-
 naces as idle vapouring, asking with an air of contempt,
 “ Where the consuls would get the army they meant
 “ to lead out, for they might be assured, they would
 “ not be suffered to make levies.” “ We have occasion
 “ for none,” replied Quinctius, “ the citizens, when
 “ they took up arms to recover the capitol, all swore to
 “ Valerius, not to lay them down without the consuls
 “ permission: wherefore, we strictly enjoin every sol-
 “ dier, who took that oath, to appear in arms to-morrow,
 “ at the lake of Regillus.” The tribunes cavilled, al-
 ledging, “ That the oath did not bind the soldiers to
 “ his obedience, who was then only a private gentleman,

“ when the troops took the oath.” But the contempt of the gods, which reigns so triumphant in our days, was at that time quite unknown. In these times, men did not by artful interpretations, contrive to make oaths and laws convenient for their own purposes, but suited their practice to their oaths and to the laws.

The tribunes finding now, that they could not prevent the consuls design, consulted how to delay the army's march from the city, more especially, as it was rumoured, “ That the augurs had been enjoined to attend at the lake of Regillus. That the place was to be consecrated ; where, the auspices once taken, the consuls might treat with the people, in order to repeal, by their votes in the Comitia, all laws that had been extorted at Rome, by the violence of the tribunes. That there the people would be entirely at the devotion of the consuls : the freedom of appeals did not extend beyond a mile without the city, and the jurisdiction of the tribunes, being confined to the same limits, should they go out to the place of rendezvous, they would also, with the multitude, be subject to the authority of the consuls.”

These considerations appeared terrible, but what struck them most sensibly was, that Quinctius frequently declared, “ That he would hold no Comitia for electing the consuls ; that the state was too much distempered for the application of ordinary remedies : That the commonwealth stood in need of a dictator, who would make all disturbers of the peace, feel the weight of an authority, from which there was no appeal.”

CHAP. XXI.

A compromise.—The Tribunes re-elected.

THE senate were at this time assembled in the capitol. Thither ran the tribunes, with the multitude, in a consternation, at their heels. The people, with loud voices, called sometimes upon the consuls, and sometimes upon the fathers, to compassionate their case : but the consuls would listen to no intreaties, till the tribunes had promised to abide by what the senate should judge fit to be done. Then he reported their

petition to the fathers, who thereupon enacted, " That
" the tribunes should give no more trouble about their
" bill for this year, and that the consuls should not
" lead an army out of the city ; moreover, that in the
" judgment of the senate, to continue magistrates in
" their office, after the expiration of their year, and to
" re-elect the same tribunes, were unconstitutional, and
" dangerous to the state." The consuls submitted to the
senate's award, but the tribunes were re-elected, in spite
of all the consuls remonstrances.

The Patricians, to be even with the Plebeians put
Quinctius in nomination for the consulate: but on no
occasion, throughout the whole year, did he exert him-
self with more force and vehemence, than in opposing
the measure. " Is it any wonder," says he, " conscript
" fathers, that the plebeians make light of your autho-
" rity, when you trifle with it yourselves? Because the
" people violate your decision, in continuing their ma-
" gistrates, you want to do so too, that you may not be
" surpassed in impropriety, as if the passports to power
" in the commonwealth, were inconsistency and licen-
" tiousness ; for certainly there is more of both, in
" counteracting your own decrees, than infringing those
" of others. Do you, conscript fathers, set up the head-
" strong multitude, as a pattern for your imitation, and
" will you, who ought to be an example to others, fol-
" low the crowd to do evil, rather than engage them to
" follow you, by the propriety of your conduct? For
" my own part, I am determined, that I shall not imi-
" tate the tribunes, in contempt of your decree ; I will
" not suffer myself to be re-elected consul ; and I con-
" jure you, C. Claudius, to prevent the Roman people
" from acting so unconstitutionally ; at the same time,
" be assured, that so far from taking offence at your
" opposition, as a bar to my additional honour, I shall
" always consider it as a mark of your friendship, as en-
" hancing my own glory in the proof of my disinterest-
" edness, and an escape from much envy and shame,
" which the continuation in the consulship would un-
" avoidably draw upon me." Upon this, the fathers
issued an edict, " Forbidding all persons to name L.
" Quinctius, at the next elections for the consulate ;

“ declaring, that if any did, his vote would not be admitted.”

CHAP. XXII.

The Volsci defeated.

THE consuls for this year, were Q. Fabius Vibolanus and L. Cornelius Maluginensis. This was the third time Fabius had been raised to that dignity. There was a census held this year, but no lustrum, owing to some religious scruples about the pollution of the capitol, and fall of the consul Valerius.

In the beginning of this consulship, state clouds quickly gathered. The tribunes still tampered with the people, and advices were brought from the Hernici and Latins, that the Æqui and Voisci were making vast preparations for war. The Volscian legions had already reached Antium; and it was strongly suspected, that the Antiates were meditating a revolt. Besides, it was with no small difficulty that the tribunes were prevailed on to suffer the progress of this war to be stopped in time. The consuls shared the provinces between them. It fell to Fabius to march the legions to Antium, while Cornelius stayed to guard the city, lest, according to custom, the Æqui should detach parties to ravage the country. The Hernici and Latins, were ordered to furnish their respective quotas of troops, stipulated by treaty; consequently two-thirds of the army consisted of allies, and one of Romans.

These confederates having come up on the day appointed, the consul encamped without the gate Capena. From thence, after the army had been purified by sacrifice, he marched to Antium, and encamped in its neighbourhood, not far from the enemy.

The Volsci, as the Æqui had not yet joined them, not daring to risk a battle alone, thought only of remaining quiet in their camp, and defending themselves within their works. Next day Fabius drew up his army, not in a body, composed promiscuously of allies and citizens, but into three distinct battalions of Romans, Latins, and Hernici, each by themselves, round the enemy's lines.

At the head of the Roman infantry, he posted himself in the centre. He then ordered them to observe the signal, that they might keep time to a moment in making the attack, or in retiring, if a retreat should be sounded. The cavalry of each were posted in the rear of their respective battalions. In this disposition he invested their camp in three different places, and attacking it with spirit on all sides, drove the Volsci, who could not stand the charge, from their lines. Then getting immediately over their fortifications, where fear had crowded them together and cooped them up in a corner, he drove them from their camp. As they fled in the greatest disorder, the cavalry, unable to cross the ditch, and upon that account, only spectators of the action, having them now in the open plain, came in for their share of the glory by making dreadful havock of them, while they fled in the utmost fright. Many were cut to pieces in the camp, and many in their flight without the lines. The booty was the more considerable, because the enemy had enough to do, if they carried their arms with them, and had not the woods covered their flight, not a man of them would have escaped.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Æqui beat at Tusculum.

DURING these successes at Antium, the Æqui, having detached the flower of their youth before them, surprised the citadel of Tusculum in the night, and encamped the rest of their army in the neighbourhood, to intercept the enemy's forces. This intelligence coming by express to Rome, and transmitted thence to the camp at Antium, affected the Romans as sensibly, as if they had been told, that the capitol was in the hands of the enemy. The obligations they lay under to the Tusculans, in a similar disaster, were too gratefully remembered, not to command assistance in return. Wherefore, Fabius having conveyed the booty from the camp to Antium where he left a small garrison, neglecting every thing else, marched with all expedition to Tusculum, allowing his soldiers to encumber themselves with nothing but

their arms, and such provisions as were ready dressed. Cornelius, the other consul, sent them provisions from Rome.

The campaign before Tusculum lasted several months. With part of the army, Fabius invested the enemy's camp, having dispatched the rest to assist the Tusculans in the recovery of their citadel, which was deemed impregnable by any force. Famine, however, at last obliged the enemy to abandon it, who being reduced to the last extremity, were, by the Tusculans, obliged to pass naked and unarmed under the yoke. The Roman consul pursued them in their shameful flight, and coming up with them at the Algidus, put every one of them to the sword.

The victorious consul led back his army to Columen, for so was the place called, where he encamped. Cornelius likewise, now that the city was in no danger, the enemy being defeated, marched out of Rome with his army: and the two consuls entering the enemy's territories, in two different divisions, contended who should do the greatest execution, the one in the country of the Volsci, and the other in that of the Æqui. Most authors seem positive, that the Antiates revolted this year, and that they were reduced by L. Cornelius, who took their town. But I do not choose to mention it for a truth, as the more ancient historians are silent with respect to it.

CHAP. XXIV.

Volscius impeached for perjury. The Census finished.

THIS war being over, a contention with the tribunes at home, discomposed the fathers. They exclaimed, that the army was kept in the field by artful manœuvres, with a view to stave off the bill; and declared, that nothing should hinder them from going through with what they had undertaken. Nevertheless, Lucretius, præfect of the city, prevailed with them to defer the business till the arrival of the consuls.

There arose likewise, a new ground of contention: A. Cornelius and Q. Servilius, who were at that time quæstors, appointed M. Volscius a day to stand trial, for

manifest perjury in his evidence against Cæso. For, from many concurring testimonies, it was evident that Volscius's brother, from the time he had been confined to his bed, had never left it, far less been seen abroad; and after he had languished for several months under the disease, it had at last carried him off. Neither was Cæso at Rome, the time condescended on in the indictment; many of his camp companions affirming, that he had been all that time attending his colours, without ever leaving them; the truth of which was vouched by many.

But he durst not venture to stand this trial; for, from so many concurring circumstances, the condemnation of Volscius was no more doubted, than Cæso's upon his single testimony. The tribunes, however, put off the trial, refusing to suffer the Quæstors to hold the Comitia for that purpose, till they were first assembled for enacting the law. Consequently both these points were deferred till the return of the consuls.

When the consuls entered the city in triumph with their victorious army, as no mention was made of the law, it was generally believed that the tribunes were overawed by their presence. But, as the year was near an end, anxious to get themselves elected for the fourth time, they had dropt all disputes about the law, to leave themselves at liberty to canvass for next election. And, although the consuls exerted themselves as strenuously to oppose the re-election of the same tribunes, as if a bill had been preferred to curtail their authority, yet in the contest the tribunes prevailed.

This year the Æqui sued for peace, which was granted them; and the census, which had been begun last year, was finished in this. This was the tenth lustration which had been made since the building of the city. One hundred and thirty-two thousand four hundred and nine citizens were enrolled. The consuls, by their conduct this year, both in peace and war, gained immortal honour; for they made peace with all their neighbours; and the state, though the demon of discord was not totally expelled, was not so much embroiled as in other consulships.

CHAP. XXV.

New disturbance from the Æqui.

THESE consuls gave way to L. Menucius and C. Nautius, who took under their consideration, the two causes, that lay over undetermined the former year. The consuls would not hear of the law, nor the tribunes of Volscius's trial, but the new Quæstors were men of greater resolution and more weight. There were in that office Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, who had been thrice consul, and M. Valerius, the son of Valerius, and grandson of Volscius. Quinctius, since Cæso, the pride of the Roman youth, could neither be restored to his family, nor the state, thought it his duty to prosecute the man who had given false evidence against him, and so deprived him of an opportunity of pleading his innocence, as far as law or justice would go.

When Virginius, particularly, and the other tribunes were bustling about the law, the consuls were allowed two months to examine it, and explain to the people the mischief latent under it, after which they were to suffer it to be put to the vote. The concession of this respite, produced a general tranquillity all over the city; but it was soon interrupted by the Æqui, who, having broke the treaty they had made with the Romans the year before, had put themselves under the auspices of Gracchus Clælius by far the most considerable man in their country. Led on by him, they passed through the Lavican territories, entered the Tusculan, which they ravaged without mercy, and laden with spoil, retired to the Algidus, where they encamped.

Q. Fabius, Publius Volumnius, and A. Posthumius, were sent thither, ambassadors from Rome, to complain of the injuries, and demand restitution, agreeable to treaty. The general of the Æqui, in return, ordered them, "to deliver their commission from the Roman senate to the oak tree; for at present, he had other business to mind." The oak tree, alluded to, was a large one hanging over his tent; and by its branches forming a cool shade. Then one of the ambassadors, as he departed, said, "Let

“ this sacred oak, and whatever divinity resides in it,
 “ bare witness to your breach of treaty; may they pay
 “ more regard to our just complaints, and by and by
 “ prosper our arms, when we shall take you to a severe
 “ account for your violation of the laws of gods and men.”

The moment the ambassadors were returned to Rome, the senate ordered one of the consuls to march with an army to the Algidus, against Gracchus, and the other to lay waste the territories of the Æqui. The tribunes, as usual, opposed the levies at first, and might have done so to the last, but for a fresh and sudden alarm.

CHAP. XXVI.

Minutius besieged in his camp. Cincinnatus created dictator.

A SWARM of Sabines drove like an inundation, ravaging all before them, almost to the walls of Rome. The Roman lands were laid waste, and in the city there was great consternation. The people then cheerfully took arms, and in spite of all the remonstrances of the tribunes, two formidable armies were levied. Nautius led one of them against the Sabines, and encamped at Eretum, whence he sent out small detachments, and these generally in the night, by which he committed such terrible devastations, that comparatively speaking, what the Romans had suffered bore no proportion.

But Minutius in his expedition, had neither the same spirit, nor the same good fortune: for, having encamped not far from the enemy, although he had met with no extraordinary check, he kept within his camp for fear. The enemy, the moment they observed his cowardice, began, as it generally happens, to pull up a prodigious flow of spirits. Thus animated, they attacked his camp in the night, but finding they could make no impression by open force, drew lines round it the next day. Before they had finished their circumvallation, and blocked up every avenue, five horsemen, who had been dispatched on purpose, escaped the vigilance of the enemy's centries, and carried the news to Rome, that the consul and his army were besieged in their camp. This intelli-

gence, of all others, was least expected, or looked for; and the terror and consternation it occasioned at Rome, was much the same, as if the city itself, and not the camp, had been invested.

The consul Nautius was sent for; but that their only confidence might not be placed in him, they judged it proper to name a dictator, to retrieve their embarrassed affairs, and pitched upon L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, with one consent, for that purpose.

It is worth any one's while, who makes light of every thing but riches, and who imagines, that without them, there can be no real greatness, no virtue,—to listen attentively to the following narrative. This same Lucius Quinctius, the prop and stay of the Roman people, lived in the country, on the other side of the Tiber, and cultivated with his own hands, a small piece of land of four acres, called the Quinctian meadows, opposite that very place, where the ship-docks now are. The senate's deputies found him there, trenching with the spade, or at plough; at least, one thing is certain, that he was busily employed about his farm. After the usual compliments on both sides were passed, they begged him, "To put on his gown, and hear the senate's message, praying it might prove auspicious both to himself and the state." Struck with admiration, he asked them, "If all was well?" Then turning to his wife Racilia, "Go," says he, "make haste and fetch my gown:" and wiping the dust and sweat from his face, he put it on and rejoined them. The deputies straight saluted him Dictator, with great demonstrations of joy, invited him to the city, and informed him of the critical situation of the army. A barge belonging to the state was waiting to convey him to the city. His three sons, his other relations and friends, and the greatest part of the senators, were waiting to receive him at his landing. With this attendance, preceded by the lictors he was conducted to his house. Crowds of the Plebeians likewise put themselves in his train, although his arrival to them was not over-agreeable; for they thought his authority too extensive, and himself too severe in the execution of it. They kept watch in the city all that night.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Dictator marches to the Consul's relief.

THE dictator, next morning, went into the forum, and named for his general of the horse, L. Tarquinius, a Patrician, who had distinguished himself by his bravery above all the Roman youth; but, being too poor to keep a horse, had till then never served but in the infantry. With him he repaired to the assembly, proclaimed a vacation in all judiciary proceedings, ordered the shops throughout the city to be shut up, a suspension of all labour whatever, and all the citizens able to bear arms, to meet him before sun-set, in the field of Mars, with their arms, dressed provisions for five days, and each furnished with twelve stakes for a pallisade. Whoever through age was disqualified for the service, was ordered to dress provisions for the soldier who lived nearest him, whilst he furnished himself with stakes, and got ready his arms.

In consequence of this order, the youth dispersed themselves up and down in quest of stakes, taking them as they occurred, without the least interruption. They all assembled without the least delay, as the dictator had ordered.

The dictator then at the head of the infantry, and his general of horse at the head of the cavalry, led out the troops drawn up, not only for marching, but for action, should occasion require it. Each corps was animated, by arguments drawn from the present emergency. They were requested, "to march with expedition, in order to come up with the enemy in the night, as the consul and a Roman army had now been besieged for three days. That it was impossible to say what a day or night might bring forth, as a single moment often determined the greatest and most important event." To gratify their leaders, the soldiers addressing each other, cried out, "March on, ensign; follow soldier." About the middle of the night, they arrived at the Algidus, and when they perceived themselves not far from the enemy, gave orders to halt.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The consul relieved, the Æqui beat, and obliged to pass under the yoke.

THE dictator mounting on horseback, rode round the enemy's camp, and examined its form and extent with all the minuteness the night would admit; he then ordered the tribunes to cause the baggage to be heaped up in one place, and the soldiers to return with their arms and stakes into their ranks; all which was instantly complied with. He made his army extend itself around their camp, in the same good order as they had marched, with orders to throw up a ditch, and fortify it with palisadoes, and the moment the signal should be given, to set up a great shout all together. They waited not long for the signal, and executed the orders with the utmost punctuality. The cry was heard round the enemy on all sides, and beyond the camp of the Æqui, soon reached the consul's camp, where it spread confidence and joy, whilst it filled the Æqui with consternation and terror.

The consul's army, when they heard the shouts of their fellow citizens, congratulated each other; and assured that relief was at hand, threatened the enemy with their advanced and picquet-guards. "There is now no time to be lost," cried the consul; "the shout we have heard, has not only announced the arrival of our friends, but that they are already engaged with the enemy. Nay, it would be matter of wonder, if the enemy's lines are not already attacked on the outside. To arms, therefore, to arms, and follow me soldiers." Out sallied the legions in the night to the attack, and their shouts informed the dictator, that the enemy had also hot work on the inside.

The Æqui were just going to interrupt the works the dictator had begun, to prevent their being surrounded, when the alarm from the other side, obliged them to turn the best part of their strength that way, lest they should open a way through the heart of their camp; and leave the dictator at liberty, for the rest of the night, to go on with his works.

The engagement with the consular army continued till morning, by which time the dictator had drawn his works quite round them, nor were they quite a match for one of the armies. Then the dictator's troops had no sooner finished their work, than they run to their arms and attacked the enemy's lines.

Here was new work cut out for them, without the least respite from the old, which was still maintained with great vigour, and being at last overpowered by an enemy on each side, they threw down their arms, and begged quarter, on the one side conjuring the dictator, on the other, the consul, not to place victory in the utter destruction of their nation, but to suffer them to depart unarmed. The consul referred them to the dictator, who being highly provoked, ordered them to bring their general, Gracchus Clælius, and their other leaders in chains to him, and immediately to evacuate the city of Corbio; telling them at the same time, "That as he
" did not want their blood, he would let them go; but
" that by passing under the yoke, they should acknow-
" ledge, in the face of the sun, they were now a con-
" quered people." This yoke was constructed with three spears, two whereof stood perpendicular to the plain, and the third laid across them, under which, agreeable to the dictator's order, they all passed.

CHAP. XXIX.

Cincinnatus triumphs. Minutius degraded.

HAVING taken the enemy's camp, which was plentifully supplied with stores of every kind, and indeed he had stripped them of every thing, he gave all the booty to his own soldiers. To the consul and his army, he gave nothing but a sharp rebuke; telling them, "You
" shall not, soldiers, who were just about to fall a prey
" to your enemies, have any share in their spoils. And
" as for you L. Minucius, till you begin to have the spi-
" rit of a consul, you shall only serve as a lieutenant-ge-
" neral in this army." Minucius abdicated the consulship, and continued with the army as he was ordered. So religiously was discipline observed at this time, and

such respect and ready submission did people pay to superior merit and superior authority, that the army, less affected with the disgrace they had suffered, than the benefit they had received, decreed the dictator a crown of gold, of a pound weight, and at his departure saluted him their preserver.

The Roman senate having been convened by Fabius, the city præfect, decreed, that Quinctius, with the army he commanded, should enter the city in triumph. The generals of the enemy walked in chains before his chariot; the ensigns taken from them, were carried before him, and the army loaded with booty, closed the procession. Tables were covered at every door, where the soldiers stopping to regale themselves, again followed the chariot, making the whole city resound with songs of triumph, and revelling as at their annual feasts.

The same day, by the unanimous consent of the people, the freedom of Rome was conferred on L. Mamilius of Tusculum. Quinctius would have abdicated the dictatorship immediately, had it not been for the trial of Volscius for perjury, which the tribunes would have put off long enough, had not the authority of the dictator been interposed. Volscius was condemned, and afterwards banished, when he retired to Lanuvium. Though Quinctius might have retained his high office for six months, he resigned on the sixteenth day after his promotion.

During these transactions, the consul Nautius was carrying all before him at Eretrum, against the Sabines, whom he had not only distressed by ravaging their country, but had also routed in a general battle. Fabius was sent to the Algidus, to succeed to Minucius. In the end of the year, the tribunes began to stir again in the affair of the law: but as two armies were abroad, the senate carried it, that no bill should be preferred to the people. Nevertheless, in the election of tribunes, the commons prevailed, to have the same men continued in office, for the fifth time. About this time, it was reported, that wolves had been seen in the capitol, and that they were driven away by the dogs, for which reason it was purified.

CHAP. XXX.

Five added to the college of Tribunes. The Sabines defeated. A. R. 295.

THESE were the memorable events of the year. The consular fasces were now transferred to Horatius Pulvillus, and Q. Minutius. The beginning of their administration was disturbed by no commotions abroad, but the tribunes and their bill found them sufficient employment at home: and so violent were they on the head, that they would very probably have pushed it to the utmost, if news had not been brought, in the very nick of time, that the Æqui in the night, had surprized the Roman garrison of Corbio, and taken the place by assault.

The senate assembled, and without delay ordered an army to be raised and led to the Algidus. Wherefore, waving all disputes about the law for the present, the whole bustle turned upon the levies. Here the commons, supported by their tribunes, prevailed over the authority of the consuls, when they were still more alarmed from another quarter. The Sabines had made a descent upon the Roman territory, and were advancing to the walls of the city.

The terror struck by these motions had such weight with the tribunes that they suffered the levies to go on, but upon the express condition, that their number should be augmented to ten, because they had been constantly baffled for five years successively, which was a certain proof that their number was not sufficient for the protection of the people. The necessity of the times obliged the senators to comply, but conditionally, that for the future, the same tribunes should not be re-chosen. The comitia were immediately held for this new election, for fear it might not, as they had learned from experience, be put in execution, if delayed till the end of the war.

Thus, in the thirty-sixth year of the tribunitian power, ten tribunes were created, two out of each class, a method observed ever after. Troops were then raised, and Minucius marched to chastise the Sabines, but found

no enemy in the field. The Æqui having put the garrison of Corbio to the sword, and taken Ortona, were attacked by Horatius at Algidus. Many of them fell in the action, and the rest driven from the Algidus, and the cities they had taken. Corbio was levelled with the ground, because its inhabitants had betrayed the garrison.

CHAP. XXXI.

The consuls fined by the people. A code of laws proposed.

M. VALERIUS and Sp. Virginius succeed to the consulship, when Rome enjoyed peace, both at home and abroad; but the rainy season brought on a scarcity of provisions. A law was likewise passed for making mount Aventine common. The same tribunes were re-chosen, who, in the following year, when T. Romilius, and C. Veturius were consuls, proposed the law in all their assemblies, declaring, they should be ashamed, now that the number of their college had been doubled, if they should be disappointed all the two years of their tribuneship, as their predecessors had been for the five last years. While the tribunes were wholly intent upon this matter, an express arrived from Tusculum, with the alarming accounts, that the Æqui were already in the heart of their country. The late noble exertions of that people in favour of Rome, challenged an immediate return; for which reason both consuls were dispatched with an army, who found the enemy, as usual, encamped at the Algidus. There they were charged with such vigour, that above 7000 fell in the action, and the rest put to flight.

The spoils, which were considerable, were sold by the consuls, and the proceeds put in the treasury, as it had been totally drained. This measure was very unpopular in the army, and in the end furnished the tribunes with materials for censuring the consuls before the people. The moment they were out of office, both had a day appointed for their trial, when Sp. Tarpeius and A. Aterius were consuls. C. Claudius Cicero appeared as prosecutor against Romilius, the Ædile; L. Alienus, against his colleague Veturius. They were both con-

demned, which exasperated the senators prodigiously. Romilius was fined in 10,000 asses, and Veturius in 15,000 brass asses. Notwithstanding this example the succeeding consuls abated nothing of their usual activity, but swore, that were they also to be condemned, they would never suffer the people and their demagogues to carry the law.

The tribunes then dropping their bill, which had been so often tabled, that it was now worn to rags; and assuming a milder tone than hitherto, when addressing the senators, requested, "that they would now put an end to all contention, and since Plebeian laws were disagreeable to them, that they would suffer legislators, partly Patricians and partly Plebeians, to be created, for establishing laws for the common benefit, and common security of all ranks, in point of liberty." The senators made no other objection to this proposal, but the admission of Plebeians into the number of the legislators. When therefore they were agreed upon having laws, the next point to be settled was the nomination of those to be put in commission to make them. Spurius Posthumius Albus, A. Manlius, P. Sulpitius Camerinus were commissioned and sent to Athens, to copy the celebrated laws of Solon, and to learn the statutes, usages, and laws of the other states of Greece.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Commissioners from Greece returned, and the Decemvirs proposed for compiling the new laws. A. R. 300.

THE Romans had no longer war to disturb them all this year, nor in the following consulship of P. Horatius and S. Quinctilius, which was still more remarkable for the constant taciturnity of the tribunes, occasioned by the deputation to Athens, and their expectation of foreign laws; add to this, that they were terribly afflicted with famine and pestilence, equally destructive to man and beast. The country became a solitude; constant burials thinned the city; and many families, some of them of the first distinction, were always in mourning. Ser. Cornelius, high priest of Romulus, died of the

plague ; as did C. Horatius Pulvillus, the augur, in whose place the college chose C. Veturius, the rather because he had been condemned by the people. Quinctilius the consul, and four of the tribunes, fell also victims of the plague, so that this year was tainted with a prodigious mortality.

In the mean time, they had no disturbance from foreign enemies. In the next year, in the consulship of P. Sestius, and T. Menenius, there was no foreign war, but the dæmon of discord once more began to rage at home. The commissioners were now returned with the Athenian laws, and the tribunes were very urgent, that the great work of compiling a complete code of laws should be immediately entered upon. It was at last determined, that ten gentlemen should be delegated to act as sole magistrates for one year ; from whose authority there should be no appeal. The debates ran high for some time about admitting Plebeians in the commission. At last the senate prevailed, under this restriction, that neither Icilius' law with respect to the Aventine mount, nor the laws relative to the functions and privileges of the tribunes, should be repealed.

CHAP. XXXIII.

*The beginning of the Administration of the Decemvirs.
A disinterested instance.*

THUS in the year 301, after the building of the city, there was a second revolution, the administration being now transferred from the consuls to the decemvirs, as it had been in the first instance, from the kings to consuls. This last revolution was less memorable, as it was of shorter duration. The joy that this new form of government diffused at first was rather extravagant, and upon that account less permanent, insomuch that consular government, both in name and authority, came sooner to be in request.

The decemvirs created by the people, were Appius Claudius, T. Genucius, P. Sestius, L. Veturius, C. Julius, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, P. Curiatius, T. Romilius, and Sp. Posthumius. This compliment was paid to

Claudius and Genucius, to balance the consular fasces to which they had been preferred this year, and to Sestius, one of the consuls the preceding year, because he has brought that affair before the senate, though his colleague was entirely against it. Next to these were named the three commissioners, who had been sent to Athens, as a compliment due to them for their trouble in executing a commission at such a distance, at the same time it was thought that men acquainted with foreign laws, would be of some consequence in instituting a body of laws calculated for their own meridian. Those who succeeded in the list completed the number; but they who were named last, were too old, as some say, to oppose, with a sufficient degree of resolution, the sentiments of their colleagues.

Appius, by the favour he had acquired among the people, had the modelling of their magistracy. For he had so far new-modelled his temper, that from being the most austere Patrician, who crossed the Plebeians in all their claims and pretensions, he suddenly became a very Poplicola, solely intent upon pleasing the multitude and acquiring their affection.

Each of these new magistrates, in his turn, administered justice every tenth day, when he had the fasces borne before him: each of the other nine being that day only attended by a single officer*.

The perfect unanimity that prevailed among themselves, far from being prejudicial to particulars, which is too often the case, was attended with the strictest equity, in regard to all the citizens. We shall only mention a single anecdote, as an instance of their moderation. By the tenor of their institution, from their judgment there could be no appeal: yet when a corpse was detected, and dug up in the house of P. Sestius, by birth a Patrician, and exposed in the public assembly; in a case so glaring and atrocious, the decemvir, C. Julius, appointed him a day for his trial; and though he was the legal judge himself in the cause, yet he appeared as the public prosecutor before the people, derogating from his own authority as decemvir, to add to that of the people.

* This officer was called *Accensus*, *ab acciando*.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Great satisfaction in the laws and practice of the Decemvirs.

WHILST all ranks were in raptures with an administration which rendered justice with so much dispatch and impartiality, the decemvirs applied themselves diligently in preparing their code of laws. At length they called an assembly of the people, big with expectation, and exposed to public view, ten tables of laws : and praying, " It might prove beneficial, fortunate, and auspicious to the state, themselves and their posterity, requested, they would now read the laws they had proposed. That they had laboured, to the utmost of their capacity, to adapt them to the circumstances of all ranks, high and low ; but the reflections and remarks of the whole body of the people, might make many improvements. They therefore exhorted the people, to examine each article with attention in private, and then communicate to each other their respective sentiments, so that they may be prepared to declare in public, what they conceived should be added or retrenched ; that in consequence, the Roman people might have laws, which they could not so properly be said to have accepted and confirmed, as to have dictated and composed themselves."

After the people had examined and commented upon every chapter of the laws, and all necessary corrections and amendments made, to the satisfaction of all concerned, the ten tables were ratified and confirmed in the Comitia by centuries, and are at this day, the foundation of all right, public or private, however much systems of jurisprudence have been multiplied since. It was now surmised, that several regulations, which would fill two other tables, ought to be added to the former, in order to make a complete code of Roman laws. This opinion gained ground, and occasioned a proposal to continue the decemviral government one year longer ; for by that expedient, the people thought they would be delivered from the authority of the consuls, now no less odious than that of kings, and they found no occasion for the

protection of their tribunes, since the decemvirs allowed causes which had been determined by one of them to be re-heard by another.

CHAP. XXXV.

Decemvirs chosen a-new.

THE assembly for the election of new decemvirs being fixed twenty-seven days after, the canvassing for that office raised such a ferment, that the principal men of the state, fearing, no doubt, that an office of so great authority, were they not to appear as candidates, might lay open to persons, by no means worthy of it, used all their influence to get themselves returned in the nomination to a dignity, of the establishment whereof, they had been the warmest opposers, although they now humbly solicited the favour of that very people, against whom they had contended with so much vehemence before.

Appius, seeing men so respectable for their years, who had passed through all the dignities of the state, so warm in the pursuit of this, began to be seriously alarmed. It was difficult to say, from his behaviour at this time, whether he was then in office, or wanted to be so. Only on some occasions, he showed more of the candidate than the decemvir. He spoke lightly of the nobility, but the lowest and most contemptible of the competitors he extolled to the skies; strutting in the forum among the Dullii and Julii, his advocates among the people, with whom their influence was very considerable. At last his colleagues, who till then had been entirely at his devotion, began to mark him more attentively, being at a loss to unravel the mystery of his intentions. To them it appeared, that he was all a mask together. "What!" said they, "is it possible, that a man, who inherits all the pride of the Claudian family, should all at once degenerate into such servile obsequiousness, without views of the most interested kind? To descend so much from his stateliness;—to put himself so much under restraint;—and to mingle in the face of the sun with private persons, had not the appearance that he was in haste to abdicate, but rather, that he was pursuing every plan to be continued in his office."

They durst not however, oppose his ambitious views in a direct manner, but they endeavoured to counterplot him by a feigned compliance. As the youngest among them, by one consent, they choosed him to preside in the assembly at the general election. The design of this was, to put it out of his power to put himself upon the list, a thing quite unprecedented, except among the tribunes, and even then, considered as an instance of the grossest impropriety. However, he declared he would hold the Comitia, which he hoped would prove fortunate, and turned the obstacles laid in his way into the means of success. For, having by his intrigues got the two Quinctii set aside, with Capitolinus, Cincinnatus his uncle, C. Claudius, a man, who had shewn himself always in the interest of the nobility, and other citizens of the same distinction, he created men decemvirs, who were their inferiors in every respect; having, moreover, put himself first in nomination, a circumstance that to every good man, appeared so shameful, that nobody imagined he would have carried his impudence to so extraordinary an height. The other nine were M. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Sergius, L. Minucius, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Q. Poetelius, T. Antonius Merenda, Cæso Duilius, Sp. Oppius, Cornicen, M. Rubuleius.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Villainy of the Decemvirs. A. R. 303.

HERE Appius threw off the mask: from this date, he began to act more consistently with his real character, and took care, that his new colleagues, even before they entered upon office, should all be formed upon his own model. They had private meetings every day, in which they concerted schemes of tyranny, which they concealed from all mankind, and now far from dissembling their pride, they became accessible to few, and even those they treated with the utmost reserve, till the ides of May; at that time, the usual term of entering upon office. The very first day, they made their official parade, filled the whole city with terror and consternation. They appeared in the forum, each with twelve lictors before him,

whereas their predecessors had observed this rule, that only one should have the fasces at a time, which passed in rotation through them all, to each of them regularly in his turn. One hundred and twenty lictors now filled the forum, carrying axes tied up in their fasces. Nor did they think themselves entitled to withdraw the axes, since by the decemviral constitution, there was no appeal from their judgment. They had the appearance of ten kings, which not only filled the minds of the populace with uncommon terror, but damped the principal senators not a little, from a persuasion, that they only wanted a pretence to lay the foundation of their authority in blood. For, should any one, either in the senate, or assemblies, utter a syllable, serving to revive the remembrance of liberty, he would run the risk of his skin, and perhaps his head, to intimidate others from using the same freedom.

The right of appeal to the people was taken away, so that no relief could be expected from that quarter, and matters had been so concerted among the decemvirs, that one of them would not receive an appeal from the decision of another, which was very different from the practice of last year, when they not only suffered appeals to one another, but also transferred causes to the judgment of the people, that properly belonged to their own tribunal. For some time they were equally formidable to all ranks; but by degrees, the whole weight of their power began to be pointed against the populace.

They spared the Patricians, whilst their schemes against those of lower rank, were cruel and oppressive; regarding the person, not the justice of the cause, interest with them constantly supplanting equity. They advised all causes at home, and only pronounced sentence in the forum. In cases of appeals, the appellant was handled so roughly, that he had reason to repent of his application for a new verdict. A report too, began to be spread, though no author was given, that they had conspired among themselves, not only to exercise their tyranny for the present, but had entered secretly into a compact, which they had confirmed by oath, never to call a new election, but now that they were once in possession, to make their authority perpetual.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Decemvirs introduce licentiousness.

THEY then began to turn their eyes towards the Patricians, to see if possibly they could discover any hope of liberty from those, from whom they had before apprehended slavery, the dread of which had precipitated the commonwealth into this deplorable condition. The principal senators detested the decemvirs, but did not love the plebeians. They were far from approving of the present proceedings, but they thought the people only met with their deserts. Wherefore, they were in no haste to relieve those, who, through a blind passion for liberty, had plunged themselves into slavery; nor were they sorry to see their chains grow every day more heavy, in hopes that a feeling of their miseries might awaken in them a desire of the re-establishment of consuls, and the ancient form of government.

The greater part of the year was already past, when two tables of laws were drawn up to be added to the tenth, as had been promulgated the year before: and there now remained no pretext for continuing themselves in the decemvirate, so that the ides of May were expected with the utmost anxiety and impatience, when an assembly should be held for the election of consuls.

How the tribunitian power, the bulwark of Plebeian liberty, after the interruption it had met with, was to be resumed, was matter of great speculation to the people. In the mean time, not a syllable was mentioned of a new election, and the decemvirs, who at first had been attended by the tribunes, more effectually to gain the people, were accompanied now by a band of young Patricians, who appeared in their retinue as a guard, and constantly surrounded their tribunals, harassing and plundering the people; insomuch, that whatever occurred worth having, became the perquisite of the strongest arm. Nay, they did not spare the persons of the citizens; some were whipped with rods like slaves, whilst others perished by the axe like criminals; and that cruelty might not go unrewarded, a confiscation of estate

immediately followed the murder of the proprietor. The young nobility, debauched by this sort of gain, not only connived at these scenes of injustice, but openly preferred a life of licentiousness to public liberty.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Sabines renew the war. The Decemvirs at a loss.

THE ides of May came, and not the least appearance of any comitia, for an election of new magistrates. The tyrants then, who were in fact but private persons, shewed themselves bare-faced, and retained their authority, without any other title but rapine and violence. This was a manifest usurpation of regal tyranny. Every one deplored in secret the loss of liberty, but not one in the whole republic had the spirit to attempt to break her chains. The Roman people now seemed to have lost all courage, and the nations who had submitted to their dominion, began now to despise them as disdaining to be subject to a state, whose liberty subsisted no longer.

The Sabines, in formidable parties, dispersed themselves over the Roman territories, and having made a great booty in prisoners and cattle, collected their scattered forces, and encamped at Eretum, placing all their hopes in the anarchy at Rome, which they imagined, would be an effectual bar to the levies.

The news of these disasters were confirmed by the peasants who fled from the neighbourhood, and spread terror through the whole city. The decemvirs now deliberated upon the measures proper to be taken, and whilst the hatred of the senate and people had shut every door of resource against them, one storm followed close on the back of another. The Æqui, on the other side, were encamped at the Algidus. Messengers were dispatched from Tusculum to Rome, with advices that detachments from their army were ravaging the Tusculan territories, at the same time, requesting assistance. These accounts threw the decemvirs into the utmost consternation, seeing themselves obliged, amidst the dread of two wars, of necessity to assemble the senate. They therefore, gave orders, to cite the fathers to assemble in the

senate-house, at the same time that they well knew what a torrent of reproaches they had to encounter; they were not ignorant, that the ravages of the country, and all the misfortunes that threatened the state, would be stated to their account. They foresaw, that an attempt would then be made, to wrest their authority from them, if they did not with united vigour oppose it, and make examples of all who should presume to enter the lists against them.

When the voice of the herald was heard in the forum, summoning the senators to meet the decemvirs in the senate-house, the people were quite astonished, so great a novelty was it now to consult the senate, that custom having been long discontinued. "What can be the matter now," said they, "that they revive a practice so long out of date? We have our enemies and the war to thank, for seeing the least vestige of our ancient liberty in the city." They looked round the forum in every part for senators, but few or none appeared. From thence they repaired to the senate-house, where nothing appeared around the decemvirs, but empty space, which the usurpers themselves ascribed to an aversion at their government, and the people to a contempt of their authority; who, as private persons, had no right to call a senate. This, they concluded was an opening for the admission of liberty, provided the commons would go hand in hand with the senate, and mind the summons for enrolment, as little as the senators had done the proclamation for holding a senate.

Such were the private sentiments of the Plebeians. There was scarce any of the senators to be seen in the forum, and very few in the city. Shocked at the present administration, they had retired into the country, where, since they could be of no service to the public, they might look after their private affairs; persuaded, that the farther they were removed from the meetings and assemblies of those tyrannical monsters, the more they were out of harm's way. When they did not obey the citation, officers were sent round to their dwelling-houses, to distrain their effects, and to enquire whether they had absented themselves on purpose. The officers reported that the senators were in the country, which gave much more pleasure to the decemvirs, than if they

had been told that the fathers were in town, but would not acknowledge their authority. They were all ordered to be sent for, and the meeting was adjourned till the next day, when it was more numerous than the decemvirs themselves expected, which damped the people not a little, as imagining the cause of liberty abandoned by the fathers, since they had submitted to the authority of those, who ought to have been out of office; as if they had had a legal title to compel them, who, but for the violence of their measures, would be only private persons.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Decemvirs are told their real character.

BUT it seems they showed more submission in coming to the house, than they did in delivering their opinions. For it is reported of Valerius Potitus, that after Appius Claudius had opened the cause of their meeting, and before it came to his turn to give his opinion, he stood up, and demanded to be heard relative to the state of the Republic. The decemvirs sternly ordered him to sit down, and hold his peace, but he declared he would go out and lay the matter before the people, which raised a terrible storm. M. Horatius Barbatus also entered very warmly into the dispute, and loudly called them "ten Tarquins, the tyrants of their country: at the same time, reminding them in direct terms, that the Valerii and Horatii were at the head of the party that expelled the kings. It was not the regal title that gave them uneasiness at that time; for there could be no harm in a title which was given to Jupiter; which Romulus, their founder, and his successors had enjoyed, and to this day retained in religious rites and solemnities. But it was the pride and tyranny of a king which they abhorred; and if these in a sovereign or prince of the blood were intolerable, where is the man that would tamely bear them in ten private persons? Have a care then, (says he,) lest by restraining the liberty of speech in this house, you draw not on yourselves a more severe commentary without doors. I can see no more impropriety in my calling an assembly of

" the people, when invested with no authority, than in
 " your convening the senate, when divested of all au-
 " thority. Only put it to the test, and you will then see
 " to your cost, whether the people's zeal in asserting
 " their liberty, or your ambition to maintain your usurp-
 " ed authority, will be most strenuously exerted. You
 " talk to us of a war begun against us by the Sabines,
 " as if the Roman people had a war more formidable
 " than with you, who, under the mask of legislators, have
 " subverted all law and justice in the Republic. You
 " have suppressed the assemblies both of the senate and
 " people; you have abolished annual magistrates, the
 " right of election and governing by turns, the only me-
 " thod which is consistent with liberty, and though but
 " private persons, assume the ensigns and the power of
 " despotism. Upon the expulsion of the kings, there
 " were only Patrician magistrates; after the secession,
 " plebeian magistrates were also created; pray, with
 " which of these interests are you connected? Is it with
 " that of the people? What then have you done with
 " their concurrence? Are you in the Patrician interest?
 " And yet for very near twelve months have never
 " convened the senate, and now that you have done
 " it, pretend to debar them the privilege of speaking
 " concerning the state of the Republic? Trust not, I ad-
 " vise you, too much to our want of courage; for we
 " are now convinced that our present oppression within
 " the city, is more intolerable than any thing we have
 " to fear without it."

CHAP. XL.

Cornelius Maluginensis vindicates the Decemvirs.

HORATIUS having thus expressed himself with great
 vehemence, while the decemvirs could neither give vent
 to their fury, nor calmly put up with the treatment they
 had met with; being quite uncertain how the affair
 would terminate; C. Claudius, uncle to Appius, the de-
 cemvir, rose up to speak, but he employed rather en-
 treaties than reproach, conjuring his nephew, by the
 manes of his brother Appius, the decemvir's father,

" To consider rather the natural obligation by which he
" was bound to the country that gave him birth, than
" the wicked and unjust compact he had engaged him-
" self in, with his colleagues: That however much he
" was concerned for the state, it was still more for his
" own sake he made him that request. For he might
" depend on it, the Republic would compel them to
" restore its rights, should they be obstinate enough
" to refuse it: But as great contests were generally
" productive of much ill blood, he shuddered at the
" thoughts of what the event might be."

However much the decemvirs were determined that there should be no opinion delivered, but upon the subject of their meeting, yet they were ashamed to interrupt Claudius, who therefore gave his opinion, that the senate should by no means pass a decree; which was declaring in plain terms, that he viewed the decemvirs in no other light but that of private persons. Many consular gentlemen declared themselves of the same opinion.

There was another opinion, in appearance, still more harsh; but in effect less conclusive, viz. that the Patricians should meet to choose an Inter-*rex*. For, by this state of the vote, they who held the senate were acknowledged as magistrates; but by the other, which declared for no decree, they were made private persons. The interest of the decemvirs being now visibly on the decline. Lucius Cornelius Maluginensis, brother to M. Cornelius the decemvir, who had been reserved on purpose to deliver his opinion the last of all the consular gentlemen, stood up for his brother and his colleagues, by pretending a mighty concern for the war. " He was
" surprized, (he said,) by what fatality, men, who, them-
" selves had been candidates for the decemvirate, or
" partners in it, should above all others be so keen in
" their opposition to the decemvirs? And how it came
" about, that during many months, when all was quiet,
" nobody made the least objection to the justice of their
" title, who then acted as supreme magistrates, till now
" that the enemy is near our gates, that they want to
" involve us in domestic broils; if it be not, that they
" imagine, their real designs will be better concealed in
" the confusion. But it was extremely proper, while

“ they had matters of the greatest consequence before
 “ them, that considerations less weighty should be postponed, till these be once discussed. With respect to
 “ the charge brought against the decemvirs by Valerius
 “ and Horatius, that their authority had expired on the
 “ ides of May; he was of opinion, that the moment the
 “ wars with which they were threatened should be
 “ brought to a conclusion, and peace once more restored
 “ to the republic, the senate should take the matter under
 “ consideration; whilst Appius in the mean time
 “ should be preparing for his defence, being sensible he
 “ must answer for those comitia, which in his first decemvirate he had held for the election of new decemvirs, that the senate might judge with precision, whether their office was to continue for one year only, or till such laws as were then wanted, should be completed. At present it was his own opinion, that the war was the only object they ought to have in view. If they thought themselves imposed on by a false alarm, both by the messengers and Tusculan deputies, it was their business to come at the certainty, by sending out scouts to make the strictest enquiry. But if they saw no reason to treat with diffidence the intelligence they had received, a moment should not be lost in levying the army, which the decemvirs should lead out against the enemy, where they might see proper; and previously to all other things, this ought to be done.”

CHAP. XLI.

The Decemvirs carry the point for the present.

THE young Patricians supported this opinion with all their might, and it passed by a plurality of voices. Valerius and Horatius then rose a second time with greater warmth than ever, crying aloud, “ That they wanted to speak relative to the state of the Republic; declaring, at the same time, that if the power of faction should compel them to silence in the senate, they would immediately go out and address themselves to the people. That private persons had no power to shut *their* mouths either in the senate, or an assembly of the peo-

"ple; nor would they regard their imaginary fasces
"and pretended authority.

Appius now finding matters come to that pass, that if he did not oppose impudence on his part, to spirit of theirs, there would be an end of decemviral authority: "you had better be silent," says he, "than drop a single word deviating from the question upon which we ask your advice." When Valerius refused to be awed into silence by a mock magistrate, Appius ordered a lictor to seize him. Valerius then, from the porch of the senate-house, called out to the Romans for assistance, but L. Cornelius took Appius in his arms, not out of regard to Valerius, as he pretended, which put an end to the dispute. By this interposition of Cornelius, Valerius was at liberty to speak his sentiments; but as this liberty extended only to words, the decemvirs still gained their point. Moreover, the consular gentlemen, and elder senators, from an aversion to tribunitian power, which was not yet eradicated, as they saw the people more attached to it than to consular government, rather wished that the decemvirs should afterwards resign their office unpelled, than that the people, from their abhorrence to decemvirs, should get head again. For should the government, without a bustle, or popular commotion, return into the hands of consuls, it was not impossible, but either by the intervention of wars, or a mild exercise of the consular government, the people might be brought to think no more of their tribunes.

Thus was an edict issued for levying an army, without farther interruption from the fathers; and as there had been no appeal from the decemviral authority, the younger citizens answered to their names. After the enrolment was finished, the decemvirs concerted among themselves who should go out to the war, and who should head the armies.

Q. Fabius and Appius Claudius were at the head of the decemvirs; and as there appeared more danger from the citizens at home, than the enemies abroad, they thought Appius, from the violence of his temper, was best calculated to quell any commotions that might arise in the city. The disposition of Fabius prompted him rather to be active in a bad cause, than steady in a good

one. For so prevalent had the influence of his colleagues in the decemvirate been on Fabius, who formerly had acted with great propriety, both in peace and in war, that he now thought it a greater honour to be thought like Appius, than like his former self. He had the management of the Sabine war assigned him, in which commission, Man. Rabuleius, and Q. Pœtilius were joined. M. Cornelius was sent to the Algidus, with L. Minucius, T. Antonius, Cæso Duilius, and M. Sergius. Sp. Oppius was appointed to assist Appius in defending the city; and for that purpose, they were left equally invested with the whole extent of decemviral authority.

CHAP. XLII.

Ill conduct of the Roman armies.

THE republic suffered no less by mismanagement abroad, than at home. The generals were indeed no otherwise to blame, than in having rendered themselves odious to the citizens: for, in all other respects, the soldiers were totally culpable. For, that nothing might succeed under the direction and management of the decemvirs, they suffered themselves to be beat, to their own disgrace, and that of their commanders. Their armies were routed by the Sabines at Eretum, and by the Æqui at the Algidus. The army at Eretum took the opportunity of the darkness of night, to make their escape to a rising ground nearer the city, between Fidenæ and Crustumeria, where they immediately threw up entrenchments. Thither the enemy pursued them, but could never bring them to a battle on fair ground, as they chose rather to trust to their situation and ramparts, than to their valour and arms.

The army at the Algidus behaved still worse, and in consequence received a more terrible overthrow: for, having lost their camp, and deprived of all their military accoutrements, they made the best of their way to Tusculum, trusting for subsistence and protection to the fidelity and generosity of their allies, in which they were by no means disappointed. Rome was so alarmed with these dreadful accounts, that the senators, without mind-

ing their hatred to the decemvirs, passed a vote, that guards should patrol the city, and that all who were capable of bearing arms, should be posted to guard the walls and the gates. They likewise decreed, that the troops at Tusculum should be reinforced, and a supply of arms sent them; besides, they ordered the decemvir to leave the citadel, and encamp the troops in the open plain, whilst the army at Fidenæ should march into the Sabine territories, that by carrying the war into the enemy's country, they might be diverted from all thoughts of attacking Rome.

CHAP. XLIII.

Base treatment of Siccus.

BESIDES these calamities inflicted by the enemy, there were two very enormous actions committed by the decemvirs, the one in the camp, and the other in the city. In the army sent against the Sabines, L. Siccus, instigated by his aversion to the decemvirs, had, in private conferences with the soldiers, mentioned the expediency of creating tribunes, and making a secession, for which reason, he was sent before the army by the generals, to look out for a place proper for their camp. The soldiers who attended him in this expedition, had secret orders, whenever they had got to a convenient place, to fall upon Siccus and dispatch him.

He sold his life dear. For, being strong and vigorous, he made a noble resistance; and though surrounded by the assassins, he defended himself with a courage equal to his strength, so that some of the ruffians lay dead around him. The survivors returned to the camp, where they reported, that Siccus had inconsiderately fallen into an ambuscade, and that he had lost his life, fighting valiantly, as did also some of his party. This account of the matter was at first believed; but afterwards, when, by permission of the decemvirs, a cohort was detached to bury the dead; and finding, on their arrival none of the bodies stript, Siccus lying in the middle in his armour, all the dead with their faces towards him, not an enemy among them, nor any vestige of their leaving the

place, they brought back his corpse, affirming, that Sicius had not been killed by the enemy, but by his own party. The indignation of the army was inconceivable. They were determined to carry the body forthwith to Rome, had not the decemvirs prevented them by hastening to bury him, at the public charge, with all the honours of war. The soldiers accompanied his funeral in tears, and openly threw out the bitterest invectives against the decemvirs.

CHAP. XLIV.

The villainy of Appius.

THE other act of villainy originated in a criminal passion, which was perpetrated in the city, as deplorable in the event, as the rape and murder of Lucretia, which expelled the Tarquins, both from the city and kingdom; that the last blow to the power of the decemvirs, might not only be similar to that of the kings, but that their catastrophe might proceed from the same kind of cause. Appius Claudius was struck with the charms of a plebeian beauty, and thought of nothing but the means of gratifying his criminal desires. Her father, L. Virginius, held an honourable post in the army at the Algidus, and besides was much respected as a man of integrity and courage. His wife's principles had been strictly virtuous, and his childrens education was completely so.

He had promised her in marriage to L. Icilius, who had been a tribune, a man of spirit, and had given proofs of his courage, in the cause of the commons.

Deeply impressed with the exquisite beauty, and the blooming graces of youth, he discovered in this fair one, Appius attempted to make his way, by means of presents and fair promises: But, finding that her virtue was proof against these arts, he resolved to have recourse to force, however cruel and insolent it might appear. Thinking he never could have a better opportunity to execute his wicked purposes, than when her father was absent, he ordered M. Claudius, a creature of his own, to claim her as his slave; and by no means to leave her at liberty, upon bail, till the cause should be determined.

This minister of the decemvir's pleasures, laid hold of her as she was going into the forum, where schools were kept in a kind of shops, and calling her his slave, as having been born of one of his bond-women, desired her to follow him immediately, otherwise he would oblige her to do so by force. The poor girl was struck with amazement, and trembled with fear; but her governess raising a great cry, imploring the assistance of the people, brought a great crowd about them.

The names of her father Virginius, and of Icilius, her intended husband, were heard on all sides. Regard to them brought their acquaintance to the place, and the scandal of the action engaged the most indifferent in her quarrel. This secured her against violence.—The claimant then cried out, that there was no occasion for so much noise, for force was entirely out of the question with him, since the usual steps of law were open to him; and immediately cited her before the magistrate, whither, by the advice of those about her, she followed him.

When they came to Appius' tribunal, the plaintiff opened his claim to the judge, in a story with which he was previously acquainted, having himself instructed him in the plan of prosecution. He said, that Virginia was born in his house, whence she had been stolen and carried to Virginius', where she passed for his daughter. This, he insisted, he would prove, by incontestible evidence, to which, were Virginius judge, who had been the greatest sufferer, he could have nothing to object. In the mean time, it was but reasonable, that the girl should follow her master. The counsel for the young lady pleaded, that seeing Virginius was abroad in the service of his country, and might, if he were advised, be present within two days, it was unfair, in his absence, to raise any dispute about his children; and insisted, that judgment should be suspended till Virginius should be present. And agreeable to the law made by Appius himself, she should be allowed to continue in the possession of her freedom, till a definitive sentence in the case; that being a virgin, arrived at maturity, she might not run the risk of her honour, before she had lost her liberty.

CHAP. XLV.

Appius is opposed by Icilius.

APPIUS, previously to his passing sentence, told them, "That the law which had been cited by the friends of Virginia, was a proof of his zeal for liberty; but it could only be a protection to liberty, when the persons and circumstances answer the description. For, with respect to those who are claimed as free, though reputed slaves, the plea is tenable, because the law is open to every man. But, as far as the subject in question was in the possession of a father, to him alone was the plaintiff obliged to yield the retention." Wherefore, he decreed, "That the father should be sent for; and that the plaintiff's right, in the mean time, might not suffer, he might take home the girl to his house, on condition, that he shall produce her in court when her reputed father shall appear."

Though many were shocked at the injustice of this sentence, yet nobody ventured to speak out, till her uncle, Numitarius, and Icilius her intended husband, came into court. The crowd opened to receive them, imagining, especially after Icilius appeared, that Appius' decree would not be put in execution.

But a lictor proclaimed, "That sentence was passed;" and pushed back Icilius, who complained loudly of the injustice done him. So injurious a treatment would have provoked patience itself.—"You must remove me from hence, Appius," said he, "with the sword, if you would stifle the knowledge of your infamous designs. I am to marry this young lady; but I am to marry her chaste and a virgin. Therefore, assemble all your lictors, and if you please, those of your colleagues too; let them have all their rods and axes ready, but Icilius' bride shall not stay out of her father's house. No! though you and your colleagues have deprived the Romans of the protection of their tribunes, and the right of appeal, the two pillars of their liberty, we are not yet so degenerate, as to suffer our wives and children to become the victims of your

"brutal lust. Go on to scourge and tyrannize over our
 "persons; but let chastity and innocence escape your
 "violence. Should any violence be offered to this
 "young lady, in behalf of my bride, I will implore the
 "assistance of the Romans here assembled; Virginus
 "will implore the aid of his fellow soldiers, for his only
 "daughter: in short, we will beg assistance from every
 "body, and implore both gods and men. You shall
 "never put this sentence in execution, till I am num-
 "bered among the dead. Wherefore, let me intreat
 "you, Appius, to consider well what you do, and to
 "weigh the consequences. When Virginus comes, he
 "will see what is the most proper step to be taken, with
 "respect to his daughter. Let him only be told, with
 "a certification, that if he yields to this scoundrel's
 "claim, I have no more to say to his daughter. With
 "respect to myself, as long as I have life, I will retain
 "the courage and constancy with which a generous
 "passion for my bride's liberty and honour, justly in-
 "spire me."

CHAP. XLVI.

Appius' decree.

THE whole multitude were in great emotion, and ready
 to proceed to the utmost extremities. The lictors came
 round Icilius; but they proceeded only to threats. Then
 Appius spoke to this effect: "The spirit which Icilius dis-
 "covers upon this occasion, is not exerted in defence
 "of Virginia, but naturally turbulent, and full of the
 "pride and violence of the tribune, he makes that a
 "pretext for exciting a tumult; but, for the present, I
 "am resolved to disappoint him. At the same time, I
 "would have him to know, that it is not on account of his
 "insolence, but of the absence of Virginus, and a ten-
 "der regard to the name of father and to liberty, that I
 "will defer judgment, and not put my decree in force
 "for this day. I will prevail upon Claudius to give up
 "somewhat of his right, in permitting the girl to remain
 "in liberty till next day: But should Virginus fail to
 "appear to-morrow, I certify to Icilius, and all such se-

“ditious persons, that they will find resolution in a de-
“cemvir and legislator, to inforce his own decrees. Nor
“shall I have occasion for my colleague’s lictors, my
“own will be sufficient, to chastise the insolence of the
“turbulent and seditious.”

The time for perpetrating this act of villainy being thus put off, and the counsel for the defendant retired, they first of all resolved, instantly to dispatch Icilius, brother and Numitorius’ son, two active young men, to the gates, to bring Virginus from the camp with all expedition, for the preservation of his daughter depended entirely upon his being present exactly at the appointed time. They set out as directed, and posting it all the way, carried the news to Virginus.

In the mean time, the plaintiff insisted, that Icilius should give security for producing her in court. Icilius told him, that he was just then about it, designedly spinning out the time, till the messengers dispatched to Virginus had made some progress in their journey; the people all around held up their hands, every one offering eagerly to be surety for Icilius. Touched with the affection of his fellow-citizens, Icilius burst into tears, while he returned them thanks. “To-morrow,” said he, “I will make use of your assistance; to-day we have abundance of securities.” Thus was Virginia set at liberty, her relations having given bail to present her. Appius, to avoid suspicion, that he had sat in judgment on account of this cause alone, did not leave his tribunal directly; but as no other cause was called, Virginia having so much engrossed the public attention, that nobody applied to him; he returned home, and wrote to his colleague in the camp, intreating, “They would give no leave of absence to Virginus, but on the contrary, lay him under arrest.”

This wicked advice, deservedly came too late; for, Virginus having obtained a furlough, had set out by the first watch in the night, whereas the letters for detaining him, were only delivered next morning early, when he was out of their reach.

CHAP. XLVII.

The Opposition to the Decree.

VIRGINIUS arrived at Rome by break of day, where he was eagerly expected by the people, already assembled in the forum. Virginius, clad in mourning, led his daughter into the forum, in a tattered gown, accompanied by several matrons, and many friends. As he passed along, he solicited the favour of all with an air of dignity, that seemed to *demand* their assistance, rather than to *implore* it. He told them, "That upon no occasion, had he been backward in exposing himself to danger, when the safety of their wives and children required it; nor could any man in Rome, recount a greater number of great and gallant actions than himself. But what did the noblest exertions signify to save the city, if our tyrants exercise upon our children at home, all the violence that can be dreaded in a city taken by assault?" He went round the assembly haranguing them to this purpose; and Icilius spoke to the people in much the same strain. But the silent tears of the women who accompanied them, spoke with more feeling, than any words could express. In spite of all which, Appius, who had steeled his heart, now rather distracted with an extravagant madness, than overcome with a softer passion, mounted his tribunal. The plaintiff then remonstrating, "That sentence ought to have passed in his favour the day before, had it not been out of complaisance to the people;" before he could proceed, or Virginius make any answer, Appius interfered. The preamble, with which he opened his decree, may be justly enough taken down by ancient authors: but, as I can find none that appears even probable considering the unaccountable nature of the sentence itself, I shall content myself with the bare words of the decree, since so much is certain.

"He adjudged her to be a slave." The injustice of this sentence, surprised and confounded all present.—For some time there was an universal silence. But when M. Claudius went to seize Virginia, surrounded by a crowd

of matrons, he was received with doleful wailings, and Virginius shaking his fist in the face of Appius, cried out, " It was to Icilius, not to thee, Appius, I promised my daughter. To honourable marriage I have brought her up, and not for the brutal passion of an infamous ravisher. What! is the lawless and promiscuous lust of wild beasts to be introduced amongst us! How the citizens here will bear this, I will not pretend to say, but I hope those who are in arms will never endure it." The claimant was repulsed by the crowd of women, and friends that stood round Virginia, when silence was proclaimed by a herald.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Virginius stabs his Daughter, to save her virtue.

THE decemvir, now intoxicated with his criminal passion, told them, " That he had sufficient reason to suspect, from Icilius' invectives yesterday, and Virginius' insolence to day, whereof the Roman people had been witnesses, that they only sought to excite a tumult; but that was not all, for he had got certain information, that they had been forming cabals in the city all the night long, for that purpose: That, therefore, being apprized of the design, he had not come thither without a guard. Not that he meant to give the least trouble to those who were peaceably disposed, but to keep those in awe; in virtue of his office, who should dare to interrupt the peace of the city. For which reason, they had better make no further disturbance. Go lictor," pursued he, " put aside the crowd, and make way for the master to seize his slave." When swollen with rage, he had expressed himself thus, with a tone of authority, the crowd gave way of their own accord, leaving the poor girl standing alone, a victim to lawless lust.—Virginius then, when he saw no appearance of relief, intreated Appius, in the first place, " To impute it to a father's grief, if he had unguardedly expressed himself unbecoming the dignity of Appius; and, in the second place, to indulge him with a moment's conversation with the nurse, in the

" young woman's presence, with a view to clear up
 " some points; and if he found that he had really been
 " imposed on, he might then depart better satisfied in
 " his own mind." He was allowed that liberty, and
 accordingly led his daughter and her nurse aside to the
 booths, near the temple of Cloacina, now called the new
 booths, and their snatching a butcher's knife. " By this
 " the only means in my power, my dear child," said he
 " I preserve thy honour and liberty;" and then plunged
 it into her heart; turning instantly full upon Appius,
 crying out, " By this innocent blood, Appius, I devote
 " thy head to the infernal gods."

A clamour being raised on the commission of this atrocious deed, the decemvir was dreadfully alarmed, and immediately ordered Virginius to be seized; but he opened a passage to himself with the knife, wherever he went, till by favour of the multitude, he reached the gates. Icilius and Numitorius, lifted up her breathless body, and exposed it to the people, deploring the guilt of Appius, the fatal beauty of Virginia, and the cruel necessity to which her father was reduced, of taking away her life with his own hand. The matrons following the corpse, cried out, " Is it for this purpose we bring children into
 " the world? Is this the reward of chastity?"—Adding a thousand other moving complaints, which grief, particularly lively and tender in their sex, generally inspires them with on such occasions. The men, but especially Icilius, complained only, that the people had been deprived of their tribunes, and the right of appeal, and that the grossest villanies were committed in the face of the sun.

CHAP. XLIX.

Appius' authority sinking.

THE multitude now were in the highest ferment, both on account of the enormity of the crime, and the hope of recovering their liberty. Sometimes Appius ordered Icilius to be cited, and sometimes to be carried to jail for his obstinacy. At last, finding the officers could not get through the crowd, he came himself, attended by a

band of young Patricians, and having made way through the crowd, ordered him to be carried to jail. But, by this time, Icilius had not only a numerous populace about him, but their patrons, L. Valerius and M. Horatius at their head; who pushing away the lictor, told him, "If he had a legal action against Icilius, they would be bail to defend him against the decemvir, who was only a private person; but, if he dared to use force, he would soon find the difference." This raised a terrible tumult. The decemvir's lictor fell upon Valerius and Horatius, and the mob broke his fasces. Appius went up to the Rostra to harangue the people; Valerius and Horatius followed. When they spoke, the assembly were all attention; but the decemvir could not be heard for noise.

Matters were carried so high, by this time, that Valerius took upon him to order the lictors to be gone from Appius, who being only a private person, had no title to lictors. Appius, in the mean time, terrified for the consequences, and in fear of his life, escaped, with his head covered with his robe, unknown to the opposition, into a house adjoining the forum. Sp. Oppius, from the opposite side, rushed into the forum to support his colleague. But there he saw his authority quite overpowered. After much deliberation, and urged on all sides to comply, at last, in much consternation, he ordered the senate to be assembled. This step in a great measure quieted the people, in hopes, that as many of the Patricians seemed dissatisfied with the conduct of the decemvirs, the senate would put an end to their authority. The senate were not for exasperating the people: but they thought particular care should be taken to prevent the sedition which Virginus might raise in the army.

CHAP. L.

Virginus' remonstrance in the camp. A Secession.

ACCORDINGLY some young Patricians were dispatched to the camp, which was then upon mount Vecilius, to acquaint the decemvirs, with the necessity of using every means to prevent a mutiny of the soldiers,

But Virginius had excited a greater tumult in the camp, than he had left behind him in the city. For, besides that, the troop of almost 400 citizens who accompanied him from the city, in condolence for his misfortune, made his arrival more conspicuous; the knife which he carried in his hand, and the blood with which he was covered, drew on him the eyes of the whole army.

The gowns which were observed in many different parts of the camp, made the number of citizens appear greater than it really was. Whilst every body asked him what had happened, he continued silent for some time, and answered only with tears. At length, recovering himself a little from that confusion, which the sudden concourse had occasioned, there was silence all over, when he repeated every circumstance, in order, as it happened. Then lifting up his hands to heaven, and addressing himself to his fellow-soldiers, he conjured them, "not to ascribe to him a crime, the imputation of which
" was due to Appius Claudius alone, nor to look upon
" him with abhorrence, as the murderer of his own
" child. The life of his daughter was dearer to him
" than his own; if, in preserving it, she could also have
" preserved her liberty and her honour; but seeing her
" just about to be dragged away as a slave, to be made
" the victim of a decemvir's wild desires, he thought it
" more honourable to lose his child by death, than in-
" famy. It was pity and tenderness alone, that showed
" him in a savage point of view; nor would he have
" survived her, but for the hope of revenge in the as-
" sistance of his fellow-soldiers: They have also daugh-
" ters,—sisters,—wives. The lust of Appius had not ex-
" pired with his daughter; but the more it was suffered
" with impunity, would be still the more outrageous,
" They ought to take warning from another's misfor-
" tune, and guard against the like injuries. For his own
" share, he had lost his wife, and his daughter, as she
" could have preserved her virtue only by the loss of her
" life, and had suffered an unhappy, but an honourable
" death: he had now nothing to fear from the brutality
" of Appius, in his own family; and from any injurious
" attempts against his person, he knew how to deliver
" himself with the same spirit he had done his daughter,

"It was their business to take care of themselves and children."

These complaints of Virginius were followed by the acclamations of the whole multitude; who assured him they would neither be wanting to avenge his grief, nor to assert their own liberty. The citizens, too, mingling in the crowd with the soldiers, confirmed what they had heard from Virginius; representing at the same time, that to be spectators of a scene so distressing was much more affecting than the minutest relation. At the same time they told them, that the interest of the decemvirs was entirely sunk at Rome; and that those who had come after them, brought accounts that Appius, having narrowly escaped with his life, had absconded. Such an impression had these accounts on the soldiers, that to arms was the universal cry; the standards were pulled up, and the troops took the route of Rome. The decemvirs, terrified with what they saw, and the accounts they had heard of what passed in the city, run to all sides of the camp to appease the tumults. If they spoke mildly, they were answered with silence; if they spoke with authority, the soldiers told them, "that they were men," and had their arms in their hands." They marched to Rome in a body, and posted themselves upon mount Aventine, in their way exhorting all they met, to recover their liberty, and to create tribunes; but they used neither violence nor menaces.

Sp. Oppius assembled the senate. All violent measures were exploded. The decemvirs themselves were the cause of the sedition. Sp. Tarpeius, Caius Julius, P. Sulpicius, three consular gentlemen, were deputed to the soldiers, to demand, in name of the senate, by whose orders they had abandoned the camp, or what they proposed to themselves, by seizing the Aventine in arms? What they intended by turning their backs upon the enemy, and their arms against their country? Their answer was ready, but they wanted one qualified to deliver it. Having yet appointed no chief, nobody ventured to take it upon himself, nor to expose himself to the danger with which it might be attended. Only there was a general cry, to send Valerius and Horatius to them; and to them they would give their answer.

CHAP. LI.

The Secession in continuation.

WHEN the deputies were withdrawn, Virginius represented to the soldiers, " That they had just before
" been at a loss in a matter of no great difficulty, only
" for this reason, that they were a body without a head.
" That they had indeed given an answer quite to the
" purpose; but it was rather the effect of chance, than
" the result of public deliberation. That it was his own
" opinion, they should elect ten persons, whom they
" should invest with the chief command, under the martial title of military tribunes." When they put him at the head of the list: " Reserve, (said he,) your generous intentions for me, for times more favourable to us
" both. No dignity can sit easy on me, whilst my
" daughter is unrevenge'd: and at this time of public
" embarrassment, it would be imprudent to confer offices
" of authority upon persons most exposed to the hatred
" of those in opposition. If you think me capable of
" serving you, my endeavours will be no less exerted in
" continuing a private person."

Ten military tribunes were accordingly created. The other army employed against the Sabines, soon took the hint, and at the instigation of Icilius and Numitorius, threw off all allegiance to the decemvirs.

The murder of Siccus now appeared to them in the most glaring colours, and incensed them no less, than the late accounts they had received of the base attempt upon Virginia's honour. Whenever Icilius heard that military tribunes were created on the Aventine hill, lest the city Comitia should set a precedent; in electing those who were military tribunes, to be tribunes of the people, especially as he was a man much versant in popular affairs, and had an eye to the tribunitian power himself, he took care, before they set out for the city, that the same number of military tribunes should be appointed by that army, and invested with the same authority.

They entered the city with colours flying, by the gate Collina, and marched in a body through the middle of

it, to the Aventine Mount. There, having joined the other army, they gave it in charge to the twenty tribunes, to chuse two of their number to the supreme command. Their choice fell upon M. Oppius and Sex. Manilius.

The senators anxious for the commonwealth, sat every day; but the time which ought to have been employed in concerting prudent measures, was wasted in strife and wrangling. The decemvirs were incessantly reproached with the murder of Sicinius, the lust of Appius, and the miscarriages in the war. They resolved, however, to send Valerius and Horatius to the Mount Aventine; but they refused to undertake the embassy, till the decemvirs should divest themselves of the ensigns of their authority, which they ought to have done twelve months ago. The decemvirs complained, that they were to be reduced, by force, to the condition of private persons, declaring, they would not lay down their authority, before the laws were passed, for enacting which they had been created, which was the only term fixed for the expiration of their magistracy.

CHAP. LII.

The Decemvirs are prevailed on to lay down their authority,

THE people having got intelligence, by means of M. Duilius, who had been a tribune, that the senate had come to no decisive resolution, owing to their constant wranglings, they left the Aventine, and retired to the sacred Mount: Duilius assuring them, that the fathers would never think seriously of the matter, till they should see the city totally deserted. "But the Mons Sacer will remind them of the steady resolution of the commons, and convince them, that unless the tribunes be restored, they will find a re-union impracticable."

Marching, therefore, by the Nomantine way, then called Ficulensis, they encamped on the sacred Mount, observing the same good discipline, for which their ancestors had been so much admired. Thither they were accompanied by the people, none staying behind, whose age would permit him to go. Their wives and children came after them, asking them mournfully, to whose care

they had consigned them in a city, where neither the honour of women, nor public liberty was safe?

Rome saw herself now changed into a frightful solitude, and not a creature to be seen in the forum, but such as were worn out with years. When the fathers, after they were assembled in senate, observed nobody in the forum, several besides Valerius and Horatius, boldly remonstrated to this effect: "What is it you wait for, venerable fathers? If the decemvirs will persist in their obstinacy, will you suffer all to go to perdition? And pray, Messieurs Decemvirs, what is that sovereignty, of which you are so tenacious?—a sovereignty over empty houses and bare walls? Do not you blush to see, that all the citizens in the forum scarce equal the number of your lictors? Should the enemy come to attack us, what could you do? Should the people, seeing us so unconcerned about their removal, advance hither in arms against you, what would be the consequence? Are you determined to make the period of your authority, of the same date with the ruin of the republic? Is it not evident, that you must either have no people, or they must have tribunes? We shall sooner give up our Patrician magistrates, than they their Plebeian. They extorted from our fathers that Plebeian magistracy, of which, at that time, they had not experienced the benefit; and it is not very probable, now that they have tasted the sweets of it, they will ever consent to part with it; especially as your government has been such, as to make them feel the want of protection."

Discourses of this kind saluting the ears of the decemvirs from all sides, they were overcome by so unanimous a concurrence, and declared, that since it must be so, they should be wholly governed by the senate. But there was one thing they begged leave to request, which was not unworthy of attention, that they might not be exposed as victims to the rage of their enemies, for it concerned them nearly, not to accustom the people in the punishment of the decemvirs, to dip their hands in the blood of the Patricians.

CHAP. LIII.

A coalition of the two Orders.

VALERIUS and Horatius were then deputed with full powers to conclude a treaty of pacification with the people; and it was recommended to them, to take proper precautions, that the decemvirs might not suffer from the rage and violence of the populace. As they were approaching, they were met and ushered into the camp, with universal joy, as the deliverers of their country, by their exertions in this affair, both in setting it on foot, and bringing it to a happy conclusion. For all which, they had public thanks returned them.

Icilius spoke for the multitude. When they came to an explanation, the deputies desiring to be informed with respect to the people's demands; Icilius's answer, which had been concerted before their arrival, plainly evinced, that the people founded their pretensions more in equity, than in the arms which they had in their hands. They insisted on the re-establishment of tribunes, and the right of appeal, which had been the pillars of their liberty, before the creation of the decemvirs, together with an amnesty for all those who had been concerned in advising the revolt and the secession. Only they insisted to have the decemvirs punished with great severity, making it a point, that the decemvirs should be delivered into their hands, and they threatened to burn them alive.

The deputies replied; "Your claim, gentlemen, which we suppose has the general approbation, is so fair and equitable, that we come prepared to grant it of our own accord. For, it only tends to protect your liberty, and not to promote licentiousness, to the prejudice of others. Your resentment against the decemvirs, we must rather pardon than comply with. From an abhorrence of cruelty, you want to give an example of it in your own conduct; and are for lording it over others, before you have made sure of your own freedom. Shall this city never see an end of our enmity, and declared war between the senate and people?"

“ You have more occasion for the shield than the sword. He is brought low enough, who, degraded from his authority must live on a level with others, without the power of committing, or the trouble of resenting injuries. If at any time you would wish to appear formidable, it must be when you have recovered your magistrates and your laws, when you will have the power in your own hands, and our lives and fortunes at your disposal. Then, and not till then, can you determine the fate of any one. For the present, be satisfied with the recovery of your liberty.”

CHAP. LIV.

Restoration of the Consulate and tribunitian power.

THE whole assembly, having unanimously submitted their pretensions to the deputies, they promised to return soon with the ratification of their demands. When, on their return, they laid the people's claims before the senators: the rest of the decemvirs, beyond all expectation, finding no mention made of punishing them, objected to nothing; but Appius, the most cruel and odious wretch of the whole, measuring the people's hatred of him, by his to them, said, “ I am not ignorant of the fate that awaits me. I see that we are only reserved for a greater condemnation, when our enemies have got arms in their hands. Nothing but blood will satisfy their malice. I am ready nevertheless, to divest myself of the decemvirate; and the sooner the better.”—The senate passed a decree, “ That the decemvirs should instantly depose themselves; that the high-priest Q. Furius, should create tribunes of the people; and that none should be liable to prosecution upon account of the desertion of the soldiers, or removal of the people to Mount Aventine.”

These matters being finished, and the senate broke up, the decemvirs repaired to the forum, and in the assembly of the people, abdicated their office, to the great joy of the citizens.

The news was immediately carried to the camp by the deputies, who had all the people that were left in

the city in their retinue. Another part of the people went out from the camp to meet them. They congratulated each other upon the recovery of peace and liberty. Then the deputies, having called an assembly, delivered themselves to this purpose: "Return, soldiers, to your country, your household gods, your wives and children; and may your return be attended with all the prosperity, success, and felicity to yourselves and the republic, which your hearts can desire! Return, however, with the same moderation to the city, you have hitherto observed, when so great a multitude, in a necessity so urgent and so general, have not injured a single field. March back to the Aventine, whence you came. There, in that place of happy augury, where you laid the first foundation of your liberty, create tribunes of the people. The high-priest will be there, to preside in your assembly."

The joy, upon this occasion, was general and excessive, and expressed in the loudest acclamations. Immediately the army snatched up their ensigns, and marched to Rome, congratulating all they met, and receiving their congratulations. They passed through the city with profound silence, and halted upon Mount Aventine, where the high-priest immediately holding the assembly, they elected their tribunes. A. Virginius was first named, then L. Icilius, and P. Numitorius, Virginia's uncle, as the chief promoters of the secession. After them, C. Sicinius, a descendant of that Sicinius, who is said to have been created the first tribune upon the sacred Mount: and M. Duilius, who had distinguished himself in the office of tribune, before the institution of the decemvirate, and ever after had stood firm against them, in the interest of the people: five others were chosen, M. Titinius, M. Pomponius, C. Apronius, P. Villius, C. Oppius, more in expectation of future, than for past services.

As soon as they entered upon office, on a motion of Icilius, they enacted, that no person should be prosecuted for separating from the decemvirs. Duilius, at the same time, passed a bill for the election of consuls, with the right of appeal to the people. All these things were

transacted in an assembly of the people, in the Flaminian meadows, now the Flaminian circus.

CHAP. LV.

Popular laws introduced by the new consuls.

LUCIUS VALERIUS and M. Horatius, were then elected consuls, by an inter-rex, and immediately entered upon the duties of their office. The popular administration of these consuls, though it did no hurt, gave no small offence to the Patricians, who considered every precaution which was taken to secure the liberty of the people, as a derogation of their prerogative. In the first place, whereas it was a disputable point in law, whether the senators were amenable to the decrees of the commons; the consuls now passed a law in the comitia by centuries, ordaining that whatever the commons should enact in the comitia by tribes, should be binding on the whole body of the people, by which law, the bills of the tribunes were armed with a very dangerous weapon. After this, they revived the other consular law, concerning the right of appeal, the chief pillar of their liberty, which had been overturned by the decemvirs; but, for the time coming, gave it new force by an appendix: "Prohibiting the future creation of any
"magistrate, from whom there should be no appeal, and
"whoever should attempt it, might be put to death with
"impunity, or even a prosecution, on that account."

The people being thus sufficiently secured by the right of appeal, on the one hand, and the protection of their tribunes on the other; that the persons of the tribunes might be sacred and inviolable, they revived some ancient ceremonies, now almost forgot. And, that they might not only have religion for their defence, but an express law in their favour, they enacted, "That whoever should maltreat the tribunes of the people, *Ædiles*
"and judges, or decemvirs, his head should be devoted
"to Jupiter, and his family exposed to sale, at the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera." The lawyers contend, that by this law, no man's person is rendered sacred; but that the man who does any of them a manifest

injury, is liable to the pains of law. For which reason, an *Ædile* may be arrested and imprisoned by a superior magistrate; which, though not expressly warranted by law, for it is hurting a man, who by this law is secured; yet it is an argument against it, that the person of an *Ædile* is not sacred. They likewise maintain, that the tribunes were declared sacred, by an oath of the people, at the first institution of their office. It is also asserted by some, that the consuls, and the *prætors* also, chosen under the same auspices with them, have the privilege of this law, as the consul comes under the denomination of a judge. But, as the *prætors* at that time, not the consuls, were considered as judges, this explanation of the law is inadmissible.

The same consuls also ordained, that the decrees of the senate, which before that, the consuls could suppress or alter, should for the future be deposited in the temple of *Ceres*, and kept by the *Ædiles*. *Duilius* then brought in a bill, which the people passed into a law, "That whoever should deprive the people of their tribunes, or create a magistrate without appeal, should be scourged with rods, and lose his head." Though the *Patricians* opposed none of these laws, as none of them had been personally injured, yet they did not receive them without regret.

CHAP. LVI.

Appius brought to his trial by Virginius.

THE authority of the tribunes, and the liberties of the people being thus established, they thought it was high time now, to call the *decemvirs* to account, but not by the lump, only one by one, in consequence of which, *Virginius* was pitched on as the first prosecutor, and *Appius*, in course was the defendant. When the day for *Appius's* trial was come, he stepped into the forum, escorted by a band of young *Patricians*, which gave every one a retrospect of those melancholy days, when the same *Patricians*, like so many guards, made up his train.

Virginius then addressed himself to the people, to the

following effect. "Speeches are only necessary to support causes that are doubtful; I shall not, therefore, take up your time in enumerating the crimes of a man, whose cruelty laid you under the necessity of taking up arms, to rescue yourselves from it; nor will I give him leave to aggravate his crimes, by the impudence of defending them. I shall not, therefore, Appius Claudius, touch upon your flagitious practices for the whole space of two years. There is one crime only, to which I shall confine my charge, and of which, if you do not instantly clear yourself, I order you to be led to prison. Why did you, contrary to law, refuse a person, whose liberty was brought into dispute, the possession of that liberty, till the trial was over?"

Appius had no hope of assistance from the tribunes, nor from the voices of the people; nevertheless, he called upon the tribunes; and finding none of them interposing, when the officer laid hold of him to drag him away, he called out, *I appeal*. That word, the pillar of popular liberty, from a man who had so lately violated the laws of liberty, caused an universal silence. The soliloquy of every one was,—“It is plain there are gods, who make human affairs their care. The punishment of cruelty and pride is slow, but severe. Is the man who abolished all appeals, now reduced to have recourse to them, and to implore the protection of that very people, of whose rights he was the subverter?—Is the unjust judge, who gave up a free person to slavery, now himself abandoned to chains and prison, without the least support from his privilege of liberty?”

Amidst the murmurs of the people, Appius was heard imploring their protection. He enumerated the great services his ancestors had done to the state, both in peace and in war. “He deplored his unhappy zeal for the interests of the people, which had induced him to renounce the consulship, to establish an equal right among all the citizens, by a scheme of new laws, though by that means he had drawn the displeasure of the whole senate upon him: and though the laws themselves he had lately instituted, were still in force, their author was now to be dragged to prison. With respect to other matters, he would render an account of

" his conduct, when leave should be granted him of
 " making a legal defence : and in the present case he
 " only wanted permission, as a citizen of Rome, to make
 " his defence, and to have the judgment of the Roman
 " people : For he was not so much afraid of all that
 " malice could lay to his charge, as to despair of the
 " equity and clemency of his fellow citizens. If he was
 " led to jail, without the privilege of making his defence,
 " he would again appeal to the tribunes, and would
 " advise them not to follow the example of those they
 " hated. That if the tribunes confessed they had con-
 " certed among themselves to abolish the right of appeal,
 " from them he would appeal to the people, and implore
 " the protection of the laws just made, by joint consent
 " of consuls and tribunes, to confirm that privilege.
 " What citizen of any rank can find his account in these
 " laws, if Appius Claudius cannot ? Your conduct with
 " regard to me, will really evince, whether the right of
 " appeal be only an empty name, or whether oppression
 " will find relief in them, against the cabals and injustice
 " of magistrates.

CHAP. LVII.

Appius imprisoned. War with the Æqui and Volsci.

War with the Sabines.

VIRGINIUS in return said, " That Appius Claudius,
 " of all mankind, had nothing to do with laws, or any
 " social compact, nor ought he to derive any benefit
 " from them. Only look at yonder tribunal, where this
 " perpetual decemvir, the declared enemy of the lives,
 " fortunes, and liberties of the citizens, threatening all
 " with rods and axes ; regardless of gods and men, and
 " always surrounded with hangmen, instead of lictors ;
 " passing from rapines and murders to brutal lust, de-
 " livered up to his infamous pander, in the presence of
 " the Roman people, a maid of free condition, tearing
 " her from the arms of her father, like a slave who had
 " become the perquisite of the conqueror : where, by a
 " cruel sentence, founded on the most flagrant injustice,
 " armed the hand of the unhappy father against the life

“ of his child. Nay, when her uncle and intended
“ husband were taking up the body of the expiring vir-
“ gin, he ordered them both to prison, being much more
“ affected for the loss of his game, than the tragical
“ scene before him. And he saw no reason, why the
“ prison which he had built, and insolently called the
“ *Habitation of the commons of Rome*, should not also be
“ a mansion-house for himself. Where he might appeal
“ as often as he pleased, and so often would he impeach
“ him on this single article, that *he had unjustly con-*
“ *demned a person free born, and in free condition, to sla-*
“ *very.* And if he does not instantly plead, I order him
“ to jail as a criminal condemned.”

He was therefore conducted to prison; and though nobody opposed his commitment, yet it made a very strong impression upon the minds of the populace, who thought that the rigorous treatment of so great a man was an excessive stretch of tribunitian power. The tribune appointed him a day for making his defence.

In the mean time, ambassadors arrived from the Latins and Hernici, to congratulate Rome on the reconciliation between the two orders of the state; on account of which, they lodged in the capitol a crown of gold as a present to Jupiter, the best and greatest. Their finances did not permit them to go far as to the weight; but the ceremonies of religion were more regarded in those days for their piety, than their pomp. They likewise brought advices, that the Æqui and Volsci were making mighty preparations for war: upon which the consuls were ordered to share the provinces between them. It fell to Horatius to march against the Sabines, and to Valerius to march against the confederate forces of the Æqui and Volsci.

When they were making the enrolments for these services, such respect did the people pay to these patriot consuls, that not only the youth, but those who had served the legal time, were ready to give in their names, and most of them, too, as volunteers: by which means, the army was not only increased, but rendered much more formidable, by the mixture of those veterans among the new raised recruits. Before they left the city, the two last of the twelve tables of laws were engraven on

brass, and hung up in the forum. According to some historians, it was the *Ædiles*, who, at the instance of the tribunes, performed that office.

CHAP. LVIII.

Application in favour of Appius fruitless.—Oppius also tried, and both die in prison. The rest of the Decemvirs banished.

CAIUS CLAUDIUS, having always disliked the principles of the Decemvirs, and particularly detested the pride and insolence of his nephew, had withdrawn to Regillum, his native country; but though he was now very old, he returned to Rome, to assist him with all his credit at this dangerous conjuncture, however much he had been a declared enemy of his vices; and for that purpose appeared in the forum in a mourning habit, attended by his whole family and a great number of clients, soliciting the favour of every one he met, conjuring them “not to entail on the Claudian family a disgrace, “which would cause them to be considered by posterity “as citizens that merited chains and prisons.—Not to suffer a man, whose memory posterity ought to revere, “as the legislator of Rome, and the founder of their civil “rights, to lie in a dungeon with thieves and robbers: “but rather to suffer their just indignation to give way “to the more natural feelings of compassion which arise “from reflection; and rather forgive one of the Claudii, “for the sake of so many of the name as interceded for “him, than out of hatred to one, to reject the prayers of “so many.—At the same time he begged leave to assure them, that this solicitation on his own part was “not the result of a reconciliation with, or partiality “for the delinquent, but merely on account of his relation, and honour of the Claudian name: and as they “had now recovered their liberty by their bravery, they “should also strengthen the union between the two orders of the state, by their clemency.”

Many, who had no regard for Appius, were affected with the intreaties of this venerable old man; but Virginius, on the other hand, “begged them rather to have

"compassion on him and his daughter; and to have regard to the prayers, not of the Claudian family, which had exercised a cruel tyranny over them, but of Virginia's relations, and three tribunes, who being created for the protection of the people, were now imploring their aid and protection."

These tears prevailed. Appius in consequence having lost all hopes, put an end to his own life, before the day appointed for his trial arrived. Sp. Oppius, who after Appius, was of all the decemvirs most detested, was prosecuted soon after, at the instance of Numitorius, as an accomplice of Appius in the affair of Virginia, because he was in the city when that infamous judgment was passed. But a crime charged personally against himself cut deeper in his condemnation, than his conniving at Appius's baseness. A witness was produced who had served twenty-seven years, and had been eight times honoured with military rewards, which he had with him.—Stripping off his robe, he exposed his shoulders which had been torn with rods by the decemvirs' lictors, offering to submit himself to the same treatment again, if Oppius could assign any good reason for his cruelty. Oppius was also sent to prison, and before the day of his trial, he was no more. The estates of both were confiscated by the tribunes. The rest of the decemvirs were banished, and their estates confiscated. Claudius, who had claimed Virginia, was condemned on the day appointed for his trial; but Virginius remitted his execution, and converted the sentence into banishment, when he retired to Tibur.—Thus the manes of Virginia, more happy after her death than in her life, having wandered through so many houses in pursuit of just vengeance, were at length appeased, by the punishment of all the guilty.

CHAP. LIX.

Seasonable interposition of Duilius. The Fathers dissatisfied with the popularity of the consuls.

THE senators were now under no small apprehensions, seeing the tribunes had become as sanguinary as the decemvirs had been before, when Duilius, who was one

of their tribunes, gave a very seasonable check to the immoderate stretch of power; “ declaring, that enough
“ had been done, both for the security of their liberties,
“ and the punishment of their enemies; and therefore
“ he would suffer no person to be cited to a trial, nor
“ committed to prison, during the remainder of the year.
“ With respect to the past, to revive the remembrance of
“ old faults, which ought to be buried in oblivion, now
“ that the decemvirs, in their punishment, had expiated
“ new ones, would be highly improper. With respect
“ to the future, the steady and unanimous zeal of both
“ consuls in guarding the liberty of the people, would be
“ sufficient security that nothing will happen to require
“ the interposition of the tribunes.”

This moderation of the tribunes, served in the first place to dispel the fears of the senators, but on the other hand increased their aversion to the consuls, who had declared so openly and so entirely for the people, that a Plebeian magistrate should see cause to take upon him the interest and safety of the senate before a Patrician; and that their enemies had been satisfied with revenge, before the consuls took any measure for opposing their licentiousness. Many blamed their own negligence and facility, in giving their sanction to the laws passed by those consuls in favour of the people; and it was sufficiently obvious, that nothing but the distracted state of the Republic had obliged them to comply with the times.

CHAP. LX.

An action with the Æqui and Volsci.

THE domestic troubles being thus settled, and the liberty of the people firmly established, the consuls went each into his respective province. Valerius, by a masterly stroke of policy, supported the war against the Æqui and Volsci, whose armies were joined at the Algidus. Had he immediately risked a battle, it is hard to say, considering how the courage of the parties stood affected, after what happened when the decemvirs commanded, whether it would not have been of dangerous consequence. He kept the army close within their lines,

which he had formed at the distance of a mile from the enemy. The vacant space between the camps served the enemy for ranging themselves in order of battle.

When the enemy advanced to bid them defiance, they were answered with silence. At length the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, wearied with standing under arms, and expecting battle to no purpose, thought the victory was fairly given up to them; and accordingly, sent out detachments of their troops to ravage the country of the *Latins* and *Hernici*: In consequence of which, the few that remained might rather be considered as a guard to the camp, than a force sufficient for a general engagement.

The consul perceiving their weakness, gave them the alarm in his turn; and his troops being drawn up in order of battle, challenged them to come out. Conscious of their inferiority, they did not accept, which inspired the Romans immediately with an extraordinary degree of courage; concluding their enemies, now trembling within their camp, already in their power. They continued the rest of the day under arms, but night obliged them to retire, full of hopes, to rest and refresh themselves.

Very different was the situation of the enemy's spirits. Expresses were posted away in all haste, to recal those who had been dispersed to plunder. The parties at no great distance returned; but they who had made a greater excursion, were not found. Early next morning the Roman army marched out of their camp, in order to attack the enemies lines, should they decline coming to battle: and when the day was far spent, and no appearance of the enemy's stirring, the consul gave the signal for the attack. Seeing the Roman army in motion, the *Æqui* and *Volsci* ashamed, that victorious as they had been, they should now defend themselves rather by their works than their swords, they applied to their generals, and with much importunity obtained the signal.

When some of their battalions had already marched out at the gates of the camp, and others followed in proper order, each man in his rank, the consul advanced against them, before they could be supported by the whole army. Wherefore, charging them before all the

troops were marched out, and had time to form themselves; and to intimidate them the more, raising a great shout, they appeared before the Roman consul, like an unweildy mob assembled without design, and looking at one another. At first they gave way; but being reproached by their generals for losing ground before enemies they had beat, they resumed their courage, and renewed the fight.

CHAP. LXI.

Victory over the Æqui and Volsci.

THE consul, on the other hand, put the Romans in mind, “ That this was the first opportunity, since they
“ became free, that fortune had given them of distinguishing themselves for a free country.—That they
“ would now conquer for themselves, and not for decemvirs.—That Appius was no longer their commander,
“ but Valerius the consul; who being descended of patriots, had himself established the liberty of the people.—That they should now demonstrate, it was not
“ owing to the soldiers, but to the generals, that in former battles they had not been victorious. To have
“ it said, that they had signalized themselves more against their fellow citizens, than now against the enemy; and that they were more afraid of slavery in
“ Rome, than in the field of battle, would be infamous to the last degree. That Virginia was only one individual, whose chastity was in danger in time of peace,
“ and in the criminal passion of Appius alone, this danger totally centered. But, were the fortune of war to
“ declare against them, the danger from so many thousand enemies, would not even be confined to themselves, but descend to their posterity. But, he would
“ not draw conclusions from events, which he hoped Jupiter, and their father Mars, would never suffer to
“ befall a city, founded with such glorious prospects.” Then putting them in mind of the Aventine and sacred Mounts, he told them, “ That as but a few months
“ before, they had there regained their liberty, thither
“ it became them to carry back their power unblemish-

“ ed. It was their business now to evidence that Roman bravery had neither expired with the institution nor abolition of the decemvirate; and that the laws which established an equality among the citizens, had not diminished their valour.”

Having thus harangued the foot, amidst their ensigns, he turns to the horse, addressing them to this effect: “ Come on, my brave fellows, you are now to vie with the foot, in support of your honour and superior rank. To the bravery of the foot the enemy gave way at the first charge; do you complete the disorder, by giving the reins to the horses, and drive them out of the field of battle. They will not stand your attack. See,—they are too much at a stand, even to act on the defensive.” Now they put spurs to their horses, and furiously charged the enemy, already put in confusion by the foot, and having broke through their ranks, penetrated even to their rear. Some of them riding round the open space, blocked up every passage to the enemy’s camp, and as they were flying on all sides, rode up to intercept them. The foot, with the consul at their head, and, in short, the best part of the army turned upon the camp, where many of the enemy fell, whilst the Romans remained masters of their camp, and a considerable booty.

The news of this victory was soon carried to Rome, and the other army that acted against the Sabines. In the city, it was solemnized with great rejoicings, and in the camp, it excited the greatest emulation. Horatius, by skirmishing and slight engagements, had accustomed his troops to confide rather in their present valour, than to remember their past defeat, under the decemvirs: and these little encounters had made them confident of victory, whenever they should come to a general engagement.

Nor did the Sabines, encouraged by the successes of the former year, fail incessantly to provoke them, asking them reproachfully, “ What they meant by wasting the time in petty depredations, like a banditti, and thus spinning out a war in skirmishes with straggling parties, which might be determined in one decisive ac-

tion? Why were they afraid of a general battle, which would at once decide the controversy?"

CHAP. LXII.

Battle with the Sabines.

THE Romans had by this time sufficiently recovered their courage, and they were now fired with indignation. What! said they, shall the other army return with laurels to the city, whilst we are perpetually abused and insulted by the enemy? If ever we shall be a match for our enemies,—it is now. The consul perceiving these murmurings of the soldiers in the camp, he called an assembly, and addressed them to the following effect: "I suppose, soldiers, you have heard of the battle at the Algidus, where the behaviour of the army has been such, as became the sons of liberty. The masterly conduct of my colleague, and the noble exertions of the troops under his command, have obtained a complete victory. With respect to me, I shall take such measures, and pursue such plan of operation, as shall appear most agreeable to you. We have it in our power, to protract the war with advantage, or to finish it immediately. If the war must be protracted, I will follow the same plan I adopted in the beginning, for increasing your hopes and confirming your valour. If you think that sufficiently done already, as a sign of your inclination and bravery, raise such a shout, as you would do, were you instantly to make an attack."

The soldiers, with great cheerfulness, set up a terrible shout, when he assured them, "He would comply with their wishes, and lead them to battle next day, which he prayed might be auspicious." They spent the rest of that day in preparing their arms. Next morning, the Sabines, who were no less eager to engage, the moment they perceived the Roman army drawn up in order of battle, marched out likewise. The exertions on both sides were such, as might be expected of two armies confident of victory, the one animated with their ancient and perpetual glory, and the other flushed with their recent

victory. The Sabines, however, were not so confident of their strength, as to exclude stratagem. For, in drawing up in battalia, they reserved two thousand men without their ranks, who were to charge the left wing of the Romans, in the heat of action. This corps-de-reserve, charging furiously in flank, had almost surrounded the left wing, when two squadrons of Roman cavalry, consisting of about six hundred, dismounting, flew to the van, to support those who seemed already to be giving way, and boldly charging the enemy, they not only shared the danger in common with the foot, but inspired them with ardour, through a sense of shame. They blushed to see the cavalry doing double duty, and behaving more gallantly, when dismounted, than they themselves had done.

CHAP. LXIII.

The Sabines beat. The Consuls voted a triumph by the people.

UPON this they rallied, and returned to the post they had abandoned, when the battle was not only renewed, but the opposite wing of the Sabines gave way. The horse, covered by the foot, remounted, and galloping to the other wing of the army, informed them of the victory; at the same time, charging the enemy, who were not a little confounded, to find that the flower of their army was broke. Thus the Roman horse distinguished themselves by prodigies of valour. The consul was all alertness; he neglected nothing. The brave he commended; those whose ardour seemed less conspicuous, he reprimanded, which had a proper effect, for they did not fail to redouble their efforts, a sense of shame operating on the one, as much as commendations did on the other. Now, loud huzzas were raised, and charging on all sides in close battalia; the enemy, who were no longer able to stand the impetuous ardour of the Romans, were put to flight.

The Sabines, thus routed, and scattered through the fields, left their camp a prey to the enemy, where the Romans found, not only the spoils which had been taken

from their allies, as in the camp at the Algidus, but the booty which had been taken from themselves, in ravaging their own lands.

For both these victories, gained over different enemies, the senate, out of a grudge to the consuls, decreed only one day of supplication and public thanksgiving; but the people, by their own authority, acquitted themselves of the same duty, the day following, with more pomp and solemnity, and with a much greater concourse of people, than the day before. The consuls, by concert, came to Rome, the one on the first, the other on the second of these days, and assembled the senate in the Campus Martius, where they were rendering an account of the success of the campaign. The principal senators complained, that they were assembled in the midst of the soldiers, on purpose to over-awe them; and the consuls, to save reflections, adjourned it to the Flaminian Meadows, where a temple of Apollo now stands, and at that time called the Circus Apollinaris. Here they were refused a triumph, by almost the unanimous voice of the senate; upon which, L. Icilius the tribune, carried it before the people. Many of the senators appeared on the side of opposition, but none more warmly than C. Claudius, who exclaimed against it to the following purpose: "It is not over the enemy, but over the senate, that the consuls would triumph: it is for a gratification of some signal service done the tribune, and not an honourable reward of their bravery, that they sue for. To submit the merit of a triumph to the judgment of the people, had no precedent, as that had always been a prerogative of the senate alone. The privileges of that high order had never been abridged, even by their kings. Why then should the tribunes pretend to engross all power to themselves, even to the excluding a council of state? In short, the state will never be at peace, nor enjoy liberty, till the two orders forbear to encroach upon the rights and privileges of each other." Many more of the old senators spoke to the same effect, but the tribunes unanimously agreed to the motion. This was the first triumph voted by the people, without a decree of the senate.

CHAP. LXIV.

New elections. Candour of Duilius.

THIS victory of the people, and their tribunes, had almost been productive of very serious consequences, owing to a combination amongst the latter, to get themselves re-elected for the ensuing year, and to keep their ambition in countenance, to continue the same consuls in office for another year. In support of this scheme, they pretended, that the senate had engaged in a plot, out of pique to the consuls, to destroy the rights of the people. "For what would be the consequence, should the consuls, before the laws were firmly established, by their factions, make an attempt on the new tribunes! For, they were not always to have consuls of the same disposition with Valerius and Horatius, who preferred the liberty of the people to their own emolument."

It happened fortunately to fall to Duilius' lot, to preside at that election. He was a man of sense, who, foreseeing the mischievous consequences that the proposed continuation would produce, declared openly that he would make no account of votes in favour of any of his colleagues. He was warmly opposed, his colleagues contending, that he ought either to leave the assembly free, or give up his presidentship to one of the college, who would make the law, and not the pleasure of the senators his rule. He begged of the consuls, to favour him with their presence at his tribunal; and asked them, what they intended to do at the next Comitia for electing consuls? Their answer was, that they would create new ones. The president, finding that these magistrates, popular in other respects, but no friends to this scheme, advanced with them into the assembly, and introducing them to the people, then begged they would declare, what they would do, if the Roman people, from a principle of gratitude, for the generous part they had acted in recovering the public liberty, and mindful of their other services, both at home and abroad, should re-elect them to the consulship. They expressed the same intention as before. Duilius then praised them highly for

their disinterestedness, in having shown themselves to the last, the very reverse of the decemvirs; and then proceeded to the election.

After five new tribunes had been chosen, the president perceiving, that the other candidates would not be able to engage a majority in their favour, because of the busy opposition of his nine colleagues, dismissed the assembly, without appointing another day to complete the election: alledging that he had satisfied the law, which no where required that the whole number of tribunes should be chosen at once, provided room was left for completing the number: to those who had been chosen, he gave authority to name their colleagues. Then he read a copy of the act, which runs thus: "If I file a bill for the election of ten tribunes of the people, and the whole number should not be chosen on the day of election, those nominated shall themselves fill up the vacant places, and the persons so chosen, shall be deemed tribunes as legally elected as themselves." Thus Duilius, continuing steady to the last, in maintaining that the republic could not have fifteen tribunes, defeated the ambitious views of his colleagues, and laid down his office, equally dear to senate and people.

CHAP. LXV.

Domestic broils. Depredations of the Æqui and Volsci.

THE new tribunes, in the choice of their colleagues, paid great respect to the recommendation of the senate; they even chose two Patricians, Sp. Tarpeius, and A. Haterius, who had been consuls*. The fasces were now transferred to L. Hermonius, and T. Virginus Cœliomontanus, who being no great zealots in the cause of either party, their government was entirely pacific.

L. Trebonius, one of the tribunes, being much dissatisfied with the Patricians, alledging they had over-reached him, in the co-optation of the tribunes; when, at the same time, he had been betrayed by his colleagues, pro-

* An election of tribunes by the college, was said to be made by co-optation.

posed a bill, importing, "That whoever should hereafter hold the Comitia for electing tribes, should not dissolve the assembly, till the number of ten tribunes be completed by the votes of the tribunes." He passed his whole year in crossing the senate, which procured him the title of *crabbed*.

Then M. Geganius Macerinus, and C. Julius succeeded to the consulate. They quelled the cabals of the tribunes, which they were beginning to form against the young Patricians, without inveighing against the excess of their power, or sinking below the dignity of their order. They kept the people quiet, by decreeing levies for the war against the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, which prevented any sedition from taking place, assuring them, that the only way to secure peace abroad, was to be quiet at home; for nothing contributed so much to raise the spirits of foreign nations, as domestic broils.

Thus, by their care to secure peace abroad, they had the good fortune to maintain tranquillity at home; though the one order never failed to take the advantage of the moderation of the other. When the young Patricians began to be petulant, the people were giving no trouble. When the tribunes began to support the weakest, they were little regarded at first, and at last, did not themselves escape without insults, especially about the close of the year: when, during the meetings of the nobility, licentiousness prevails, and the exercise of magisterial authority generally becomes more languid.

The people's whole hopes centered in choosing tribunes like *Icilius*; for, during the two last years their tribunes were no more than a name. The elder senators, on their part, were not insensible, that their youth were turbulent, and carried things too far; but if the bounds of moderation were to be exceeded, they thought it better to have pride and spirit on their side, than on that of the opposition. So difficult is it to act with moderation in supporting liberty, as every one, under pretence of *leveling*, raises himself in proportion, as he depresses another. While we endeavour to have nothing to apprehend from others, we render ourselves terrible; to avoid oppression, we oppress, as if we could not help doing, or suffering injustice.

Titus Quinctius Capitolinus a fourth time, and Agrippa Furius were then made consuls, who found no sedition at home, nor war abroad; but Rome was threatened with both. The torrent of discord could be no longer stemmed, the tribunes and people being so much exasperated against the senate, that the assemblies resounded every day with accusations against some one or other of that order. On the first rumour of these domestic broils, the Æqui and Volsci, as if they had been the signal of war, took arms. Their chiefs, prompted by the love of plunder, persuaded them, "That the people had thrown off all authority, and that the levies could not even now be made, which had been appointed two years before. That it was for this very reason, an army had not been sent against them: the vigour of their discipline had now degenerated into licentiousness, and Rome was no longer considered as the native country, common to both orders, and the resentment and revenge they formerly practised against other nations, they now turned against one another. Now, now was the time to extirpate these wolves, whilst they were tearing one another."

Having joined their forces, the first ravaged the country of the Latins, and meeting with no resistance, animated by the authors of the war, who were exulting with joy, they advanced to the very walls of Rome plundering the country, on the side next the Æsquiline gate, and laying waste all before them in the face of the city by way of insult. Then driving off their booty with impunity, they returned to Corbio in good order, when Quinctius called an assembly of the people, where he spoke to the following effect:

CHAP. LXVII.

Speech of Quinctius.

THOUGH I can charge myself, O Romans, with no crime, by me committed, it is with the utmost shame and confusion that I appear in your assembly. You have seen it,—posterity will know it,—That in the fourth consulship of Titus Quinctius, the Æqui and

‘ Volsci, scarce a match for the Hernici alone, came in
‘ arms to the very gates of Rome, and went away again
‘ unchastised! Our manners indeed, and the situation of
‘ our affairs, have long been in such a train, that I had
‘ no reason to look for much good; but could I have
‘ divined, that so great an ignominy had been reserved
‘ for this year, I would by death or banishment, if all
‘ other means had failed, have avoided the office which
‘ I now fill. What! might Rome then have been taken,
‘ had those who appeared at our gates in arms, not been
‘ poltroons?—Rome taken, whilst I was consul!—Of
‘ honours, I had enough?—of life, enough,—Alas!—
‘ more than enough; I should have died in my third
‘ consulship. But who are they, pray, whom the das-
‘ tardly enemy have thus despised? Is it us the consuls,
‘ or you Romans? If we are culpable, depose us, as
‘ unworthy the office we bear; nay, punish us yet more
‘ severely. If you are in fault, may neither gods nor
‘ men punish your faults! Only may you repent. No,
‘ Romans; the enemy’s confidence is not owing to the
‘ high opinion they entertain of their own courage, nor
‘ the low estimate they make of yours. They have been
‘ too often vanquished?—driven out of their camp;—
‘ amerced in their lands;—obliged to pass under the
‘ yoke, not to know themselves and you. Discord alone
‘ is the ruin of this city. The disputes between the
‘ senate and commons, while we set no bounds to our
‘ domineering, nor you to your liberty; while you are
‘ weary of Patrician, and we of Plebeian magistrates,
‘ raise the courage of the enemy, and make them pre-
‘ sumptuous. In the name of the immortal gods, what
‘ is it you would have? You desired tribunes for the sake
‘ of peace; we granted them. You were keen to have
‘ decemvirs; we consented to their creation. You grew
‘ weary of decemvirs; we obliged them to resign. Your
‘ hatred pursued them to their private stations; and we
‘ suffered you to put to death, or banish Patricians of
‘ the first rank and distinction in the city. Then you
‘ would have your tribunes again; you obtained them.
‘ We saw consuls elected of your own faction, and bore
‘ it, though to the prejudice of the Patricians. We
‘ have also seen Patrician magistracies, become a per-

quisite of the commons. You have the protection of your tribunes: the privilege of appeal, and your decrees wreathed about the necks of the Patricians. Under pretence of equal and impartial laws, you have invaded our rights: we have suffered it, and still suffer it. Shall we never see an end of civil discord? When shall we have one common interest, and one common country? Victorious and triumphant as you are, you shew less temper than we under our defeat. Is it not enough, that we are afraid of you? When you are to contend with us, you can seize the Aventine hill, you can retire to the sacred Mount. The enemy is at your gates, the Esquiline is almost in the hands of the enemy, and the Volsci scaling your ramparts, yet nobody stirs to oppose it: but, against us you are valiant: against us you can arm with all diligence.'

CHAP. LXVIII.

In continuation.

COME on then, besiege the senate-house, make an hostile camp of the forum, fill the jails with the prime nobility, and when you have performed these mighty feats, then sally out at the Esquiline gate, whilst your courage is up against the enemy. If this be too much for such spirits as yours, go and behold from your walls, your lands ravaged, your houses plundered and in flames, and the whole country laid waste with fire and sword. But the public interest by these means, is still in a more deplorable state: the whole country is in flames, the city is invested, and the enemy triumphant.

In the name of the gods, what will be the consequence with respect to your private concerns? There is not one of you, but will hear soon enough of his losses. And what have you here to repair them? Will your tribunes make up and indemnify you, for your losses? They will give you words, as many as you please:—bring impeachments against the first men in the republic, in great abundance;—heap laws upon laws;—assemblies upon assemblies.—But, will any

of you return one denier the richer from these assemblies? What did you ever carry home to your wives and children from these assemblies? Yes; I can tell you. Hatred, disgust, and animosity, public and private; from the fatal effects of which, you have indeed been preserved, not by your own integrity nor bravery, but by the assistance of others. Why, when you fought in the field, under us consuls, and not in the forum under your tribunes; when your shouts in battle terrified your enemies, and not the Roman Patricians in your assemblies; it was then you got booty, it was then you took lands from your enemies, it was then you acquired riches and glory to yourselves and the state, and returned in triumph to your families and your gods. But now you suffer the enemy to retire enriched at your expence. Stick then to your assemblies;—take up your abode in the forum. Fly as you will from the necessity of fighting, it will haunt you, —it will still pursue you. Was it so hard a matter to march out against the *Æqui* and *Volsci*? The war is already at your gates; if you do not drive it from thence, you will soon see it within your walls,—scaling the citadel and capitol, and chasing you into your very houses. Two years ago, the senate ordered levies for an army to be sent to the *Algidus*. But,—ever since that time, you have loitered at home squabbling with one another like so many fish-wives, satisfied completely with your present peace, and never reflecting, that that very peace would soon bring war upon you from every quarter.

I am sensible, I might fall upon a thousand topics, that would please you better than the present, and be more agreeable to my own natural turn of mind: but necessity at present rather obliges me to speak truth, than flatter you to your ruin. I would wish, O Romans, to give you pleasure;—but to give you happiness, however you may be disposed with respect to me, is my more ardent wish. Our natural temper is such, that we listen more willingly to him who flatters us for his own interest, than to the man who has no earthly view, but the good of the community. You imagine, perhaps, that those flatterers, those worshippers

‘ of the people, who will neither suffer you to live in peace at home, nor do yourselves justice abroad, having nothing at heart, in using their influence with you, but your interests. You are grossly mistaken.—You are only their tools to promote their own interest and honour.

‘ When domestic peace and unanimity prevail, they find they have no business,—no credit; and they had rather lead to tumult and sedition, than be taken no notice of at all. If then you can at length be undeceived, and feel in what manner you have been led by the noses; only resume your wonted spirit and manners, instead of this new plan of operation, and there is no punishment to which I will not submit, if I do not in a few days, disperse and drive to perdition, these sanguinary depredators, and carry all the terror of this war, which gives you such pain at present, from the walls and gates of Rome, to their own cities.’

CHAP. LXIX.

Good effects of Quinctius’ speech.

NEVER were the commons better pleased with the embellishments of a sweet-lipped tribune, than they were with the severe commentary of this generous consul. The youth, whose refusal, in contests of this kind, was a powerful resource against the endeavours of the senate, breathed nothing but arms and war. The sight of the farmers, who had fled to the city for refuge, many of them despoiled of their lands, and their wounds still bleeding, whilst they painted scenes of distress still more affecting, filled all the citizens with a just desire of revenge.

When Quinctius entered the senate, the eyes of all were fixed on him, admiring him as the only assertor of the majesty of the Roman name. The principal senators observed, ‘ That his speech did honour to the office he filled, to the former consulships he had held, and in fine to his whole life, illustrious by the most glorious offices of the state, which he frequently had bore, and more frequently deserved. That other con-

'suls, by betraying the dignity of their order, had
'made their court to the people, or had made them
'still more obdurate and untractable, by supporting the
'rights of the senate, with too much haughtiness and
'austerity. But that Titus Quinctius had adapted his
'discourse to the times, and without losing sight of the
'dignity of the senate, had constantly kept in view, the
'union and reconciliation of parties. They unani-
'mously requested him and his colleague to provide
'for the safety of the state; at the same time recom-
'mending to the tribunes, to act in concert with the
'consuls, for driving the enemy from the gates and
'walls of the city, and to engage the people to act with
'cheerfulness and submission in every thing ordered
'by the senate, in so dangerous a conjuncture. That
'it was the genius of Rome, that upon this extraordi-
'nary occasion, implored the aid of the tribunes, when
'their lands were laid waste, and the city in danger of
'being taken.'

The levies were decreed, without a dissenting voice, and made without opposition. Then the consuls addressed themselves to the multitude in substance as follows:
'At present their time was too sacred for examining
'the excuses of those who had not given in their names.
'The youth must all be ready by day-break to-morrow,
'in the Campus Martius. At the conclusion of the
'war, they would then enquire into these matters, and
'treat all as deserters, whose excuse should be found un-
'tenable.'

Next day, the youth assembled accordingly, when each cohort chose its own centurions, and had two senators placed at the head of it. All this we find done with such expedition, that the ensigns were ready, and brought from the arsenal by the quæstors, and the troops fairly on their march by the fourth hour of the day. This new army, joined with a few veteran cohorts, who followed as volunteers, halted after a march of ten miles from Rome. The next day they came in view of the enemy, and encamped hard by them at Corbio. On the third day, both sides were eager to come to an engagement; the Romans prompted by resentment, and the enemy, by a conviction that they could expect no

quarter from an enemy from whom they had so often revolted.

CHAP. LXX.

The Æqui and Volsci severely chastised.

WHEN both consuls are in the same Roman army, they are vested with equal powers. But Agrippa, at this time, yielded his authority to his colleague, convinced, that nothing is more contrary to the prosperity of great undertakings, than a divided command. Quinctius repaid this compliment as he ought to have done, by communicating to his colleague all his counsels, acting in concert with him in every instance, giving him a share of the glory in all successes, and making him his equal in all things without exception.

In the action, Quinctius commanded the right wing, Agrippa the left, Sp. Posthumius Albus, the lieutenant, the centre, and Ser. Sulpicius, another lieutenant-general, commanded the cavalry. The foot on the right fought with extraordinary bravery, and found a vigorous resistance on the part of the Volsci.

Ser. Sulpicius, with the horse, broke through the enemy's main body, and might have returned the same way, before the enemy had time to rally and put themselves in form, but he thought it better to charge them in the rear: and had not the Equian and Volscian cavalry come up, and attacked him in his own way, and by that means suspended the fortune of the day, he would, in a moment, have put them to flight, as by his attack they were greatly disconcerted both in front and in rear. Sulpicius then cried out to his troops, 'That now was their time;—that they would be immediately surrounded, and all communication with their own army would be cut off, if by a vigorous effort, they did not dispatch the enemy's horse. To put them to flight, and let them live, was doing nothing; they must dispatch both men and horses, that neither might return to renew the battle. They will never be able to stand before you, now that you have already broke through the main body of their foot.'

These orders were not given in vain. The whole Roman cavalry charged the enemy at the same instant, and put them to flight. Many of them were tumbled from their horses, and both together transfixcd by the spears of the Romans. The enemy's cavalry were thus entirely defeated.

They turned then upon the foot, having dispatched an aid-de-camp with the news of their success to the consuls, who had also made some impression on the wings that opposed them. This intelligence redoubled their ardour, and occasioned a great consternation among the Æqui, who were already giving way. The centre of the enemy's army, which had been thrown into disorder by the Roman horse, was the first that broke. Quinctius bore down the left wing, but on the right there was much hotter work.

Then Agrippa, who was brave and full of fire, seeing the Romans carrying all before them, excepting where he commanded, snatched the standards from the ensigns, and advancing with them in person, threw some of them into the midst of the enemy's battalions. The soldiers through fear of losing them, which would have been a great disgrace, fell upon the enemy like lions. Thus was the victory rendered complete, on the side of the Romans. By this time, Quinctius' aid-de-camp came to inform them, that he had beat the enemy, and was ready to fall upon the enemy's camp, the moment he knew they had done their business in the left wing; and if they were already masters of the field, he ordered them to join him immediately, that all the army might share alike in the spoil. Agrippa, now victorious, advanced to his colleague, and after mutual congratulations on their mutual successes, began the attack. The few that guarded the camp being easily managed, they broke through the works without opposition.

The consuls marched back the army to Rome, laden with the spoils they had taken from the enemy, exclusive of all they had lost in the plunder of their country, which they now totally recovered. It does not appear that they either demanded, or that the senate decreed them a triumph; nor is there any reason assigned for their neglecting, or despairing to obtain that honour.

As far as conjectures can be formed at this distance of time, I am apt to imagine, that as the senate, some time before, had refused the honour of a triumph to the consuls Valerius and Horatius, who, besides the war with the Æqui and Volsci, had the honour of finishing the war with the Sabines, the present consuls had too much modesty to demand a triumph; lest, if they had obtained it, men would have been apt to conclude, that the senate paid more respect to persons than to merit.

CHAP. LXXI.

The Roman people made Arbitrators.

THIS victory, so honourably obtained over their enemies, was disgraced by a selfish award of the people, relative to some contested lands of their allies. The Arcinii and Ardeates, had long disputed the right to a small territory, for which they had fought many a battle. Tired at length of the calamities of war, they agreed to submit the whole to the decision of the Roman people. When the cause came to be pled, both parties exerted their utmost in an assembly of the people, authorised by the magistrates. The proof was taken, and the vote ready to be put round, when P. Scaptius, an aged plebeian, rose up, and addressing himself to the consuls, said, 'That were he only allowed to speak in behalf of the state, he could set the Roman people to rights in this matter.' When the consuls refused to listen to him, and ordered him to be removed, as a troublesome fellow; he still insisted, that the public interest was betrayed, and appealed to the tribunes. These gentlemen, rather governed by the multitude, than the multitude by them, gave him permission to speak what he pleased to the people, who were very willing to hear him.

He then told them, 'That he was now eighty-three years of age; that he had carried arms on that very spot which was now the bone of contention; that he was not then a young man, having made twenty campaigns before the battle of Corioli; that, therefore, he would give a candid account of the matter, which at so distant a period might have escaped others, but was

' still fresh in his memory. That the territory in ques-
 ' tion was a pertinent of Corioli, which being subjected
 ' to the Romans, the land of course became the property
 ' of the Roman people. That it surprised him, how in
 ' all the world, the Arcini and Ardeates, who had never
 ' claimed this territory while Corioli existed as a state,
 ' could expect to ascertain their claim to it, by making
 ' the Romans, who had the legal right, arbitrators in the
 ' case. That for his own part he had not long to live,
 ' and since he could do no more now, when he was old, he
 ' could not help claiming possession by his feeble voice,
 ' of a property, to the acquisition of which, he had con-
 ' tributed all in his power when young. And that it
 ' was his earnest advice to the people, that they should
 ' not, by a mistaken and foolish modesty, pass judgment
 ' against themselves.'

CHAP. LXXII.

The People adjudge in their own favour.

THE consuls finding that the multitude listened to
 Scaptius, with every mark of attention and satisfaction,
 called gods and men to witness their dissent from the no-
 torious injustice just about to be committed, and calling
 the chief men of the state, with them went about implor-
 ing the tribunes, ' To use their best endeavours to dis-
 ' suade the people from introducing the practice among
 ' arbitrators, of adjudging to themselves a subject sub-
 ' mitted to their decision, which is not only infamous
 ' in itself, but of the most pernicious tendency; for,
 ' suppose, in this case, their claim was well found-
 ' ed, and for that reason, a concern for their own inte-
 ' rest became justifiable; yet it would be highly impo-
 ' litical: for the acquisition of this territory would be
 ' but a poor compensation for the imputation of injus-
 ' tice, and the loss of the friendship of their allies.
 ' Moreover, in point of character and credit, the loss
 ' was irreparable. Shall the deputies of the states carry
 ' home the news? shall it be told to the allies, and the
 ' enemies of Rome? The first will be sorry;—the last
 ' will rejoice. Is it possible to imagine, that the neigh-

‘bousing states would ascribe to the reveries of old Scaptius, so infamous a judgment? He will, indeed, be always remembered when this affair is mentioned; but the Roman people will be for ever branded with chicanery and barratry, in making a booty of other mens law-suits. For, would any judge on earth, even in a private affair, seize the property in question as a perquisite of his own? No! Scaptius himself, although it was plain he had out-lived all shame, could scarce be guilty of so gross a deed.’

Thus did the consuls and principal senators remonstrate, with all the warmth in their power, but avarice and Scaptius prevailed, and the tribes being called over, adjudged the territory to themselves.

Had the affair been referred to other judges, that the claim of the Roman people could not have been set aside, is not denied; but the justice of their pretensions, in the present case, does not lessen the infamy of their sentence. It gave the senate more concern, and to them appeared in a more iniquitous point of view, than it did to the claimants themselves. For the remainder of the year, Rome had no disturbance either at home or abroad.

TITUS LIVIUS'
ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK IV.

DISPUTES WITH THE TRIBUNES, RELATIVE TO INTER-MARRIAGES BETWEEN THE ORDERS; THE PARTICIPATION OF STATE OFFICES, AND A DIVISION OF THE LANDS. INSTITUTION OF MILITARY TRIBUNES WITH CONSULAR POWER, AND THE QUÆSTORSHIP. WARS WITH THE VOLSCI, THE ÆQUI, FIDENATES, &c.

CHAP. I.

New laws proposed by Canuleius, not relished by the Senate.

THE former consuls were succeeded in their office by M. Genutius and C. Curtius. They had a troublesome year both at home and abroad: for, at its commencement, C. Canuleius, one of the tribunes, proposed a law for permitting inter-marriages between the Patricians and Plebeians, which the Patricians considered as a pollution of their blood, and a perturbation of family distinctions: and what was at first only hinted with some degree of diffidence by the tribunes, that the people should be at liberty to choose one of the consuls out of their own order, was afterwards carried so high, that nine tribunes preferred a bill, 'Empowering the people to elect the consuls indiscriminately out of the senate or people;' which, should it be passed into a law, the Patricians imagined, would not only bring them down to the level

of the meanest commoner, but would effectually wrest every shadow of power from them, to entail it upon the commons.

Wherefore, they received the news with joy, that the Ardeates, in resentment of the judgment given against them in the property submitted, had abandoned the party of the Romans, that the Veientes were laying waste the frontiers of the Roman domains, and that the Volsci and Æqui were in motion, on account of the fortifications raised at Virrugo: so much did they prefer even an unsuccessful war, to a dishonourable peace.

Wherefore, upon these advices, which were much exaggerated, to drown the clamours of the tribunes, with the alarms of so many wars, the senate ordered the levies to be made, and preparations for war, with more keenness, if possible, than in the consulship of T. Quinctius. Then C. Canuleius declared, in a few words, in full senate, that they might save themselves the trouble of imposing on the people, by the terrors of war, to divert their attention from the new laws; for, while he had breath, they would not enlist a man, until the laws proposed by him and his colleagues, were received; and then went out directly and assembled the people.

CHAP. II.

The Consuls remonstrate.

AT this time, the consuls used every argument to exasperate the senate against the tribune; who, on his part, inflamed the people against the consuls. The consuls contended, 'That the madness of the tribunes was no longer to be endured. That matters were now come to an extremity. That the enemies without doors were nothing, compared to those in their bosom. That this evil was not to be imputed to the people, and their tribunes only; the senators and consuls were even more culpable.—That whatever is countenanced and rewarded in a city, gains ground and increases prodigiously. That it was in this manner, our greatest statesmen and generals were formed.—That in Rome, nothing was now considered or rewarded but sedition, which never

failed to procure honour and respect to all and sundries, its authors and abettors. That they might look back upon the majesty of the senate, when they received it from their fathers, and compare it with the state in which they were like to transmit it to their children : they would then see, whether they had reason to boast with the people, that their privileges were exceedingly improved and enlarged. That the same evils would constantly prevail, whilst sedition carried all before it, and its authors so highly distinguished. What a detestable project is this, which C. Canuleius has attempted ? He is for mingling the blood of the nobles, with the scum of the people ;—confounding the public and private auspices ;—leaving nothing pure, nothing uncorrupted in the state, that distinctions being put out of the way, a man might be equally a stranger to himself and his relations. For, what else could possibly be the design of such preposterous marriages, but that the fathers and people should couple together with as little ceremony as wild beasts ? So that a child born of such marriages, half Patrician and half Plebeian, would be in a kind of war with himself, being totally ignorant of his rank and family, and the sacrifices proper for his state : and, as it were not enough to confound all rights human and divine, these disturbers of the public peace have the imprudence to lift their eyes to the consulship itself. That at first they had only talked of electing one Plebeian consul, but now they rise in their demands, and insist, that the people may elect consuls out of either order, as *they* please : and, can any one entertain a doubt, that they would nominate the most turbulent of their own order ? Then would the Canulei and Icilii strut about with the fasces. They trusted, however, that the most high Jupiter would never suffer the majesty of the consulship to fall into such contempt ; and for their own parts, they had rather die a thousand deaths, than concur in so infamous a disgrace. That it was a certain fact, if their ancestors could have divined, that by making so many concessions, the people were not to become more tractable, but on the contrary more assuming, by making demand upon demand, every one of them more un-

reasonable than the former, they would, at the beginning, have fought it fairly, whatever their disadvantages, rather than have such laws wreathed about their necks. Because they had been indulged at first in tribunes, they must be again indulged. To see an end of their dissensions, was impossible, so long as senators and tribunes existed in the same state. Either the Patrician order, or these demagogues, must be kicked out of the community. It is better late than never at all, to stem the torrent of their insolence and temerity. Shall they sow dissension at home, and thereby arm the neighbouring nations against us; whilst, at the same time, they prohibit the citizens from repelling an invasion they had brought upon them, and not smart for their impudence? Shall they give every encouragement to the enemy, but the ceremony of an invitation, and not permit an army to be levied to make head against them? But this Canuleius has the effrontery to declare in open senate, that if the Patricians will not receive his laws, as those of a despotic conqueror, he will not suffer a single man to enlist. Is not this an open declaration, a plain menace, that he will betray his country?—That he will suffer it to be invested, and calmly stand by and see it taken? Such a sentiment? with what courage must it inspire—not the Roman people—but their declared enemies, the Æqui, Volsci, and Veientes? Conducted by this demagogue, can they look for any thing less, than the possession of the citadel and capitol, if the fathers, together with their dignity and civil rights, do not also surrender to the tribunes their courage and resolution? But they would have them to know, that the consuls were determined to take the lead in extirpating wickedness at home, before they stirred to oppose the incursions of the enemy.

CHAP. III.

Speech of Canuleius.

WHILST these things were warmly insisted on in the senate, Canuleius, in defence of his laws, and in opposition to the consuls, spoke to the following effect: ‘I

• think I have frequently, upon former occasions, ob-
• served, O Romans, in what contempt the fathers hold
• you, and how unworthy they think you of living with-
• in the same walls with them; but at no time so strong-
• ly marked as this day, in the violence and fury they
• discovered in their opposition to our laws; in which, to
• what more do we pretend, but only to remind them,
• that we are their fellow-citizens, and though we have
• not the same fortunes, we, however, have the honour
• to be inhabitants of the same country? By one of
• these laws, we demand the liberty of marriage with
• their order, a liberty seldom refused to neighbours;
• nay, even strangers. Nay more, we have given the
• right of citizenship, a circumstance of greater consider-
• ation than family alliance, to enemies,—even conquer-
• ed enemies. By the other, we claim nothing new, but
• what has always been the prerogative of the people,
• to bestow honours on whom they shall think proper.
• What occasion then for all this uproar, as if heaven
• and earth were falling to ruin, that they are ready to
• tear me to pieces in their senate-house?—that they
• threaten to have no regard to our persons, and to vio-
• late the power of the tribunes, all sacred as it is? If
• the Roman people be allowed to vote as they please,
• and confer the consulship on whom they think proper,
• and if a Plebeian has room to hope, that by his merit,
• he may rise to the highest honours of the state; must
• Rome of necessity sink at once? Must this empire be
• unavoidably overturned? And does the same idea of
• impropriety attend the election of a consul from
• among the people, that would attend the promotion of
• a slave, or a freed man to that dignity? Have you any
• conception, Romans, of the contempt in which you are
• held? If they could, they would deprive you of the
• common light. You should not breathe, speak, nor ap-
• pear in the human form. Nay, but that a Plebeian
• should become a consul.—Good gods! what a prepos-
• terous supposition! Though we are not admitted to in-
• spect the Fasti, and the annals of the pontiffs, pray, do
• not we know what every stranger knows, that the con-
• suls succeeded the kings in their office, and that they
• had neither power, nor pre-eminence, but what the

latter had before them ! Do you imagine we are so ignorant of our own history, that we never heard that Numa Pompilius, who was neither a Patrician, nor even a Roman citizen, was called from his farm in the country of the Sabines, and by order of the people, and the authority of the fathers, made king of Rome ? —That, thereafter, L. Tarquinius, by birth so far from being a Roman, that he was not even an Italian, the son of Demaratus of Corinth, a temporary citizen of Tarquinii, was nevertheless, in the life-time of Ancus's children, placed upon the throne ? That Servius Tullius after him, the son of a captive woman of Corniculum, whose father no mortal knew, whose mother was a slave, attained the sovereignty, by his excellent qualities and extraordinary merit. Why should I mention Titus Tatius the Sabine, whom Romulus, the founder of this city, thought proper to associate with himself in the administration ? Wherefore, whilst no man in whom virtue shone conspicuous was despised on account of his descent, Rome flourished and grew great. You may now, if you please, blush at the very idea of a Plebeian consul, but our ancestors were not ashamed to have strangers for their kings, nor has this city been shut against foreigners who had merit to recommend them, even since the extinction of regal power. Have we not since that time, received the family of the Claudii among us, from the country of the Sabines, and not only admitted them to the freedom of the city, but also into the order of the Patricians ? Shall a foreigner become a Patrician, and afterwards consul, and a Roman citizen be excluded the consulship, because he is a Plebeian ? Do we believe then, in the name of wonder, that it is impossible for the people to produce a man of merit and courage, qualified to discharge the duties of the cabinet and the field, resembling Numa, Tarquin, and Servius ? And if one of this character happen to be born among us, shall we never suffer him to approach the helm of state ! Shall we rather choose to have men for consuls of the complexion of decemvirs, the most wicked of mankind, and all of them Patricians, rather than men resembling the best of our kings, who could not boast of their high descent ?

CHAP. IV.

In continuation.

‘ I GRANT you that no Plebeian has been made consul, since the expulsion of the kings; and pray, what then? Are we never to think of any new institution? In an infant state as this is, how many regulations must still be wanting? and must these, however necessary, and essential, be for ever excluded? In the reign of Romulus, who ever heard of priests or augurs? but they were instituted by Numa Pompilius. In the city there was originally no census, no distribution of the people into centuries and classes, till they were appointed by Servius Tullius. The title of consul never existed, till consuls were created after the expulsion of kings. Was there ever a dictator, either in name or authority, till the senate brought that office into existence? There was a time when tribunes, ediles, and quæstors were unknown; but it was determined that they should be. Within these ten years, we made decemvirs for compiling laws, and we have also unmade them. Who can imagine, in a city which is to endure for ever, and is increasing to infinity, but that new offices, priest-hoods, privileges and laws, will be instituted both for families and individuals? This very law, which prohibits intermarriages between the two orders of the state, was it not passed by the decemvirs a few years ago, to the disgrace of the public, and the detriment of the people? Can any thing in effect be more expressive of contempt, more scandalous and disgraceful, than to declare one part of the city so impure and unclean, that it is unworthy to be allied with the other in marriage? What is it else than to be subjected to a sequestration, a banishment within these walls? They are all upon the watch to prevent every connection with us by affinity or relation, and particularly that there may be no mixture of blood. What is the meaning of all this? If this nobility of yours has been polluted in this way, which, after all, the greatest part of you, who are descended of the Albines or Sabines, owe neither to your

birth nor your families, but to your admission into the order of senators, an honour, to which you were either promoted by the kings, or after their expulsion, by the suffrages of the people. Why do not you lay your wise heads together, to preserve the pretended purity of your blood, by chusing neither wives among us yourselves, nor permitting your female line to marry any man, but a Patrician? No Plebeian will force a Patrician lady. That is an orbit in which a Patrician can only move. Nobody will force you to enter into a marriage contract, unless it be agreeable to yourselves. But to prohibit it by law, and to make the marriage of a Plebeian with a Patrician felony, is affronting us in the highest degree. Why have you not passed the same interdiction with respect to the rich and the poor? At all times, and in every nation upon earth, it has been left to the choice of parties, to settle upon the family, into which a woman should be disposed of in marriage, and upon that, out of which they should take a wife; but this liberty you restrain by the sanction of a law the most insulting in the world, that you may make a breach in civil society, and split one community into two. Why do not you also forbid the Plebeians to live in the neighbourhood of the Patricians, to walk in the same streets with them, to eat at the same table, or to assemble with them in the forum? And what is the difference pray, in all these things, in the marriage of a Patrician with a Plebeian, or of a Plebeian with a senator's daughter? Would the privileges of the orders be invaded or infringed by an instance of this kind? Not at all. For the children will always be of the rank with the father. In short we have no other view in moving this affair, but to be treated as men and citizens; and the man who will set up his face to oppose so just a requisition, can have no other motive, but to make us appear in the light of scoundrels and vagabonds.

CHAP. V.

Conclusion.

‘BUT to conclude: only let me ask you, is the sovereign power in the *people of Rome*, or in *you*, Patricians? Did we expel the kings to render you absolute, or to purchase a liberty, which should be common to, and equal in *all*? I hope it will not be denied that the people can, at their pleasure, make a law; and will you then, the moment a law is proposed, pretend to list them immediately for the war: and the moment that I, in virtue of my office as tribune, begin to call upon the tribes for their suffrages, shall you, by your consular authority, oblige the youth immediately to take the military oath, and march them to the camp, threatening both the people and their tribune? Have you not twice already felt the effects of cudgelling the people into an involuntary obedience? Perhaps you dropped the argument, out of regard to our safety; or rather did you keep your temper, because the stronger party was also the more moderate? Believe me, Romans, there will be no bloodshed on this occasion neither. Your temper they will always try; but as for your strength, that is quite a different affair. Wherefore, hear me, consuls, whether these wars you talk of, be real or fictitious, the people shall be ready at a call, if by the ties of marriage and mutual affinity, these ancient privileges, the two orders be again united, restored to their natural rights, and be made one people: and if, by real merit, the citizens may look up to offices of distinction in the state, without regard to adventitious circumstances; if such, in conjunction with you, are admitted to a share in the administration of public affairs, to demonstrate that they are equally called upon in the annual magistracy, to command and obey, in which alone, true liberty consists. But if these laws are opposed, talk for ever of wars, exaggerate the danger as much as you will—not a man shall enter the service—not a man shall take arms—not a man shall expose his life for such imperious lords,

with whom he can neither share the public honours of the state, nor private alliance by marriage.'

CHAP. VI.

Military Tribunes of either order, proposed to supersede Consuls.

THE consuls having also gone out to the assembly of the people, from long speeches the parties now fell to altercation. The tribune put the question, why a Plebeian might not attain to the consulship? It was answered, perhaps with some truth, though to little purpose on the present occasion, that no Plebeian had a right to the auspices, for which reason the decemvirs had declared such marriages void, as in a heterogeneous race, the auspices might be rendered uncertain.

It is impossible to express the indignation of the people, when they heard that they were to be denied the auspices, as men hateful to the immortal gods. And as in their tribune they had a most intrepid champion, and were themselves no less determined, the fathers were at last obliged to suffer the law concerning marriages to pass; persuaded, that from this concession, the tribunes would be induced to drop entirely the other bill respecting the Plebeian consuls, or at least suspend it till the conclusion of the war; and that the people, satisfied with obtaining a repeal of the marriage-act, would cheerfully agree to the levies. But as Canuleius' victory over the fathers had raised his credit and influence among the people to an extraordinary height, the other tribunes, emulous of his glory, exerted all their influence to carry the law they had proposed; and though the reports of the impending war became every day more flagrant, they still obstructed the levies.

The consuls finding that nothing effectual could be concluded in the senate, by reason of the interruption they met with from the tribunes, held meetings of the nobility in their own houses; to whom it appeared evident, that matters were now come to that pass, that they must yield the victory, either to the enemy abroad, or to the people at home. Valerius and Horatius were the

only gentlemen of consular dignity, who were not present at these meetings. Claudius's advice armed the hands of the consuls against the tribunes; but the Quintus Cincinnatus, and Capitolinus declared against blood and slaughter, or even offering violence to the persons of those, whom, by a solemn engagement with the people, they had obliged themselves to hold sacred and inviolable. In these private assemblies, it was at last agreed that they should allow military tribunes, with consular power, to be chosen indifferently out of either order; but that the mode of election with respect to consuls should suffer no alteration.

This measure was received, and cordially embraced both by the people and their tribunes. The Comitium was then summoned for the election of three military tribunes with consular power: upon which, all those who had distinguished themselves most in the cause of sedition, either in speaking or acting, especially the tribunitian gentlemen, ran on all sides of the forum, dressed in white robes, soliciting votes. The Patricians seeing them so active, and despairing of obtaining any office of distinction, from a people so exasperated, at the same time, were their hopes of succeeding, unable to bear the thoughts of associating with colleagues of Plebeian rank, they were at first determined not to stand for the office. At last however, yielding to the remonstrances of the leading men of their party, they offered their services to fill the new offices, that they might not seem to have abandoned their country with their share in its government. The result of this assembly shewed, that there is a material difference between a people in the heat and fury of disputes for liberty and honour, and when they act with dispassionate coolness after these disputes are over.

The people elected none to the office of military tribunes, but Patricians only, being fully satisfied, that regard had been shown to their demand. Where shall we now find in any one man, that moderation, that equity, that greatness of soul, which were then so conspicuous in a whole people?

CHAP. VII.

Creation of Military Tribunes who soon lay down their office, because there was an informality in their election.

IN the year 310, from the foundation of Rome, A. Sempronius Atratinus, L. Atilius, Titus Cæcilius, being chosen military tribunes, for the first time, in the room of consuls, entered upon their office accordingly; and the unanimity which subsisted at home, during their administration, contributed not a little to maintain peace abroad. Some authors are silent, with respect to the bill for electing consuls from among the people, assigning as a reason for the election of three military tribunes, invested with the authority and ensigns of the consuls, that besides the revolt of the Ardeates, the Romans had, at the same time upon their hands, a war with the Æqui, the Volsci, and Veientes, too much for the management of two consuls at the same time.

The establishment of this office, however, was not permanent: for, by a decree of the augurs, they laid down their office in three months after they had entered upon it, because some essential formality had been omitted in their election, C. Curtius, the preses at the Comitia, having made some mistake in pitching the tent.

About this time, ambassadors came from Ardea, complaining of the injustice done them; but in such terms, as showed no intention of renouncing their treaty and alliance with the Romans, provided a restitution of their territory could be obtained. The senate returned them for answer: ‘ That from the judgment of the people, there was no appeal to their tribunal, and as they had the sanction of no law, nor precedent for reversing the sentence of the people, such a proceeding might be of dangerous consequence to that harmony, which ought to subsist between the two orders of the state. But, if the Ardeates would be good enough to wait for a favourable opportunity, and leave it to the wisdom of the senate, to find means of redressing their grievance, they would have no reason to repent, on a future day, of their condescension; nor to imagine, that the senate

'were not hearty in their endeavours to prevent the
'being injured, and careful, if at any time they had
'reason of complaint, to remove the cause, with all the
'dispatch in their power.' The ambassadors promise
to lay the matter before their council of state, and were
dismissed with marks of respect.

As the city now had no supreme magistrates, the senate met and named an inter-rex. The main question now during this interregnum was, whether consuls or military tribunes should be appointed to the government which was the subject of debate for several days. The inter-rex and senate, insisted to have a Comitia for electing consuls, but the people and their tribunes, for military tribunes. The senate prevailed, because the people being determined, at all events, to chuse Patricians, grew indifferent about a question that could answer no end: And their leaders themselves, preferred an election where they could not appear as candidates, to that where they were sure to be cast as unworthy. The tribunes too, out of respect to the principal senators, gave up a point, which they saw they could not maintain. T. Quinctius Barbatus, the inter-rex, created L. Paperius Mugilanus, and L. Sempronius Atratinus consuls. During their administration, the treaty with the Ardeates was renewed, which is an incontestible proof that they were consuls that year, though the ancient annals, as well as the register of magistrates, make no mention of either. It would seem, that military tribunes having been created in the beginning of the year, the names of the consuls who succeeded them, were omitted, as if the military tribuneship had continued in force to the end of the year. Licinius Macer declares, that their names are recorded in the treaty with the Ardeates, and also found in the linen records, in the temple of Monita. Notwithstanding of all the alarms from the neighbouring nations, Rome enjoyed peace both at home and abroad.

CHAP. VIII.

Censors created.

WHETHER military tribunes only, during this year, or consuls chosen in their stead, had the management of public affairs, it is admitted by all, that in the next, M. Geganius Macerinus, for the second, and T. Quinctius Capitolinus, for a fifth time, were consuls. Under these consuls, the office of censor was instituted:* which, though it seemed but of small importance at first, rose in time to so great a height, that the morals and discipline of the Romans fell under its cognizance: it was charged with the superintendence of the senate and centuries of the knights: in it was vested the right of promotion and degradation, the disposal of all places, public and private, and an absolute jurisdiction with respect to the revenues of the republic.

The following circumstance gave rise to this office. For many years, the people had never been rated, and though the census could be delayed no longer, by reason of so many impending wars, it was out of the power of the consuls to overtake it. It was observed by the senate, that a matter which required so great attention, and at the same time, below the dignity of a consul, required a peculiar officer, to whom the clerks ought to be accountable, who should have the conversation of the tax rolls, and should prescribe the mode of taking the census.

However insignificant this office might have appeared at first, the fathers grasped at it with joy, as it had a tendency to increase the number of offices occupied by their order, with a view as I imagine, and as it really happened, that the influence and power of those who filled it, would soon procure authority and respect to the office itself. The tribunes viewed it rather in a necessary, than an honourable light, of which, at that time, it had no other appearance; and for that reason made no objection, that they might not seem to make opposi-

* A Censeo. This office, though at first it seemed contemptible, came at last to have so much power annexed to it, that the emperors took it upon themselves.

tion, when their only motive was the pleasure of contradiction. As the principal men of the state looked on this office with contempt, Poperius and Sempronius were named by the people, whose consulship, the preceding year, was found doubtful, that the accession of this new honour might make them amends for the imperfection of the former; and from the nature of their office, they were called censors.

CHAP. IX.

Distractions at Ardea. Proceedings of Geganius.

DURING these operations at Rome, ambassadors came from Ardea, requesting the Romans, on account of their most ancient friendship, and of the treaty so lately renewed, to assist the state, now brought to the brink of ruin by a civil war, which totally interrupted that peace they had very wisely kept with them. The rage of parties, it is said, was the source of these civil dissensions, which has been of more fatal consequence to many states than foreign wars, famine, diseases, and plagues of whatever kind, ascribed to the anger of the gods, as being the severest strokes that can befall a nation.

Two young men had made their addresses to a young lady of Plebeian extraction, but extraordinary beauty. One of the young gentlemen was her equal, and supported in his pretensions by her tutors, who were of the same order. The other was a nobleman, regardless of every consideration, but the charms of his mistress. His addresses had the countenance of the nobility, who carried the spirit of party into the young lady's family. Her mother ambitious of a title to her daughter, was clear for the nobleman. The guardians even in this matter, could not conceal their attachment to their own order. When the dispute became too high to be settled within doors, they went to law; and the judge having heard the pleadings on the part of the guardians and the mother, gave judgment in favour of the latter, whose right to dispose of her child in marriage, was clearly ascertained: but the stoutest arm prevailed. For, the

guardians expatiated publicly, on the injustice of the sentence, among the people of their own order, in the forum; and, having made up a party, seized the young lady, and carried her off from her mother's house. In opposition to them, a party of the nobility, still more formidable, joined the injured youth, and bloody work ensued.

The people, who bore no resemblance to the people of Rome, were worsted, and marched out of the city in arms, posting themselves upon an eminence, whence they laid waste the lands of the nobility with fire and sword: and having, by the hopes of plunder, drawn a great many mechanics to their party, they made preparations for besieging the city, which hitherto had sustained no damage from the insurrection. War now appeared in all its dreadful shapes and colours: the whole community being as it were, infected with the distraction of two young men, who were contending for a marriage, fatal to themselves, and destructive to their country.

Neither thought their internal resources sufficient for the conflict; for which reason, the nobility applied to the Romans for relief, while the city was besieged, and the commons called in the Volsci, to assist them in the reduction of the city. The Volsci appeared first before Ardea, under the command of Cluilius, an Æquian general, and shut up the city by a line of circumvallation drawn round its walls. When these accounts were brought to Rome, the consul Geganius lost not a moment in marching with his army, and encamped within three miles of the enemy; where, as the day was far spent, he ordered the troops to refresh themselves. At the fourth watch, he proceeded and carried on his works with such expedition, that at sun-rising, the Volsci found themselves blocked up by a fortification, superior in strength to that wherewith they had invested the city; whilst, at another quarter, the consul had carried his works to the walls of Ardea, that his army might have a free communication with the town.

CHAP. X.

The Volsci beat. Peace restored to Ardea. The consul triumphs.

THE general of the Volsci, who till then had trusted for victualling his army, to the corn got from day to day, in ravaging the lands of the nobility, having prepared no magazines for that purpose; when he saw himself all of a sudden blocked up, and thereby deprived of every means of subsistence, invited the consul to an interview, and told him, That if he had come with an intention to raise the siege, that he was willing instantly to withdraw the Volsci. The consul, in answer, gave him to understand, that it was incumbent on the conquered to receive terms, but not to prescribe them: and, since they had come to besiege the allies of Rome, at their own pleasure, they must only depart at his pleasure. Wherefore, he orders them to lay down their arms, to give up their general, acknowledge themselves conquered, and submit to his orders. If they did not, they might expect no quarter, whether they raised or carried on the siege; as he would much rather return to Rome crowned with victory, than with the terms of a treacherous capitulation.

The Volsci, now cut off from all hopes, except what little they placed in their arms, resolved to give it a trial; but, besides other disadvantages, having engaged in a place improper for fighting, and still more so for flying, and being slaughtered at all quarters, they put up their swords and fell on their knees; when after they had delivered up their general, and laid down their arms, they were obliged to pass under the yoke, and dismissed with clothes only sufficient to conceal their nakedness, covered, however, with shame and disgrace. When they had halted at some distance from Tusculum, the people there, who had long been their declared enemies, rose up on them, fell upon them unarmed, and scarce left one to carry home the news of their disaster.

The Roman consul re-established peace and tranquillity at Ardea, having beheaded the principal authors of

the sedition, and confiscated their estates for the benefit of the public treasury. The Ardeates, by so important a service, thought themselves sufficiently indemnified for the unjust award of the Roman people. But the sentiments of the senate were more generous, they thought there still remained something more to be done to efface the remembrance of the shameful avidity which had so much dishonoured the Roman people. The consul entered Rome in triumph; Cluilius, the general of the Volsci, being led in chains before his chariot, together with the spoils of the enemy, whom he had disarmed, and obliged to pass under the yoke.

The consul Quinctius, equalled by the virtues of peace, the glory his colleague had acquired in arms, which was no easy matter. For, he applied himself in such a manner to preserve the peace and union of the city, and acted with such perfect impartiality between great and small, that by a just mixture of severity and mildness, his administration was thought by the senate rather strict, and by the people sufficiently gentle. He kept the tribunes in awe, not by violent disputes, but by a kind of ascendancy his known merit gave him over them. In five consulships, through which he had passed with the same character for probity, or rather the consular dignity of his whole life, rendered his person more venerable, if possible, than the office he bore; for this reason, not a syllable was hinted about military tribunes, during the whole course of this consulship.

CHAP. XI.

Reparation made the Ardeates, for the selfish award of the Roman People.

THE consuls elected for the ensuing year, were M. Fabius Vibulanius and Posthumus Æbutius Cornicen. These magistrates, when they reflected upon the glorious administration of the preceding year, both at home and abroad; (for the Romans had shown such attention and alertness in relieving the Ardeates, when their affairs were in a most dangerous situation, that among their neighbours, allies, and enemies, they were considered in

a very respectable light,) concluded, that they ought to exert themselves, that the remains of the infamous sentence, formerly passed in relation to the Ardeates, might be buried in oblivion; and for that purpose, prevailed on the senate to pass a decree, for sending a colony to Ardea, to defend them against the Volsci, and repeople the city, much depopulated by the civil war. This was publicly given out and recorded, that the people and their tribunes, might not discover the latent design of reversing their sentence. For, it was concerted, that a far greater part of the colony should consist of Rutuli than of Romans; that no territory should be divided but that which had produced the infamous sentence; and that no Roman should have a single acre of land, till all the Rutuli should be provided for.

Thus was the territory restored to the Ardeates. Three gentlemen were chosen to lead the colony to Ardea, Agrippa Menenius. T. Clælius Sículus, and Ebu-
cius Elua, who by an unpopular discharge of their trust, in assigning the lands to the allies, which the Romans had adjudged to themselves, fell into disgrace with the people, nor were they high in favour with the Patricians, because they had shown no respect to persons. However, they avoided a prosecution, when the tribunes appointed them a day to answer for their conduct before the people, by deserting the diet, and incorporating themselves with the colony, who had been witnesses of the integrity and impartiality of their conduct.

CHAP. XII.

A Famine. A Superintendent of Provisions chosen.

BOTH this year and the following, when Caius Furius Pacilius and M. Papirius Crassus were consuls, passed in tranquillity both at home and abroad. The games, which the decemvirs had vowed, and the senate enacted, during the secession of the people from the fathers, were celebrated this year. In vain did Petilius attempt to raise a sedition; who being made tribune of the people a second time, could not, for all the blustering he made about the Agrarian law, get the consuls to move it once

in the senate : and when after a mighty bustle, he prevailed so far as to get the opinion of the fathers, whether the comitia should be held for electing consuls or military tribunes ; consuls were ordered to be elected. His threats, that he would obstruct the levies, were matter of ridicule, for, when there was neither war, nor preparation for it, what occasion was there for levies ?

This state of tranquillity was followed by a year chequered with a combination of calamities, occasioned by famine and sedition, during the consulship of Proculus Geganius Macerinus, and L. Menenius Lanatus, when the people, by means of bribery, had almost been saddled with regal power. Had one foreign war been thrown into the scale, the state must have inevitably sunk to perdition. The first of these calamities was a famine, either owing to a bad season, or the neglect of agriculture, for dancing attendance to assemblies, and the pleasures of the city. For both these reasons are given. The senators reproached the people with idleness, and the tribunes blamed the consuls, sometimes for want of honesty, and sometimes for inattention.

At last, with the senate's concurrence, the people made choice of L. Minucius as præfect, or superintendent of provisions, who was more happy, while in office, in securing the liberty of the state, than in the execution of his office ; although at last, he had justly the honour of lowering the price of provisions, and the thanks of his country on that account : For, having dispersed agents, by sea and land, to no purpose, through the neighbouring states, excepting a small matter from Etruria, when no corn could be got, he turned his attention to a frugal management of what little was to be found at home, by obliging every one to produce his corn, to sell above one month's provision, by reducing the daily allowance to slaves, and by accusing the corn merchants, and exposing them to the resentment of the people, so that by the strictness of his scrutiny, he rather exposed their penury, than relieved it ; in consequence of which, many of the people, in a fit of despair, chose rather to throw themselves blindfolded into the Tiber, than suffer any longer the miseries of so cruel a famine.

CHAP. XIII.

Designs of Mælius.—A Dictator created.

AT this time, one Sp. Mælius of the equestrian order, who was very rich for these times, put a design in execution, which, however serviceable for the present, in its tendency and intention, was execrable. For, having bought up corn, at his own expence in Etruria, by means of his agents and correspondents, (a circumstance which rendered Minucius' endeavours to supply the markets quite ineffectual), he began to distribute it among the necessitous with a liberal hand. Touched with so much generosity, the people attended him every where, and formed a retinue for him, far above the condition of a private gentleman, and gave him great grounds to hope, that by their favour and good will, he would one day be raised to the consulship. But as ambition is ever insatiable, and still grasping at something beyond its reach, he carried his views much farther, and quite out of his sphere. He considered, that he must force himself into the consulship, in spite of every opposition from the fathers, and that therefore it was better to fix on sovereign power for his object at once: as that alone was a prize worthy of the deep designs he must necessarily form, and the opposition he had to conquer.

It was just upon the eve of the Comitia for electing consuls, a circumstance that gave him no small trouble, as his measures were not properly concerted, nor his designs ripe for execution. T. Quinctius Capitolinus was chosen consul for the sixth time, a man of all others, the most inconvenient to any person who wanted to play a game of this kind. Agrippa Menenius, surnamed Lanatus, was given him for his colleague. L. Minucius was continued in his office, either as being re-elected, or because his office did not expire, till the occasion of it was superseded. For, we have no other proof of the matter, but that his name stands registered among the magistrates of this and the preceding year, in the linen records. The duty of the purveyor's office obliged him to do the same in public, which Mælius took upon him-

self to do in private, and brought the same sort of people to frequent the houses of both. By their means, the whole plot was discovered, and laid before the senate, by Minucius, who told them, that arms were carried into Mælius' house, where he also held assemblies; and there was not a doubt, but he was taking measures to make himself king. That the time for the execution of his design was not yet fixed, but every thing previous to it was concerted, and the tribunes being brought up to betray their country, the leading men among the commons had the parts assigned them they were respectively to act. That he came with this information later; perhaps, than the safety of the republic required, but he wished to advance nothing, of the certainty whereof he was not perfectly assured.

Upon this relation, heavy reproaches were thrown by the principal senators, from every part of the house, on the consuls of the former year, because they had suffered such largesses to be made, and such meetings to be held in a private house; nor did the present consuls escape them, for waiting till so important a discovery should be made by a purveyor-general, whereas it was the duty of the consuls not only to have been acquainted with an affair of such moment, but also to have punished the delinquent.

Titus Quinctius, in answer, told them, that they had no reason to blame the consuls, whose authority being cramped, and in a manner annihilated by the laws of appeal, whatever their courage and resolution might be to punish a crime of that nature according to its enormity, by no means furnished them with the power. In this case, that a man of resolution, was not sufficient, his power must be unlimited, he must be above the law. That for this reason he would name L. Quinctius *Dictator*, a man whose soul was as capacious as the power was extensive. All approved of this motion; but Quinctius wished to be off, asking them what they meant by exposing him, at such an advanced age, to so severe a conflict. But when the senators, as it were with one voice, declared, that not only more wisdom, but actually more real courage resided under his venerable form than could be found among them all put together, and loaded

him with deserved praises, whilst the consul still persisted in his motion; he acquiesced at length, praying to the gods, that the public weal might suffer no loss or reproach, at so dangerous a conjuncture, through his infirmities. He was instantly declared dictator by the consul, and named C. Servilius Ahala, general of the horse.

CHAP. XIV.

Servilius cuts off Mælius.

NEXT day, when he had posted guards in all proper places of the city, he went out into the forum, where an appearance so unexpected and unusual soon attracted the attention of the populace. While Mælius' adherents, and himself too, saw plainly that the power of that supreme magistrate was wholly pointed against themselves such as were ignorant of their designs to subvert the constitution, were asking one another, what insurrection, what unexpected war, had made it necessary to create a dictator, and to invest Quinctius, at upwards of fourscore, with that supreme office.

Servilius, master of the horse, having been sent by the dictator to Mælius, tells him, that he must wait upon the dictator. Mælius, in great disorder, asked what he wanted? To make your defence, replied Servilius, in answer to an indictment laid against you, by Minucius, before the senate. Upon that, Mælius made for a crowd of his adherents, and looking round him, began to make the best of his way. By order of the general of the horse, an officer arrested him, but he was rescued by the people about him; and whilst he fled, he implored the protection of the people, crying out that the senate had concerted a plan for his destruction, because of his generosity to the people, who, he begged might stand by him, now that his life was at stake; nor suffer him to be murdered in their presence. Servilius Ahala came up with him, as he was pronouncing these words, and laid him dead at his feet. Then, all sprinkled with the blood of the slain, encircled with a band of Patrician youth, he presented himself before the dictator, and tells him that he had cited Mælius to appear before him; but

as he had deforced the officer, and was endeavouring to raise an insurrection among the people, he had received from *him* the punishment due to his crime. *Bravely done*, returned the dictator, *C. Servilius*; then *Rome is yet a free state*.

CHAP. XV.

The Dictator accounts to the people for the punishment of Mælius.

THE Dictator then called an assembly of the people, who were in great commotion, and quite uncertain as to the judgment they ought to pass on what they had seen. There the dictator tells them, 'That Mælius had justly merited his fate, had he even been innocent of the high crime charged against him, for having disobeyed the dictator's summons delivered to him by the master of horse.' That he had taken his place on the tribunal, on purpose to enquire into that affair, after which he should have done Mælius the justice he deserved. That as he had recourse to force, to screen himself from judgment, violent measures were used in correcting his obstinacy. He had no title to be treated as a citizen, who, though born among a free people, in the midst of its laws and regulations, in a city from whence kings had been expelled; who knew that in the very year of their expulsion, the king's nephews, sons also of that consul who was the deliverer of his country, because they had conspired to receive the kings into Rome, were condemned to suffer death by their own father: That in the same city, the consul Collatinus Tarquinius, out of hatred only to his name, had been obliged to resign his office as consul, and banish himself from his country; where Spurius Cassius, some years after, had suffered death for a design of establishing tyranny? and that very recently, the tyrannical haughtiness with which the decemvirs lorded it over the people, had been punished with confiscation of their estates, banishment and death itself; and yet, notwithstanding such examples, had the impudence to lift his eyes to the sovereignty of Rome. And after

all, who is this Mælius? For, though neither nobility of birth, nor dignity of office, nor even personal merit, ought to open a way to the tyranny, yet Claudius Cassius and the rest, at the time they aspired to so criminal an elevation; were sustained by their consulships, their decemvirates, the honours of their ancestors, as well as their own, and the splendour of their families. But for Sp. Mælius, to whose wishes rather than his hopes, the office of tribune might have become an object; a victualler, who had amassed a fortune from the corn trade, to have carried his speculations so high, as to think of purchasing the liberty of Roman citizens for a morsel of bread; that a people victorious over all their neighbours, would subject themselves to slavery, for the temptation of a dinner; as if the Romans would have put up with a king, whom they would scarce have admitted to the rank of a senator; to be invested with the authority, and adorned with the ensigns of Romulus their founder, who was descended of the gods, and at his death received into their number, was folly to an extravagant pitch, full as much as a crime. It was not sufficient that he had expiated his guilt with his blood; the house and walls wherein such a mad attempt had been projected, ought to be demolished, and all his effects confiscated, as having been intended to be laid out in the purchase of regal power: and that therefore he ordered the quætors to expose these goods at vendue, and lodge the proceeds in the treasury.

CHAP. XVI.

Mælius' house demolished, and his effects confiscated.

HIS house was instantly ordered to be demolished; and that the place on which it stood might be a monument of the disappointment of his criminal hopes, it was called *Æsquimælium*. L. Minucius had the honour to be presented with an ox with gilt horns, without the gate that leads to Ostia; to which the people made no objection, because he distributed Mælius' corn among them at an ass the bushel. Some authors affirm, that Minucius went over from the Patricians to the Plebeians,

and that he was made the eleventh tribune, and by that means quieted the tumult occasioned by the death of Mælius. But it is hardly probable, that the fathers would have suffered the number of tribunes to be augmented, or allowed such a precedent to be set by one of their own order; nor that the people, once a concession had been made them, would tamely have given it up again. But what proves the inscription on Minucius's statue to be entirely fictitious, is the law made a few years before, whereby it is provided that the tribunes could not choose a colleague by co-optation.

D. Cæcilius, Q. Junius, and Sextus Titinus were the only tribunes that opposed the law for conferring honours on Minucius, whom, or Servilius, they were constantly accusing to the people; and complaining of the unmerited fate of Mælius; and so carried that military tribunes, in preference to consuls, should be elected for that year; being fully persuaded, if six military tribunes, the number allowed by law, were elected, some of the Plebeians, by promising to revenge the death of Mælius, would be among the number. However multiplied and diversified the distractions of the city that year; no more than three tribunes were elected with consular authority, and among them too, L. Quintius, the son of that Cincinnatus, in odium of whose dictatorship, the confusion was projected. Marcus Æmilius, a man of singular merit, was first in the nomination, Quintus second, and L. Julius third.

CHAP. XVII.

The Roman ambassadors murdered at Fidenæ.

DURING their administration, Fidenæ, a Roman colony revolted to Lars Tolumnius, king of the Veientes. This rebellion was attended with a crime of a more heinous nature: For, by order of Tolumnius, they put to death C. Fulcinus, Clælius Tullus, Sp. Ancius, and L. Roscius, who had been commissioned by the Romans to enquire into the reason of their conduct. Some authors, in extenuation of the king's guilt, alledge, that upon occasion of a lucky throw of the dice, some

equivocal expression he generally made use of, was construed by the Fidenates into an order to murder the ambassadors. But it is hardly possible, that the king would have been so very intent on his game, as not to be diverted by the arrival of his new allies the Fidenates, to consult him concerning a murder, contrary to the law of nations; or that afterwards, he should not have expressed his detestation of so horrible a deed. It is more probable, that it was a digested plan, to secure the Fidenates effectually to his interest, by the guilt of so black a crime; which must make a breach betwixt the Romans and them never to be made up.

The statues of the ambassadors, who were murdered at Fidenæ, were erected in the Rostra at the public expence. The prospect of a bloody battle, won with the confederate troops of the Veientes and Fidenates, who besides their living in the neighbourhood, had in effect commenced hostilities, in an instance of the most shocking barbarity, kept the people and their tribunes from raising a disturbance, or clogging the wheels of government, so that M. Geganius for the third time, with L. Sergius Fidenas were chosen consuls without opposition. It is very probable that Sergius got the surname of Fidenas, from the war which he conducted afterwards. For he was the first who measured swords with the king of the Veientes, on this side the Anio, and came off victorious: but it cost him dear: for which reason, Rome was more afflicted for the loss of many citizens, than elated with joy for the defeat of the enemy.

Upon this event, as was usual in cases of danger, the senate ordered Mamercus Æmilius to be created dictator. For master of the horse he named L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, a young nobleman worthy of so great a father, who the year before had been one of his colleagues in the office of military tribune with consular power. At the levy made by the consuls, the old centurions, of great valour and experience, entered themselves for the service, and the places of those who fell in the last action were totally filled up. The dictator ordered Quinctius Capitolinus, and M. Fabius Vibulanus, to attend him in quality of lieutenants. The enemy finding they had now to do with a general invested with unlimited power,

whose abilities were equal to the charge, left the Roman dominions, and retired beyond the Anio, possessing themselves of the eminences which lie between the Anio and Fidenæ; nor did they venture down upon the plains, before they were joined by the legions of the Falisci. The Etrurians then encamped before the walls of Fidenæ, when the Roman dictator posted himself at a small distance from them, upon the banks of the two rivers, near their confluence, having drawn lines through the intermediate space, as far as the ground was capable of fortification. The next day he drew out his army to battle, but the enemy were not unanimous in their opinions.

CHAP. XVIII.

Battle with Tolumnius.

THE Falisci, being at a distance from their own country, growing weary of the fatigues of war, and having sufficient confidence in their strength, were clear for fighting: but the Veientes and Fidenates thought their only chance lay in protracting the war. Tolumnius, although he approved of the sentiments of his own subjects, that the Falisci might not be disgusted with the service so far from home, gave out that he would lead them to battle next day. The appearance of hesitation in the enemy, gave new spirits to the dictator and his Romans; and the next day, whilst the soldiers threatened to storm the city and their camp, if they did not give them battle, both armies were drawn out to a plain between the two camps.

Tolumnius being superior in numbers, detached a party behind the mountains, to attack the Roman camp, during the heat of the engagement. Of the confederate army this was the disposition: The Veientes were posted on the right, the Falisci on the left, and the Fidenates in the centre. On the right wing of the Romans the dictator was opposed to the Falisci, Quintius Capitolinus to the Veientes on the left, and the master of the horse advanced with his cavalry in the centre.

For a little, the armies remained without the least

noise or motion, the Etrurians having no mind to come to blows, unless they were compelled; and the dictator looking back to the capitol, for the signal from the augurs, which they were to set up, as had been concerted, the moment they had obtained a favourable omen. Whenever it appeared, setting up a great shout, he sent the horse to begin the attack. They were followed by the foot, and fought with great fury. The Etrurians were obliged to give way every where, to the superior mettle of the Romans. The horse kept their ground better; and the king himself, the life and soul of the whole, riding from place to place, whilst the Romans pursued him everywhere, kept the victory in suspense.

CHAP. XIX.

Gallantry of Cossus;—Defeat of the Confederates.

THERE was at that time an officer of the Roman cavalry, named A. Cornelius Cossus, very remarkable for the gracefulness of his person, extraordinary strength, and exalted courage, who, constantly attentive to the honour of his family, which was very illustrious, both supported and augmented its glory. Observing that Tolumnius carried terror and confusion among the Roman troops, wherever he moved, and distinguishing him by his royal robes, as he flew along the line of battle, cried out, 'Is that the man who infringes human treaties, and tramples on the law of nations; if the gods will permit any sanctity to remain among mortals, I shall soon see, whether I can sacrifice him as a victim to the manes of our ambassadors.' Then springing forward with great impetuosity against the king, as his peculiar adversary, with one blow of his lance, unhorsed him, dismounting himself, the same instant, supported by his spear. Whilst the king attempted to rise, he beat him down upon his back with the boss of his buckler, and having given him several wounds, thrust him through the body, and nailed him to the ground. He then stript him of his spoils, cut off his head, and fixed it on the point of his spear, evidencing by that bloody trophy, his victory to the enemy, and spreading terror among them everywhere.

Thus the enemy's cavalry, who alone had kept the victory in suspense, were broke and put to flight. The dictator, in the mean time, pursued the flying legions, and drove them back to the camp with prodigious slaughter. Many of the Fidenates being acquainted with the country, escaped to the mountains. Cossus crossed the Tiber with his cavalry, and returned to Rome loaded with spoils from the territory of the Veientes. During the battle, there was also a skirmish at the Roman camp, with the party, which, as was formerly observed, had been detached thither by Tolumnius. Fabius Vibulanus first defended the works by posting his men round them, but afterwards made a sally at the gate on the right of the *Principia*,* with the *Triarria*, and surprised the enemy, wholly intent upon forcing the lines. Terror and confusion, on the part of the enemy was the consequence of this manœuvre; but the slaughter was not considerable, as there were but few engaged, though the rout was as general, and no less confused, than in the field of battle.

CHAP. XX.

Cossus presents Opima Spolia to Jupiter Feretrius.

THE Roman army having thus been everywhere victorious, the dictator, by decree of the senate, and order of the people, entered Rome in triumph; but what principally attracted the public attention in the procession, was Cossus bearing the spoils of the king, killed with his own hand. The soldiers sung rude verses to his praise, comparing him to Romulus. He hung up these spoils in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, near those of Romulus, at that time the only spoils that bore the name of *Opima*, presenting them with a solemn dedication. All the while, he drew the eyes of the citizens from the dictator's chariot, and fixed them on himself, so that he engrossed

* The Roman camp was a quadrangle, divided into two principal parts, between which was a spot of ground, about 100 feet long, called the *Principia*. The camp had four gates: in the front, the *Prætorian*; in the rear the *Decumena*; in the right, the *Principalis Dextra*; and on the left, the *Principalis Læva*.

the best part of that day's solemnity. The dictator, by order of the people, presented to Jupiter Capitolinus, a crown of gold, of a pound weight, at the public expense.

I have followed the universal opinion of authors who wrote before me, in making A. Cornelius Cossus, only a legionary tribune, at the time he brought the second Opima Spolia into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. But besides, that those only, properly speaking, are Opima Spolia, which one general takes from another, and none can be considered as a general, but he who has the sole management of the war; the very inscription of these spoils, proves against both them and me, that he was consul when he took them. Therefore, when I heard that Augustus Cæsar, who either built or repaired all the Roman temples, had visited that of Jupiter Feretrius, which he had rebuilt, after it had fallen to ruins by the ravages of time, and that he himself had read the inscription upon the linen breast-plate of Tolumnius, I thought it a pity to deprive Cossus of the testimony of his own spoils, and of Cæsar also, who rebuilt the temple. The reader may, however, judge for himself, where the mistake lies in that matter, because annals so ancient, and the linen register of magistrates kept in the temple of Moneta, so often quoted by Licinius Macer, takes no notice of Cossus's consulship, till nine years after, when Titus Quinctius Pennus was his colleague. Add to this also, that so famous a battle can never correspond to that year, because for almost three years before and after the consulate of A. Cornelius, there was no war, owing to a pestilential distemper and a famine; insomuch that some annals, mourning, as it were, for the dead, mention nothing with respect to these years, but the names of the consuls. The third year after he was consul, he was made military tribune with consular power; and before it expired, master of horse, in which capacity, he fought another memorable battle at the head of the cavalry.

Still we may judge of this matter as we please; but, in my opinion, we may conclude any dispute about the matter ridiculous, since he who commanded in this action, when the spoils were fresh and deposited in the temple, near Jupiter himself, to whom they were devoted

in the presence of Romulus, witnesses not to be imposed on with a fictitious inscription, - calls himself, A. CORNELIUS COSSUS, CONSUL.

CHAP. XXI.

An epidemical distemper rages among the Veientes and Falisci. The Fidenates attempt a descent upon the Roman territory.

IN the consulship of M. Cornelius Maluginensis and L. Papirius Crassus, the Roman armies marched into the territories of the Veientes and Falisci, and brought off a large booty in prisoners and cattle; but the enemy kept out of the way, so that there was no opportunity of coming to blows. They did not, however, lay siege to any of their cities, because an epidemical distemper raged among the people, and Spurius Mælius, a tribune of the commons, was endeavouring, though with little success, to raise commotions at home. He thought the popularity of his name would enable him to raise some dust, and therefore had impeached Minucius, and brought in a bill for confiscating the estate of Servilius Ahala; contending, that the charge brought against Mælius by Minucius, was a villainous trick, a vile forgery; and that Servilius had put to death a Roman citizen, unheard and uncondemned. These prosecutions appeared full as ridiculous to the people, as the author of them. Their attention, however, was totally engrossed by the violence of the distemper, which was still encreasing, and frightful prodigies, such as the news, that houses in the country were frequently demolished by repeated shocks of an earthquake. Wherefore, they had recourse to prayer, in which the people followed the duumvirs.

The plague rages with still greater fury, when C. Icilius, for the second time, and L. Virginius, were consuls, and threatened such desolation in town and country, that so far from making excursions for the sake of plunder, a foreign war was never so much as hinted either in the senate or the forum. The Fidenates however, who had at first kept themselves in the mountains, towns, and fortified places, were tempted now to make a descent upon

the Roman territory, with a view to plunder. Having afterward formed a junction with the army of the Volscians, for the Falisci, notwithstanding the distress of the Roman republic, and the solicitations of their allies, were determined to be no more concerned, the two confederate armies passed the Anio, and displayed their colours near the Colline-gate.

The consternation was prodigious in town and country. The consul Icilius drew up his troops on the walls and rampart of the city, whilst Virginius consulted the senate in the temple of Romulus. There a dictator was resolved on, and A. Servilius appointed to the commission, who, by some, is surnamed Priscus, by others Structus. Virginius only waited to advise his colleague, who having no objection, he named the dictator that night, who chose Posthumius Æbutius Elva, master of the horse.

CHAP. XXII.

The Volsci and Fidenates beat, and Fidenæ taken.

ORDERS were issued by the dictator, that all should appear early next morning without the Colline-gate; nor did any, who were able to carry arms, fail in their obedience. The standards were brought him from the treasury without a moment's delay. When the enemy observed these motions, they retired to the eminences, whither the dictator followed them with an army sufficiently engaged: and coming to blows with them near Nomenton, gave the legions of Etruria a severe drubbing, and pursued them to the city Fidenæ, where he blocked them up. But, as the city stood high and strongly fortified, it could not be taken by escalade, nor could a blockade have been of any service, as they had not only provisions sufficient for the present, but large magazines previously laid in. Therefore, finding it would be impracticable to carry the city by storm or blockade, the dictator resolved to open a passage under ground to the citadel, from places near enough to be sufficiently examined, at the back of the town, where it was guarded with least care, as being most strongly fortified by na-

He divided his army into four parts, and, carried on his attacks upon the walls, in places very distant from each other. He constantly relieved those who were fatigued, by fresh supplies of men, and so continued to skirmish with the townsmen night and day. By these diversions he kept the enemy from perceiving the works he was carrying on, till he had digged quite through the hill, and opened a passage all the way to the castle, and till the Etrurians having been diverted with the show of danger, from all attention to the reality, and a confirmation that their city was taken in the enemy's shouts over their heads. This year, C. Furius Pacilus, and M. Geganius Macerinus, the censors, fitted up a building in the Campus Martius, where the census was made for the first time.

CHAP. XXIII.

The conquered are again in motion.

I FIND in Licinius Macer, that the same consuls, Icilus, a third time, and Virginius, a second, were re-elected for the following year. Valerius Antias, and Q. Tubero, mention M. Manlius and Q. Sulpicius, as consuls for that year. Yet, notwithstanding so great a difference, both pretend the authority of the linen books, and neither refuses, that according to ancient historians, the public administration, for that year, was vested in military tribunes. Licinius follows these linen records as an oracle of truth, but Tubero is not so confident; so that, among other things which antiquity has involved in darkness, this too must be left undetermined.

The taking of Fidenæ spread a general alarm throughout all Etruria. For, the Veientes were not only in the most dreadful terror for meeting with the same fate, but the Falisci too, from the part they had acted in the first war, although they had no hand in the second. Wherefore, these two states having dispatched ambassadors to all the twelve nations, prevailed with them to appoint a general assembly of all Etruria, at the temple of Voltumna: upon which, the senate, as if a cloud had been ready to burst over their heads, ordered Mamercus Æmilius,

once more to be created dictator. He named for master of the horse A. Posthumius Tubertus; and preparations were made for the war, with a vigour proportioned to the force of all Etruria, compared to that of only two of its constituent parts.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Dictator passes a popular law, which is highly resented by the Censors.

BUT this affair created less disturbance than was generally expected: wherefore, when advices were brought by the merchants, that the Etrurians had refused to be concerned with the Veientes, telling them, since they had engaged in a war, without consulting them, they must carry it on without their assistance, and not involve those in their misfortunes, whom they excluded from their hopes in more promising days.

The dictator then, thus disappointed in his expectation of military glory, that he might not seem to have been created in vain, wished to leave a monument of his dictatorship in time of peace; and, with that view, set about reducing the privileges of the censors; either because he thought their power too extensive, or perhaps because he was less dissatisfied with the greatness of their honours than the time of their duration. Therefore, having called an assembly, he represented, 'That as the immortal gods had taken upon themselves the charge of the republic's affairs abroad, under whose protection they might rest secure; it was his business to attend to the liberty of the people, which could only be done within the walls of the city. That for this purpose, he had to observe, that it was a matter of the last importance, to take care, that the great offices of the state should not continue long in the same hands, and that bounds be set to the duration of employments, to the power annexed to which, all limitation is impossible. That all other offices were annual, the censorship alone *quinquennial*. That it was intolerable to live for so many years exposed to the power of the same persons. That therefore, he was to propose a law restricting the censorship to the continuance of eighteen months.'

Next day the law was accepted by the unanimous consent of the people. 'To convince you, *Romans*, that I am in earnest, when I express so great a dislike to magistracies of long continuance, I this instant resign my own.' Having thus divested himself of his own office, and so put an end to one, and limited another, he was conducted back to his house by the multitude, with loud acclamations of joy. Mamercus's conduct, in abridging the duration of a Roman office, was highly resented by the censors, who degraded him from his tribe, and saddled him with a tribute eight times his usual proportion. It is said of Æmilius, that he bore all this with a remarkable degree of fortitude, disregarding the indignity, out of respect to the cause: and though the senators had no great relish for the new law, they were far from being pleased with this instance of despotism in the censors, from a very natural reflection, that though they might themselves be possessed of the same power, they might be oftener, and much longer subject to it. However, it is certain, that such was the indignation of the people, that but for the interposition of Mamercus himself, the censors would have been torn to pieces.

CHAP. XXV.

Complaints of the Tribunes, that they were neglected by the people. A pestilence rages.

THE tribunes of the people, by the constant harangues, in opposition to the election of consuls, at last carried, that military tribunes, with consular power, should be chosen for the ensuing year, after matters were almost brought to an inter-regnum. Nevertheless, they obtained none of the reward they expected, for not a single Plebeian was elected. They were all Patricians, namely, M. Fabius Vibulanus, M. Fossus, L. Sergius Fidenas. A pestilence which raged this year, gave them a respite from other troubles. A temple was vowed to Apollo for the health of the people. The *duumvirs* tried many expedients prescribed in their books, for appeasing the anger of the gods, and rescuing the people from the plague. But, after all, the distemper made

such havock in town and country, both among the inhabitants and their cattle, that fearing the losses the farmers had sustained would bring on a famine, they sent to Etruria, Pomptinum, Cumæ, and last of all to Sicily, for corn.

No motion was made for a consular Comitia at this time; so that L. Pinarius Mamercinus, L. Furius Medullinus, and Sp. Posthumius Albus, were chosen military tribunes, with consular power; all of them Patricians. This year the plague began to subside, nor was there any danger of famine, as measures had been taken to prevent it. The Volsci and Æqui, however, in their councils of state, and the Etrurians in a general diet, held at the temple of Volumna, were talking in a stile which shewed their views were not pacific. The scheme, however, was put off for a year, and it was provided by a decree, that there should be no general diet sooner, notwithstanding all that could be urged by the Veientes, that Veii would soon share the fate of Fidenæ, which was now in ruins.

In the mean time, at Rome, the wealthy Plebeians, who had long, but to little purpose, waited at the pool of promotion, now that they had a respite from foreign wars, began to hold meetings at the tribunes houses. There they had private consultations, complaining, 'That the people were ill affected to their interest, inasmuch, that the military tribunes, with consular power, had been elected for a great many years, yet never one Plebeian had been admitted to that honour: their ancestors surely had seen a great way before them, who had wisely provided, that no Patrician should enjoy an office among the Plebeians; or, long before this time, they would have been tribunes of the people! so despicable now were the commons to their own order, that they were held in no greater contempt by the senators, than the people.' Others excused the people, and laid all the blame upon the Patricians: alledging, 'That it was owing to their intrigues and cunning address, that the gate to promotion was shut against the commons. For, were these false lights extinguished, and the people neither flattered nor bullied by the Patricians, they would not, in their suffrages, forget their

‘ friends among the commons, and their countenance once obtained, they would not fail to promote them.’ Wherefore, it was resolved, that a law should be proposed, in order to put an effectual stop to intriguing, that for the future no person appearing as a candidate for an office, should affect to be distinguished by the whiteness of his robes. At this period, a dispute so trifling would be little regarded; but, however much it may appear like a farce now, between the senators and the people then, it was a very serious affair. The tribunes prevailed, and the law passed. As the present animosity of the people gave reason to suspect that they would be biassed in favour of their own party; therefore, to put it out of their power to prefer them, the senate enacted, that the comitia for electing consuls should be held this year.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Tribunes compel the Consuls to name a Dictator.

ADVICES from the Hernici and the Latins, that the Volsci and Æqui were in motion, furnished an apology for this resolution. T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, the son of Lucius, surnamed also Pennus, and C. Julius Mento, were made consuls. This dreadful war was no longer delayed: for, by means of a sacred law among them, the most effectual means of raising an army, having made up their quotas, each nation led a formidable party to the Algidus, the place agreed on for their general rendezvous. There the Æqui and Volsci fortified two separate encampments, their generals discovering a much greater degree of attention in disciplining the troops and securing the lines, than ever they had done on any former occasion.

These accounts increased the consternation at Rome, so much the more. The senate were determined to name a dictator; because, though they had to do with a people who had often shewn them their backs, they seemed at this time resolved on an extraordinary effort; and besides, the strength of the Romans was impaired by the loss of some of their youth, that had been cut off by the raging distemper. But, nothing gave them so much concern as the perverseness of the consuls, their

misunderstanding between themselves, and crossing each other in every measure. Some authors affirm, that they were defeated at the Aigalus, which was the reason that a dictator was named. One thing, nevertheless, is certain, that however they differed in other things, they joined in opposing the senate's motion for naming a dictator, till expresses upon expresses announced the progress of the enemy's arms, and the consuls still persisted in their obstinacy. Q. Servilius Priscus, who had enjoyed the highest honours of the state with great credit, turning to the tribunes of the people, told them, ' Since matters are now come to this extremity, tribunes, the senate calls upon you, considering the danger to which the state is exposed, to exert your authority, and compel the consuls to name a dictator. This was no sooner said, than the tribunes, who thought they had now a fair opportunity of extending their power, withdrew a little, and returned with the following declaration in name of the college: ' It is the pleasure of the tribunes, that the consuls should obey the senate; and if they persisted one moment longer in their opposition to the united desire of that very august order, they would command them instantly to be laid in jail.'

The consuls chose rather to submit to the tribunes than to the senate; upbraiding the fathers, however, that it was by them the consular authority was betrayed, and subjected to the power of the tribunes. For, if a tribune, by his authority, could oblige the consuls to do as he pleased, and if he refused, could also order him to jail, what worse had even a private person to fear? It fell by lot, to Titus Quinctius to name the dictator, for the matter could not otherwise be settled between the consuls. He named his father-in-law, A. Posthumius Tubertius, a man exceedingly harsh and imperious, to the dictatorship, and he, L. Julius, for his general of the horse. A vacation was immediately proclaimed, and nothing minded in all the city but preparations for war. The trial of those who pleaded an exemption from the service was put off till the end of the war; so that they whose title was doubtful, suffered themselves to be enrolled. The Hernici and Latins were ordered to furnish their quotas, and both paid respect to the dictator's orders with all possible diligence.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Dictator marches against the Æqui and Volsci.

ALL these things were performed with remarkable dispatch, and the consul, C. Julius being left for the defence of the city; and L. Julius, general of the horse, to provide for the sudden exigencies of the war, that their motions might not be retarded with any thing they might want in the camp, the dictator vowed, in a form prescribed by A. Cornelius, the pontifex Maximus, the great games, on account of the present confusion. Then marching out of the city, and dividing his command with the consul Quinctius, he came up with the enemy. As they had observed that the enemy had two camps, at no great distance from each other, they likewise encamped about a mile from them, the dictator at a place near Tusculum, and the consul near Lavinium. Thus they had four armies, and as many fortified camps, with a plain in the middle, not only large enough to admit of skirmishes between small parties, but to contain the armies on both sides, drawn up in battalia. From the moment the camps lay in this opposite direction, a single day did not pass without small encounters; the dictator giving the soldiers full liberty to try their strength with the enemy, that the event of these skirmishes might gradually lead them to hopes of victory in a general battle.

Wherefore, the enemy despairing of success, by fighting it fairly in the open plain, attacked the consul's camp in the night, staking their all upon a very uncertain event. The sudden shout they raised, not only alarmed the consul's guards, and afterwards his whole army, but roused the dictator himself. In cases of immediate danger, the consul wanted not courage, nor conduct. A party was ordered to reinforce the guards, at the gates, and others to post themselves round the rampart. In the dictator's camp, as there was less hurry and confusion, so he could the better provide for the present exigence. Wherefore, having immediately dispatched a reinforcement to the consul's camp, under the command of his lieutenant-general, Sp. Posthumius,

Albus, he marched himself with a part of his army fetching a small compass, to a place quite out of sight of the action; from whence he might fall on the enemy's rear, before they could be aware of his design. He left the care of the camp to Q. Sulpicius, one of his lieutenants, and put M. Fabius, another lieutenant, at the head of a party of horse, with orders not to stir till daylight, as it was difficult to manage horse in such a hurly-burly by night.

All that could be expected from the valour and conduct of the most able general, was performed by the dictator. But, in one instance, he has a peculiar merit, and appears in a glorious point of view. For, having been informed for certain, that the enemy, in great numbers, had left their own camp, with a view to attack the consuls, from a motion of his own he dispatched M. Geganius, with a select body of troops, to invest the camp they had left. Geganius fell upon them, whilst they were entirely taken up about the event of their assault, and so totally regardless as to themselves, that they had neither posted guards nor sentries, and had almost made himself master of their camp, before they were fully convinced that it was attacked. He then gave the signal by raising smoke, as had been concerted; and when it was observed by the dictator, he cried out, that the enemy's camp was taken, and ordered it to be published everywhere.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Battle with the Æqui and Volsci.

BY this time day-light began to appear, when all their operations were laid open. At the same time that Fabius had charged with his horse, the consul had made a sally from the camp upon the enemy, by this time quite dejected. The dictator, from another quarter, falling upon their second line and corps-de-reserve, had posted his victorious army quite round the enemy, who were wheeling about to examine whence the confused shouts and sudden commotions proceeded. Wherefore, being now surrounded on all sides, and shut up in the

centre, they would have paid dear for their rebellion, if Vectius Messius, one of the Volsci, a man more distinguished for his merit, than his birth, had not read his countrymen a severe lecture, as they were already starting about them in crowds; calling aloud to them, 'Are you determined to open your breasts, exposed to the enemy's darts, and to fall here unrevenged? Was it for this purpose that you brought arms with you?—Was this all you had in view, when you were the first to take up arms; mighty bold, when there is no danger, but in battle mere poltroons? What do you look for standing here? Do you imagine, that some divinity is to take you under his protection, and extricate you from your present difficulty? No; you must open a passage with your swords. Such of you as have any desire to see your houses, fathers, wives, and children again, come this way along with me, whither you shall see me lead the way.' You are neither obstructed by walls nor entrenchments; but by men armed like yourselves. If you are equal in courage you are certainly superior in point of necessity, the last and most effectual weapon.'

He had scarce finished this speech, when he was followed by his own people with repeated shouts, as he was putting in practice what he had promised. They attacked with great fury the cohorts which opposed them under Posthumius Albus, and made them give way, victorious as they had been, till the dictator came up just as they were beginning to retire. The whole heat of the battle turned that way. The fate of the enemy depended on Messius alone. The list of the wounded and killed was high on both sides. On the side of the Romans, the general officers did not escape without wounds. Though the dictator was wounded in the shoulder, though Fabius' thigh was almost pinned to his horse, and though the consul lost an arm, none of them thought of quitting the field at so critical a juncture.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Dictator returns in triumph.

THE fury of Messius' attack, with a troop of young intrepid soldiers, opened them a passage over the bodies of their slain, to the camp of the Volsci, which was not yet taken. Our whole army followed him thither. The consul pursued the scattered enemy up to their lines, which he attempted to force, and make himself master of their camp. The dictator, on another side, led on his troops to the attack: The work here was full as warm as in the battle. The consul, it is said, threw an ensign into the entrenchments, with a view to animate the soldiers to advance with all the ardour possible; and the first impression they made was owing to their noble exertions in recovering their colours. The dictator to, having dismounted the palisadoes, had already entered the enemy's camp sword in hand; upon which the enemy began to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion. This camp being also taken, all the enemy, the senators excepted, were sold for slaves. Part of the plunder was restored to the Latins and Hernici, who could point out what belonged to themselves. The remainder the dictator sold by auction, and having left the consuls to command the troops that remained in the camp, he returned to Rome in triumph, and immediately laid down his office.

Those authors, who aver that A. Posthumius caused the head of his son to be struck off, because he had quitted his post without orders, upon seeing an opportunity of striking a blow, in which he succeeded, greatly abridge the glory of this dictatorship. For my own part, I cannot believe it; and yet, amidst so many opinions, one may be led to believe it. What convinces me that there must be a mistake, is, that such instances of severity are called the orders of Manlius, and not of Posthumius; and there is no doubt but he who first set such a rigid precedent, would have entailed upon himself a title characteristical of his severity. Manlius was

also surnamed the imperious, but Posthumius was never distinguished by any mark of baseness.

C. Julius the consul, whilst his colleague was absent, dedicated the temple of Apollo, without casting lots. Quinctius did not take it well; and for that reason, after he had disbanded his army, and returned to the city, he laid a complaint before the senate, but without effect.—It is observed, though at that time the Romans seemed to have little concern in the matter, that in this year, so remarkable for great events, for the first time, the Carthaginians who were one day to be such terrible enemies to the Roman people, taking advantage of the divisions which prevailed in Sicily, sent an army thither to the assistance of one of the contending parties.

CHAP. XXX.

The Veientes in motion. A terrible drought followed by a plague. A. R. 323.

THE Tribunes of the commons made a bustle in the city to get military tribunes with consular power elected for the ensuing year, but they failed in the attempt. Lucius Papirius Crassus, and L. Julius were made consuls. The Æqui sent ambassadors, requesting the senate to treat with them; and when instead of a treaty, a submission at discretion was mentioned, the envoys obtained a truce for eight years. The Volsci, after the check they had received at the Algidus, were divided into parties; and from disputes and reproaches between those who had declared for war, and those who had advised peace, came at last to an open rupture; so that the Romans were now at peace with all their neighbours.

The consuls having discovered by means of one of the tribunes, that the college were preparing a law for fixing the extent of fines, which would be highly agreeable to the people, they took the start of them, by moving it themselves. These consuls were succeeded by L. Sergius Fidenas, for the second time, and Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus. During their administration, nothing memorable occurred. Aulus Cornelius Cossus, and Titus Quinctius Pennus, a second time were their successors in office. A. R. 324.

The Veientes now renewed their incursions upon the Roman territories. Fame will have it, that some of the youth of Fidenæ were concerned in these depredations. The cognizance of this affair was assigned to L. Sergius, Q. Servilius, and Mamercus Æmilius. Some of the delinquents were banished to Ostia, because they could not account for their absence from Fidenæ, the day on which these trespasses happened. An additional number of planters was sent to the colony, who had the lands of those who fell in battle assigned them.

This year was remarkable for an excessive drought. For the rains not only failed, but the earth too drained of its native moisture, was scarcely sufficient to supply the fixed rivers. In other places, near the springs and rivulets which were quite dried up, the want of water made terrible havoc among the cattle, which perished for thirst. Others of them were cut off by the murrain. From them the infection spread among the people, raging at first among the peasants and slaves. But it was not long before the city swarmed with sick. Nor were their bodies alone infected with the distemper, but their minds were also seized with various superstitions, most of them too of foreign growth. Some impostors turned the credulity of the people to their account, by pretending to prophecy, and introducing into families new rites in offering sacrifices; till the principal men of the state came to be acquainted with the public nuisance, by seeing in all the streets and chapels, foreign and uncommon expiations for recovering the favour of the gods. The Ædiles were then enjoined to take care, that none but the Roman gods should be worshipped, nor these in any other manner than that which custom had established.

The chastisement of the Veientes was reserved for C. Servilius Ahala, and L. Papirius Mugilanus, the consuls for the following year: and even then they had a scruple at declaring war, or marching an army immediately against them before the Feciales should be sent to demand restitution: a step which they thought should be previous to all others. It was but lately that they had measured their swords with the Veientes, at Nomentum and Fidenæ, where a truce, but not a peace ensued. The truce was indeed expired now, but before that time they had been in arms. The Feciales were however dispatch-

ed; but though they were sworn as usual, and demanded restitution in form, no regard was paid to what they said. After all, a contest arose, whether war should be denounced by order of the people, or whether a decree of the senate might be sufficient. The tribunes, by threatening that they would stop the levies, carried that the consuls should lay before the people, what respected the war. All the centuries voted for the war. The people had the better in this dispute, having also obtained, that no consuls should be elected for the succeeding year.

CHAP. XXXI.

Miscarriage of the Military tribunes. A Dictator named.

FOUR military tribunes were chosen with consular authority, Titus Quinctius Pennus, who had been consul, C. Furius. M. Posthumius, A. Corneilius Cossus. Of these Cossus staid at Rome to preside in the city; the other three, having completed the levies, marched directly to Veii, where they gave a signal proof of the pernicious effects in war, of a plurality of commanders in chief; for, as they differed in opinion, and each of them insisted to have his own plan adopted, they gave the enemy an opportunity of taking them at a disadvantage. For while the army had no distinct orders, one commanding the signal to be given for battle, another, a retreat to be sounded, the Veientes seized that opportunity of attacking them. They were put in disorder, and fled back to their camp, which was hard by, so that they were more disgraced than hurt.

The city, unaccustomed to defeats, was greatly afflicted; they hated tribunes, and cried out for a dictator: there the whole hopes of the city seemed to centre. But here again, religion threw an obstacle in the way, that a dictator could not be named but by a consul. With respect to this point, the augurs were consulted, who satisfied their scruples. A. Cornelius named Mamercus Æmilius dictator, who in return named him general of the horse. Consequently whenever the circumstances of the state required exalted merit, the censors degradation had no influence to prevent the people from vesting the administration in a family which had been unjustly disgraced.

The Veientes, elated with their success, sent ambassadors to all the nations of Etruria, boasting that they had defeated three Roman generals in one pitched battle; they could not however prevail with any of these states openly to espouse their cause, but the hopes of plunder drew volunteers from all quarters. The Fidenates were the only people who were pleased to arm. And as it had been unlawful to commence a war, without some extraordinary guilt on their side, they sullied their arms with the blood of the new colony, as they had, on another occasion, done with that of the ambassadors, and they joined the Veientes. The question now between the chiefs of these two nations came to be, whether they should make Veii, or Fidenæ, the seat of the war. Fidenæ was agreed on as the most proper. Wherefore, crossing the Tiber, the Veientes carried the war to Fidenæ. Rome was in the utmost terror; wherefore, recalling their army from Veii, whose spirits were much depressed on account of the late miscarriage, a camp was formed before the gate Collina. Guards were posted on the walls, the administration of justice was suspended, the shops were shut, and all things resembled a camp, more than a city.

CHAP. XXXII.

The dictator addresses the People. Action with the Confederates.

WHILST the city was in this consternation, the dictator sent about public criers through all the streets, to summon an assembly of the people, when he began with reproaching them, ' For suffering themselves to be so much alarmed, at the most trivial accidents. That an inconsiderable loss, not occasioned by the enemy's valour, nor the cowardice of the Roman army, but by a disagreement among the commanders, should make them afraid of the Veientes, an enemy who had fled before them, six several times: and of the Fidenates, whose capital they had taken oftener, if possible, than they had even laid siege to it. The Romans and the enemy were the same sort of men they had been for so many ages. With regard to courage, strength of body,

and arms, the very same. That he too was the same dictator, Manerius Æmilius, who formerly routed the confederate armies of the Fidenates and Veientes, at Nomentum, even when supported by the Falisci. That A Cornelius, his general of the horse, would exert the same bravery in battle now, as in the former war, when only a legionary tribune, that he slew, Lars Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, in sight of both armies, and carried the opima spolia to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. That, therefore, they ought to remember, that on their side, they had triumphs, spoils, and victory: that on the enemy's, there was only the guilt of murdering ambassadors, contrary to the law of nations; the massacre of the colony of Fidenæ, in time of profound peace; the violation of the truce, and revolts, seven times repeated, notwithstanding their bad success. They should, therefore, fly to their arms; and he was very certain, so soon as the two armies were engaged, these impious enemies would have but a short time to rejoice over the disgrace of the Roman army. Then would the Roman people be fully convinced, that they who had chosen him dictator, for the third time, had done the commonwealth much more important service, than they who had set a mark of infamy on his second dictatorship, because he had set bounds to the tyranny of the censors.' Having then made proper vows to the gods, he took the field and encamped fifteen hundred paces beyond Fidenæ, supported on the right by the mountains, and on the left by the Tiber. He ordered Titus Quinctius Pennus, his lieutenant-general, to seize the mountains, and gain the eminence in the enemy's rear, where he might ly concealed. The next day, when the Etrurians, highly elevated with their success on a former occasion, which they owed more to fortune than valour, offered him battle, he waited a little, till his scouts brought him intelligence, that Quinctius had gained the eminence, near the castle of Fidenæ, and then set up his standard, leading on his infantry already drawn up, by a quick march, against the enemy, at the same time enjoining the general of the horse not to engage without his permission; for that he would give him the signal, whenever the assistance of the horse became necessary;

and, in the mean time, that he had only to think of the royal combat, the royal spoils of Romulus, and Jupiter Feretrius, in the time of action.

The armies charged each other with great ardour on both sides. The Romans, exasperated to the highest degree, insulted their enemies, with the opprobrious names of villainous Fidenates, felonious Veientes, truce-breakers, the cruel murderers of their ambassadors, the inhuman butchers of the Roman colony, perfidious allies, dastardly enemies: and thus gave full vent to their indignation in words, as well as actions.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Defeat of the Veientes, and Fidenates.

THEY had already begun to give way upon the first charge, when the gates of Fidenæ, on a sudden, flew open, and a strange kind of army sallied out, till that moment, never seen nor heard of. A huge multitude, armed with fire, and blazing all over with the flames of lighted torches, ran furiously against their enemies with a kind of enthusiastic rage; and by this new mode of fighting, put the Romans in some confusion. Then the dictator, to animate the battle, having given the signal to the general of the horse, and called down Quinctius from the heights, he flew in person to the left wing, which, terrified at the appearance of a conflagration, rather than a battle, had begun to draw back from the flames, and cried out with an audible voice, ‘ Will you
‘ then be driven from your ground, with nothing but
‘ smoke, like a swarm of bees, and fly before an unarm-
‘ ed enemy? Will you not extinguish these flames by
‘ your swords? If you are to fight with fire, and not the
‘ sword; will not each of you, for his own part, wrest
‘ these torches from the enemy, and turn them against
‘ themselves? Go, remember the Roman name, and
‘ your own valour, as well as the gallantry of your an-
‘ cestors; turn these flames against the enemy’s capital,
‘ and destroy Fidenæ by its own fires, which you have
‘ not been able to conciliate by all your favours. The
‘ blood of your ambassadors and colony, and the depre-

'dations made on your country, require this at your hands.'

The dictator's orders set the whole army in motion. Some of the torches that had been thrown, were recovered, some were wrested by force from the enemy, so that on both sides they were armed with torches. The general of the horse too charged on a plan entirely new. He ordered the cavalry to draw the bits out of the horses mouths, and clapping spurs to his own, was the first to drive full speed into the middle of the flames, whither he was followed by the rest, driving at full gallop against the enemy. A mixture of smoke and dust, raised by themselves, carried off the glancing of the light from the eyes both of the men and horses; nor had the appearance which had confounded the men, the least impression on the horses: so that the cavalry, wherever they went, beat down and trampled under foot all before them. Then a new shout was raised, which surprised and attracted the attention of both armies, till the dictator cried out, 'It is Quinctius, the lieutenant general, who, with the troops under his command, has attacked the enemy's rear:' and then with great cries pushed the attack with greater vigour than ever. Whilst two armies carrying on two different attacks, hemmed in and pressed the Etrurians, in front and in rear, so that they could neither retire into their camp, nor effectuate their escape to the mountains, whence a new enemy had come down upon them; and everywhere, the greatest part of the Veientes fled with the utmost precipitation to the Tiber, and all the Fidenates, who were yet left alive, to their capital Fidenæ.

Their flight and terror hurried them to certain death. Some of the Veientes were cut off upon the banks of the river, others were pushed into the water, and carried down by the stream: even those who could swim, sunk through weariness, wounds, and fear; so that few, out of a great number, made the other side.—The other part of the confederates fled through the camp into the city, whither the Romans pursued them with great fury, especially Quinctius, and those who had come down with him from the heights, being still fresh, as having only advanced towards the end of the battle.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Fidenæ taken and plundered, The Dictator returns in triumph.

THESE having entered the gates of the city, pell mell with the enemy, immediately got upon the top of the wall, and from thence made a signal to the rest of the army, that they were in possession of the town; which was no sooner observed by the dictator, who, by this time, had taken possession of the enemy's camp, by them just abandoned, than he led his troops to the gate, impatient as they were to leave their ranks and rifle the camp, but now encouraged to hope for greater plunder in the city; and being admitted within the walls, he marched straight to the citadel, whither he saw the enemy flying in crowds. The slaughter in the city was nothing short of what it had been in the field, till the Fidenates laid down their arms, and begging only for their lives, surrendered at discretion. The city and the camp were both plundered by the troops.

Next day, the prisoners were disposed of by lot, one being assigned to each of the knights and centurions, and to such as had distinguished themselves more particularly, two a-piece. The rest were sold to the highest bidder: and then the dictator led back his army, crowned with laurels, and enriched with plunder, and entered the city in triumph.

He then ordered the general of the horse to resign his office, and abdicated his own the sixteenth day after he had received it; leaving the city in the most profound peace and tranquillity, which he had found involved in war, and in extreme consternation.

Some annals make mention of a naval engagement, which the Romans had with the Veientes at Fidenæ; a circumstance as impossible, as it appears incredible; for, even at this day, the river is not broad enough for that purpose; and if we may believe ancient authors, it was then not so broad as at present. Perhaps the Romans may have driven off some boats which came to assist the Veientes in crossing the river, and that circumstance has

been magnified, which is not uncommon, by those who were fond of the empty title of a naval victory.

CHAP. XXXV.

Celebration of games. Complaints of the Tribunes.

A. SEMPRONIUS ATTRATINUS, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, L. Furius Medullinus, and L. Horatius Barbatus, were elected military tribunes, with consular power, for the ensuing year. The Veientes obtained a truce for twenty years, and the Æqui for three only, though they had insisted for a longer term. The city now was at rest from civil dissensions. The following year, which was marked neither by a foreign war, nor domestic disturbances, was, however, rendered famous by the games which had been vowed in time of war, the preparations for them made by the military tribunes, and the vast concourse of the neighbouring people. The tribunes with consular power, were Ap. Claudius Crassus, Sp. Nautius Rutilus, L. Sergius Fidenas, Sextus Julius Julus. What enhanced the pleasure of the entertainment to the strangers who had come, with the consent of their respective states, to be spectators, was the kind and engaging manner in which they were treated.

After the celebration of these games, the tribunes made seditious harangues to the people, reproaching them severely, ' For their blind and stupid admiration
' of those whom, at bottom, they hated, which kept them
' voluntarily in eternal slavery; that they not only durst
' not aspire to the hope of obtaining the consulship with
' the Patricians, but could not even think of themselves
' or their friends, in the nomination of military tribunes,
' in which they had an equal right with the senate. It
' was no longer a wonder, that nobody gave himself
' trouble about the interests of the people; for who would
' expose himself to danger and fatigue, where neither
' honour nor profit was to be expected? There was nothing
' on earth, but men would attempt, if their rewards were
' proportioned to their endeavours. It was a thing, therefore, neither to be expected nor desired, that any tribune of the people should plunge himself headlong in-

' to disputes, where the danger was so great, and the ad-
 ' vantage nothing; from which he could promise himself
 ' for certain, eternal persecution from the senators, with
 ' whom he was to enter the lists; and from the people,
 ' from whom are all his exertions, no further honour or
 ' regard. It is from great honours that great courage
 ' proceeds; and no Plebeian could think meanly of him-
 ' self, if he ceased to be despised by others. They
 ' ought certainly, at least, to make a trial, in an instance
 ' or two, whether any Plebeian be capable to support the
 ' weight of a great office in the state, and whether it is
 ' so prodigious an affair, to find a man of real merit and
 ' valour, born among the people.'

After many a struggle, it was carried, that military tri-
 bunes, with consular power, might be elected, and that
 too from the body of the people. Men who had distin-
 guished themselves, both in peace and war, offered their
 services. In the first years they were insulted, rejected,
 and exposed to the ridicule of the senators; and at last,
 they would no longer lay themselves open to such af-
 fronts. No good reason could be assigned, why a law
 should not be entirely abolished, that gave a right which
 they were never to use; for, it would be less shameful for
 them to be excluded by an unjust law, than passed by
 and neglected, for their own personal defects.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Scheme of the Military Tribunes.

THE applause with which harangues of this kind were
 received, induced some of the Plebeian order to stand
 candidates for the office of military tribune; promising,
 some of them to get one, some another law passed, for
 the interest of the commons, during their administration.
 The people were encouraged to hope for a division of the
 public lands among them, an establishment of new co-
 lonies, and a tax to be laid on the landed interest, to raise
 a fund for the payment of the army. The military tri-
 bunes took the advantage of a season when few of the
 people were in town, having given the senators secret in-
 timation to return against a certain day, in absence of the

tribunes of the people, to pass a decree, that as there was advice that the Volsci had taken the field, to ravage the country of the Hernici, the military tribunes should set out immediately to inform themselves on the spot; and that, in the mean time, an assembly for the election of consuls should be held.

They left at their departure, as præfect of the city, Appius Claudius, the son of the decemvir, a young magistrate of great fire and vivacity, and who, from his cradle, had imbibed an aversion to the people and their tribunes. The tribunes afterwards had no room to contend with those who had procured this act of the senate, because they were absent; nor with Appius, because the affair was entirely over and completed.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Sempronius acts incautiously.

THE fasces were conferred on C. Sempronius Atratinus, and Q. Fabius Vibulanus. An event which happened this year, though it has no immediate connection with the affairs of Rome, deserves to be taken notice of here. Vulsturnum, a city belonging to the Etrurians, now called Capua, was taken by the Samnites. It got the name of Capua,* from Capys, the general of the Samnites; or, which is more probable, from the openness of the country. However, that be, they got possession of it in this manner:

The Etrurians being quite exhausted by a tedious war, the Samnites were first admitted to settle with them in the city and its territory; and, some time after, taking the advantage of a public solemnity, the new comers fell upon the first inhabitants, buried in wine and sleep, and murdered them all in the night. Immediately on the back of these transactions, the consuls mentioned above entered upon their office, on the thirteenth day of December. By this time, the envoys reported, that a war

* Capua was considered as one of the three most considerable cities in the world; and, for some time, rivalled both Rome and Carthage. Its ruins still remain near the village Sancta Maria di Capoa, situated in one of the finest provinces of the kingdom of Naples.

with the Volsci was unavoidable, which was also confirmed by dispatches from the Latins and Hernici, importing, that never upon any former occasion had the Volsci appeared more in earnest, either with respect to the choice of their generals, or expediting their levies; declaring upon all occasions, that they must now bid adieu to arms and war for ever, and tamely submit to the yoke of servitude, or no longer shew themselves inferior to those, with whom they contended for sovereignty, in personal bravery, patience under hardships, and military discipline.

These accounts were far from being groundless, though they seemed to make no great impression on the fathers; and C. Sempronius, who by lot had the command in that war, trusting entirely to fortune, as a thing incapable of change, especially as he led a victorious army against a conquered enemy, performed all the duties of his office, without caution or care; insomuch that there was more of the Roman discipline to be found in the Volscian army than in their own. For which reason, fortune, as it has often happened before, shifted to that side where merit was most conspicuous.

In the first engagement, which Sempronius hazarded without the least precaution or consideration, having formed no corps-de-reserve, and made a very injudicious disposition of his horse before the action, the shouts gave the first intimation of the turn matters were like to take: these raised by the enemy were brisker and more constant; whilst on the side of the Romans, they were confused, unequal, faint, and often repeated, and by their discord, expressive of the fear which had taken possession within. Encouraged by this, the enemy advanced with redoubled fury, pressed hard upon them with their shields, and plied them with their brandished swords. On the other side, the soldiers stood staring about them, their helmets nodding on their heads, and being totally at a loss how to act, ran trembling together in crowds. The colours sometimes standing still were abandoned by the front ranks; at other times they were moved back, and planted among their own squadrons. As yet they had not resolved to fly, nor were the enemy absolutely certain of victory. The Romans however, acted rather

upon the defensive than the offensive, whilst the Volsci advanced their standards, pressed hard upon the Roman ranks and saw many more of them fall than fly.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The gallantry of Sextus Tempanius.

BY this time they began to give way everywhere, and it was in vain for the consul to employ either exhortations or reproaches: his authority and the majesty of his person were equally disregarded: and they would immediately have turned their backs upon the enemy, had not Sextus Tempanius, a decurio of the horse, by a lucky thought and spirited execution, prevented a total defeat. He cried out with a loud voice to the horse to dismount, if they would save the commonwealth. The whole squadrons obeyed him to a man, as if the consul himself had given the orders: 'Unless,' says he, 'this armed body of ours check the enemy's ardour, the Roman power is no more. Follow my lance instead of an ensign, and show both the Romans and the Volsci, that on foot as well as on horseback you are irresistible.' All joined in a shout to express their approbation, and he advanced at their head, carrying his spear aloft; wherever they appeared they cleared their way; and covering themselves with their shields, charged the enemy. Where the Romans were most pressed, where they once attacked, they were sure to reinstate the fortune of the day; nor is there the least question, that if their number could have admitted them to shew themselves everywhere, but they would have obliged the enemy to fly.

CHAP. XXXIX.

A drawn battle.

AS their impetuosity was everywhere irresistible, the general of the Volsci ordered his troops to open a passage for the new battalion with the round bucklers, till their impetuosity should hurry them too far for rejoining

their own army. This happened accordingly. The cavalry were blocked up, and found it quite impracticable to return the way they had advanced: the enemy having closed, and in that part of the line, standing in very close array.

The consul and Roman legions having lost sight of the battalion which was the life and soul of their army, and fearing those generous troops would be blocked up and overpowered by the enemy, outbraved every danger for their relief. The Volsci making a double front, on the one side, sustained the charge of the consul and his legions; and on the other pressed hard upon Tempanius and his cavalry, who having often attempted to break through the enemy's ranks to join the main body of their army, without effect, at last took possession of an eminence, where throwing themselves into a ring, they defended themselves with such bravery as cost the Volsci dear. Only the night put an end to the battle.

The consul, on his part, kept the enemy sufficiently employed, while any light remained. Night drew off both sides, equally uncertain which was victorious. Their ignorance, in this respect, struck such a panic on both, that leaving their wounded and a great part of their baggage behind, both concluding themselves defeated, made the best of their way to the mountains which lay nearest them. The eminence, however, continued to be invested till after midnight, when the besiegers being informed, that their camp was abandoned, and not doubting but the army had been also defeated, went off in a fright, under cover of the darkness, the best way they could.

Tempanius fearing an ambuscade, kept his post till day-light; when he went out with a few of his followers to reconnoitre the enemy, and found upon inquiry at some of the wounded enemy, that the Volsci had abandoned their camp. Then with pleasure calling down all his soldiers from the hill, he entered the Roman camp, and there found the like solitude and total desertion as in the enemy's. Therefore, as he was entirely ignorant of the consul's rout, and fearing a return of the Volsci upon the first discovery of their error, he took up as many

of the wounded Romans as he could, and marched strait to Rome.

CHAP. XL.

Tempanius returns to Rome, and examined by the Tribunes.

THE news of this unfortunate battle and desertion of the camp had already reached the city. The loss of the cavalry was particularly deplored by the public in general, as well as their connections. The consul Fabius, to prevent surprise, the whole city being alarmed, posted troops at the gates. When the cavalry appeared at a distance the consternation was still greater, as being uncertain who they were. The moment it was discovered that these troops were the horse returned safe and victorious, their fear was converted into such an excess of joy, that the acclamations of those who congratulated them, were heard over all the city: and those families, that but a little before were in the deepest concern, crying out, that their friends were gone, ran out to the streets in transports, and the mothers and wives, quite out of their senses, forgetting decency in their present extasy, ran out to meet the troops, each embracing her own, with such expressions of tenderness and tears of joy, as almost approached distraction.

The tribunes of the people, who had impeached M. Posthumius and T. Quinctius, on account of the battle of Veii, lost by their means, thought this a noble opportunity, in the present resentment of the people against Sempronius, for reviving the odium against them. Wherefore, having called an assembly, they bawled out with great warmth, that because the commonwealth had been betrayed by its generals at Veii, and their fault had remained unpunished, the army had again been betrayed by the consul in the country of the Volsci, the bravest of the cavalry given up to destruction, and the camp shamefully abandoned. One of the tribunes, C. Icilius, ordered the knight Tempanius to be cited before them, and interrogated him as follows:

Sextus Tempanius, I ask you, 'Whether you think that the consul Sempronius chose a proper time to

‘ come to an engagement, supported his line of battle
 ‘ with reinforcements, or discharged any of the duties
 ‘ of a good consul?—When you saw the legions routed,
 ‘ did you not, of your own accord, prevail on the ca-
 ‘ valry to dismount and reinstate the battle? When
 ‘ you and your followers were separated from the main
 ‘ body of the army, did the consul come in person, or
 ‘ send any other to your relief? Were you joined by
 ‘ any reinforcement next day? Did not you and your
 ‘ battalion make good your way to the camp, by means
 ‘ of your own bravery alone? Did you find the consul
 ‘ or any army there? Was not the camp abandoned
 ‘ and the wounded soldiers left in it? These questions
 ‘ you are to answer this day, as a man of honour and a
 ‘ soldier, by whose bravery alone the republic has been
 ‘ saved in this war. To conclude; where is C. Sem-
 ‘ pronius?—What is become of our legions? Did the
 ‘ consul and the army abandon you, or you them? are
 ‘ we the conquerors or the vanquished?

CHAP. XLI.

Tempanius' sensible and modest answer.

TEMPANIUS's answer to these interrogatories, is said to have been simple, but sensible, and in the stile of a soldier, neither swelled with encomiums on himself, nor enlivened with censures upon others. He said, ‘ That it
 ‘ did not become him as a soldier, to decide with re-
 ‘ spect to the military abilities of his general: It was the
 ‘ business of the Roman people to have been satisfied
 ‘ as to these, when at the general election they chose
 ‘ him consul. Wherefore, it was highly improper to in-
 ‘ terrogate him upon the plans and designs of a comman-
 ‘ der in chief, or the political virtues of a consul, points
 ‘ that required experience, and the penetration of the
 ‘ ablest heads to discuss; that for his own part he could
 ‘ only speak what he saw; that before he was separated
 ‘ from the army, he observed the consul fighting at the
 ‘ head of his troops, encouraging the soldiers, and al-
 ‘ ways in the midst of the Roman ensigns, exposed to
 ‘ the darts of the enemy. That afterwards he lost sight

of the Roman army, but by the shouts and cries which he heard, he judged, that the action continued till night. Considering the enemy's numbers, he did not believe it was possible to force a passage to the rising ground which he had seized. That he knew not where the army was, but he had reason to imagine, for the preservation of the army, the consul had retired to some place of greater safety than his own camp, as he himself, in a case of necessity, had secured himself and followers, by the natural strength of the ground he had taken. That it was his own opinion, the affairs of the Volsci were in no better condition than those of the Romans; and that the darkness had concealed from both parties, their own situation, and that of each other.' He was then, at his request, that they would detain him no longer, as he was quite exhausted with the fatigue of his march, and the pain of his wounds, dismissed with the applauses of all the people, for his moderation, still more than for his valour and good conduct.

This scene was scarcely over, when the consul appeared at the temple of Quies, in the Lavinian way. Thither horses and carriages and other conveyances were sent from the city, to take up the soldiers, quite spent with the fatigue of the battle, and travelling all night. A little after, the consul made his entry into the city, and was not at greater pains to clear himself, with respect to the late miscarriage, than to give Tempanius the praises due to his merit.

Whilst the state was afflicted, on account of their late disaster, and highly dissatisfied with their generals, M. Posthumus, who had been one of the military tribunes, with consular power, that commanded at Veii, was impeached before the people, and fined 16,000 asses of brass.* Titus Quinctius, his colleague, laid the whole blame of that miscarriage upon Posthumus, who was already condemned; and out of regard to his great services against the Volsci, when consul, under the dictator Posthumius Tubertus; and at Fidenæ, in quality of lieutenant-general to Manerius Æmilius, another dicta-

* £ 32 : 5 : 10.

tor, he was acquitted by all the tribes. The memory of his venerable father Cincinnatus, is said to have been of great use to him on this occasion, and the intercession of Capitolinus Quinctius, now spent with years, who intreated the people, in the most humble manner, that now when his life was so near a close, they would not make him the messenger of news so very distressing to Cincinnatus.

CHAP. XLII.

Generous conduct of the four Tribunes, with respect to Sempronius.

SEX. TEMPANIUS, **A. Sellius**, **L. Antistius**, **Sex. Pompilius**, in their absence, were elected tribunes by the people. The three last, the horse had chosen for their centurions, by the advice of Tempanius. The senate finding, that the name of consul, out of odium to Sempronius, gave offence, ordered military tribunes, with consular power, to be created; in consequence of which, the choice fell upon **L. Manlius Capitolinus**, **Q. Antonius Merenda**, and **L. Papirius Mugillanus**. In the beginning of the year, **L. Hortensius**, one of the tribunes, cited Sempronius, the late consul to take his trial; and when four of his colleagues conjured him, in presence of the Roman people, not to harass their general, who was innocent, and could be reproached with nothing but his ill fortune; Hortensius took it amiss, imagining they only meant to try his resolution, as the delinquent rather depended on the assistance, than the mediation of the tribunes, which was intended only for show: wherefore, turning immediately to Sempronius, he asked him, 'What was become of his Patrician spirit, and that confidence with which a consciousness of innocence would inspire him, when he, a consul took shelter under the shadow of the tribunes?' Then turning to his colleagues: 'But if I should persist in my prosecution of this delinquent, what part will you act? Will you rob the people of their judicative privileges, and overturn the power of the tribunes?' They replied, that the Roman people had indisputably a supreme authority over Sempronius,

and every member of the state, and for their own part, they had neither the inclination nor the power of depriving the people of their prerogative in judging the accused; but if their earnest intreaties in behalf of their general, who had been to them an indulgent parent, could not prevail, they would go into mourning with him. ‘Nay,’ replied Hortensius, ‘but that shall not be; the commons of Rome shall not see their tribunes into mourning. I have nothing farther to say against C. Sempronius, who by his behaviour in command, could endear him so effectually to his soldiers.’

The grateful affection of the four tribunes, did not give greater pleasure to the senators and people, who were equally affected, than the good nature of Hortensius, which disposed him to yield so readily to their reasonable request. Fortune did not continue long to fawn upon the Æqui, whose mercury rose as high upon this doubtful victory of the Volsci, as if they themselves had been crowned with laurels.

CHAP. XLIII.

The Æqui in motion, suppressed. New contest.—Wise counsel of L. Papirius Mugilanus.

NEXT year, in the consulship of Numerius Fabius Vibulanus, and T. Quinctius Capitolinus, the son of Capitolinus, Fabius, who had got the direction of the war by lot, performed nothing memorable; for the Æqui had no sooner shown their faces, than like a convention of cowards, they took to their heels; so that the consul gained no great honour, and of course was refused a triumph. Yet because this victory served in some measure to extenuate the reproach of the Sempronian disaster, he was permitted to enter the city with an ovation. As this war was brought to a conclusion, with less trouble than had been apprehended, so also in the city there arose, out of a profound calm, an unexpected storm of dissension between the senate and the people, which had its foundation in a proposal to double the number of the quæstors.

The consuls had moved, that besides the two city quæstors, there should be two others created to attend the army, and assist the consuls in time of war. This motion was highly approved of by the fathers, but the tribunes of the commons were determined to oppose it, unless the consuls added a clause, that some of the quæstors, who till then had always been Patricians, should be chosen out of the Plebeian order. The consuls, and also the senators, at first, opposed this amendment with all their might; but afterwards yielded so far, that in the election of quæstors, as in that of military tribunes with consular power, the people should be at liberty to chuse whom they thought proper. When this proposal was not accepted, they dropt the design of increasing the number of quæstors entirely.

The tribunes took up the affair where the senators left it, and soon after introduced other seditious claims, and amongst the rest, that of the Agrarian law. Upon account of these commotions, the senate wanted, that consuls rather than military tribunes should be chosen; but as they could not, by reason of the opposition of the tribunes, pass an act for that purpose, from consuls the administration returned to an inter-regnum, and ever that cost no small contest, as the tribunes were indefatigable in their endeavours to prevent a meeting of the senate.

The best part of next year was spent in disputes between the new tribunes and the gentlemen who acted successively in the capacity of inter-rex; the tribunes sometimes preventing a meeting of the senate, for electing an inter-rex, and when one had been chosen, raising a dust to prevent an act of senate from being passed, for holding the consular comitia; till at length, L. Papirius Mugillanus, then inter-rex, commenting very sharply on the conduct of both Patricians and tribunes, told them, ' That the republic, abandoned as it was, and neglected
' by men, was yet under the peculiar care and protec-
' tion of the gods, who had provided for its safety in the
' truce with the Veientes, and the inaction of the Æqui.
' But should the motions of any of these nations raise an
' alarm, it was evident, that they were determined to
' suffer the state to be ruined, without a Patrician magi-

strate at its head. At present there was no army, nor general to raise one. Will a civil war at home, be any defence against the incursions of a foreign enemy? On the contrary, should we be attacked by both these calamities at once, the power of all the gods would be barely sufficient to save us from destruction. Ought not then the contending parties to abate something of their high pretensions, and meet each other half way, to restore harmony to the state? Let the senate permit military tribunes to be elected instead of consuls, and the tribunes lay the people under no restraint in the choice of four quæstors, out of either order, as they shall think proper.

CHAP. XLIV.

Trial of Sempronius and a Vestal.

THE Comitia for the election of tribunes met first, When L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, for the third time, L. Furius Medullinus, for the second, M. Manlius, and A. Sempronius Atratinus, all Patricians, were chosen. Sempronius presided in the election of Quæstors, when, among some other Plebeians, Antistius and Sextus Pompilius, both tribunes, recommended, the first his son, and the last his brother, as candidates for the quæstorship; but they had neither interest, nor a sufficient number of votes to prevent the people from preferring those, on account of their high-birth, whose fathers and grand-fathers they had seen vested with the consulate.

The tribunes, upon this repulse, and particularly Antistius and Pompilius, enraged almost to madness, cried out, 'That they could not conceive how the people could be so insensible to the services they had done them, the ill treatment they had received from the senators, and the pleasure of putting in practice a new right they had not before, as not to honour one of their own number, if not with the dignity of a military tribune, at least with that of a quæstor' What! two tribunes of the commons, vested with that sacred power, instituted for the support of liberty, the one recommending and soliciting for his son, and the other for his

‘ brother, and both disregarded ! There must infallibly
 ‘ have been some trick here, and Sempronius, in presid-
 ‘ ing at the comitia, has discovered more art than hone-
 ‘ ty. For which reason, they had a right to complain,
 ‘ that their friends had been disappointed, by his uncan-
 ‘ did procedure.’ As Atratinus himself was above their
 reach, both on account of his known integrity, and the
 high station in which he served, they turned all their
 fury against C. Sempronius, his relation ; and, by the as-
 sistance of M. Canuleius, their colleague, revived the
 prosecution against him, for the disgrace he had brought
 upon the state, in the war with the Volsci.

It was not long after that, till the tribunes proposed in
 the senate, a division of the lands among the people ; a
 motion, which C. Sempronius had always most zealously
 opposed, with a view, as it turned out, to lessen his in-
 terest with the Patricians, should he appear more pas-
 sive, or expose himself to the resentment of the people,
 at the time of his trial, should he persist in his opposition.
 But, he rather chose to be the butt of their malice, than
 expose his character by deserting the public cause,
 though at the hazard of his own ; and, therefore, con-
 tinued firm in his former opinion, ‘ That it would be
 ‘ bad policy to gratify three factious tribunes, who, in
 ‘ fact, did not want to get land for the people, but to
 ‘ raise the people’s resentment against him. For his own
 ‘ part, he was determined to stand the storm, without
 ‘ flinching ; and he saw no reason, why he, or any other
 ‘ citizen of Rome, should be considered by the senate,
 ‘ in such an important point of view, that in saving him,
 ‘ the state should be exposed to any hardship.’ With
 the same steadiness, on the day of his trial, he pleaded
 his own cause : but when the senators had tried every
 method to soften the people in his favour, they were still
 inexorable, and condemned him in a fine of 15,000 asses
 of brass.*

This year too, Posthumia, a vestal virgin, was im-
 peached for incontinence. She was found innocent, as to
 the crime ; but she had paid too much attention to dress,
 and been too free in her behaviour for a vestal, which

* £48:8:8.

had created suspicions,* to her disadvantage. Wherefore, her trial was put off for want of evidence,† and she was afterwards acquitted: but the high priest, with the consent and approbation of the whole college, admonished her, to behave with more prudence and less gaiety for the future, and to have more regard to modesty, than taste and elegance in her dress.—This year also, Cumæ, a city till then possessed by the Greeks, was taken by the people of Capua. In the following year, the military tribunes with consular power, were Agrippa Mene-nius Lanatus, P. Lucretius Tricipitinus, and Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

CHAP. XLV.

Conspiracy of the Slaves. Motions of the Æqui and Lavicans. Obstinacy of the Military Tribunes.

THIS year was more remarkable for a lucky escape the Roman people had from a dangerous plot, than any evil consequence that attended it. The slaves had formed a conspiracy to set the city on fire in several places, at a distance from each other, and with arms in their hands, to seize the citadel and capitol, whilst the people were employed in saving their houses. But Jupiter frustrated the effect of their criminal intentions; for the plot being discovered by two of their number, the conspirators were secured, and punished with death. The informers, for so important a service, were rewarded with their liberty, and 10,000 asses of brass,‡ weighed out of the treasury. A capital sum in those days.

After this, the Æqui began to make preparations for war; and besides, advices were received at Rome, the certainty of which was not to be doubted, that the people of Lavicum, who on no former occasion had been at war with the Romans, were associating themselves with these old enemies of the state. The war with the Æqui was in a manner become annual; but ambassadors were

* *Ob suspicionem*,—rather *ab suspicione*.

† *Ampliatum*, *ab amplius censendo*, adjourned, sisted, for a new hearing.

‡ £32: 5: 9½.

immediately sent to Lavicum, who returned with ambiguous answers, such as, that the people of Lavicum had not yet begun to make preparations for war, but did not seem as if they would be long at peace. The Tusculans were charged to keep a strict eye on Lavicum, that no new commotions might arise there.

Soon after the military tribunes with consular power, viz. L. Sergius Fidenas, M. Papirius Mugillanus, and C. Servilius, the son of Priscus, who had been dictator when Fidenæ was taken, were chosen for the next year, and had entered upon their office; advices came by envoys from Tusculum, 'That the Lavicans had taken up arms, joined the troops of the Æqui, ravaged the country about Tusculum, and encamped at the Algidus.' War was then declared against the Lavicans, and the senate enacted, that two of the military tribunes should march against the enemy, and the third remain at Rome, for the government of the city. This occasioned high words among the military tribunes, each of them pretending, that he was most capable of commanding the army, and expressing his contempt of the civil government of the city, as a mean and disagreeable office. The senators observing, with no small wonder, a misunderstanding so indecent among them, Q. Servilius told them, 'since you have no respect either for the senate, or for the commonwealth, paternal authority shall put an end to the dispute. My son, without casting lots, shall take upon him the care of the city. I wish those who are so fond of war, may discover more prudence and unanimity in conducting it, than they seem to do in desiring it.'

CHAP. XLVI.

*Misunderstanding and miscarriage of the Tribunes.
A Dictator chosen.*

AS it was judged improper to raise recruits indiscriminately from among all the people, ten tribes were drawn by lot; and the two tribunes having enlisted the young men belonging to them, led them out to the field. The misunderstanding which began to appear between

them in the city, their desire of commanding alone being not in the least abated, broke out with still greater fury in the camp. In sentiment they never agreed; and each stuck inflexibly to his own. Each was for having no counsels followed, and no orders executed but his own. The only point agreed in, was a sovereign contempt for each other; till upon a remonstrance from their lieutenant-generals, matters were so ordered, that they were to command each his day alternately.

When these accounts came to Rome, Servilius, whose experience was equal to his years, is said to have implored the gods, that the discord of the tribunes might not prove more fatal to the commonwealth, than it had been at Veii: and as if he had seen that some great calamity was at hand, he pressed his son to make levies, and be ready to take the field. He was not mistaken. Sergius, on one of the days, when he commanded in chief, was drawn by a feigned retreat of the Æqui, into a steep and disadvantageous ground close under their lines, vainly imagining he would make himself master of their camp. By a sudden sally from the camp, the Æqui drove them down the precipice, and more of them were dashed to pieces by the weight of the fall down the declivity, than fell by the precipitancy of their flight. With much difficulty the Romans kept possession of their camp that day; and the next, when they saw themselves invested almost on every side by the enemy, they made their escape out at a back gate and shamefully abandoned it. The generals with their lieutenants, and the best troops, that did not quit the ensigns, retired to Tusculum, whilst the rest, dispersing themselves about the country, came to Rome by different ways, and represented their loss much greater than it really was.

At Rome the alarm was less, both because in their fears they had anticipated all that happened, and young Servilius had got together a new body of recruits to assist them upon occasion. The inferior magistrates also, by his order quieted the commotions in the city; and the couriers who had been dispatched to inform themselves of the state of the armies, brought advice, that the generals and their troops were at Tusculum, and that the enemy still continued in their old camp. But what re-

vived their courage in a peculiar manner, was the nomination of Quinctius Servilius Priscus, dictator, by order of the senate; a man, of whose penetration the state had had proofs on former occasions, and especially with respect to the event of this war, he being the only one, who, before the late miscarriage, seemed to foresee the consequence of the misunderstanding of the tribunes. According to some authors, he chose his son general of the horse; by whom, in quality of military tribune, he had been himself declared dictator. Others, however, say, that Servilius Ahala was made general of the horse upon this occasion. Wherefore, taking the field with his new army, he reinforced it with that at Tusculum, and encamped within two miles of the enemy.

CHAP. XLVII.

The defeat of the Æqui and Lavicans, and capture of Lavicum, for which a Roman colony was voted.

THE neglect and insolence, which had formerly prevailed in the Roman generals, went over to the Æqui, with their good success. The dictator having sent his horse, in the beginning of the battle, to charge the enemy's front, which was soon put into disorder, ordered the legions to advance to support them with all expedition; and observing an ensign slacken his pace, he killed him on the spot. The ardour of the Roman troops was too much for the Æqui to sustain; wherefore, being overpowered in the field, they fled with great precipitation to their camp, which required still less time and trouble to force, than it had done to beat them in the field. The camp being taken and rifled, the dictator gave all the plunder of it to the troops.

The horse, who had pursued the enemy in their flight out of the camp, having brought advice, that the routed Lavicans, and a great part of the Æqui had fled to Lavicum, the army marched thither next day, invested the place, and having taken it by escalade, it was plundered by the soldiers. The dictator marched back his victorious army to Rome, and resigned the dictatorship, eight days after his nomination.

The senate, before the tribunes had time to speak of a distribution of the territory of Lavicum,* and by that means revive the disputes about the Agrarian law, at a full meeting, very judiciously voted, 'that a colony should be planted at Lavicum.' Fifteen hundred citizens went thither, to each of whom were assigned two Roman acres.† After the capture of Lavicum, for the first year, Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, L. Servilius Structus, and P. Lucretius Tricipitinus, all for the second time, and Sp. Rutilius Crassus; and for the year following, A. Sempronius Atratinus, for the third time; and M. Papirius Mugilanus, with Sp. Nautius Rutilius, for the second time, presided in quality of military tribunes with consular power. During these two years, all was quiet abroad; but the domestic tranquillity was greatly disturbed with disputes about the Agrarian law.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Contests about the Agrarian law. Advice of Appius.

THE tribunes who at this time kept the people in a ferment, were Sp. Mæcilius and Metilius, who had been both elected in their absence; the former for the fourth and the latter for the third time. They had preferred a bill, for an equal distribution of the conquered lands among the citizens. But as the city itself stood on conquered ground, and scarce any land about it, but what had been the perquisite of their valour, which, by the bye, excepting what the people had in possession, had neither been exposed to sale, nor distributed by public authority, by this bill, the greatest part of the estates of the nobility must have been confiscated, which of consequence seemed to lay the foundation of very warm contests between the senate and people. Nor could the military tribunes, although they often convened the senate, and had private conventions of the principal men of the Patrician party, fall on any expedient to obviate this dilemma, till Appius Claudius, the grandson of that

* A city of the Latins, about 15 miles from Rome.

† Jugerum, 240 by 120 feet, or 5-7ths of an English acre.

Appius, who was created decemvir for compiling a body of laws, at this time the youngest of all the senators, represented, as it is related of him, ' That he would lay
' before them an old political maxim, hereditary in his
' family, which his great grandfather Appius Claudius,
' had convinced the senate, was the only expedient for
' opposing the tyranny of the tribunes, and that was
' by stirring up an opposition among themselves. Persons who had but lately emerged from obscurity, would
' easily be induced by the influence of the great, to take
' the other side of the argument, would the senators
' only deign sometimes to speak of them in terms more
' agreeable to the times, than to the dignity of their
' rank. The pride of such generally kept pace with
' their condition; and therefore the moment they were
' convinced that their colleagues who took the lead in
' this affair, had engrossed the favour of the people, and
' that themselves had only a blank in reversion, it would
' be no difficult matter to bring them over to the side of
' the senate, whereby they might attract the attention of
' the whole order, as well as the principal men in it.' All of them approved of this plan, especially C. Servilius Priscus, who run out much in praises of the young nobleman, because he had not degenerated from the virtue of his ancestors; and recommended in a particular manner to the order, to employ their interest respectively, to engage as many of the college of tribunes as possible, to join in opposition to the bill.

After the senate was adjourned, the principal members applied themselves to gain the tribunes, and by persuasion, remonstrating, and assuring them that they would not only lay every single senator, but the whole body under a particular obligation; they engaged six of them to dissent from their colleagues. Next day as it had been concerted, a motion was made in the senate, relative to the sedition excited by Mæcilius and Metilius, about a largess of a most dangerous tendency: and each of the senators, in giving his opinion of the matter, took care to declare, that for his own part he was at a loss to say, nor could he see the least prospect of relief from any quarter, but from the opposition of the tribunes. The Republic, oppressed as it was, and reduced to a state

of bankruptcy, now fled to the protection of that college : and it would tend much to their own honour, as well as to the dignity of their office, if it should appear, that the power with which they were invested, was not so much calculated for harassing the senate, and sowing discord among the different orders of the state, as to oppose the malevolent designs of their colleagues. There was now a noise all over the senate-house, occasioned by the members, who, from every corner, appealed to the college of tribunes.

When silence was ordered, they who had been previously prepared by the application of the principal senators, declared, that they would oppose the bill preferred by their colleagues, since it was the judgment of the senate, that it tended to the subversion of the state. The senate returned thanks to the dissenting tribunes ; and those who had preferred the bill summoned an assembly, where, having inveighed against their colleagues, as traitors to the interest of their constituents, creatures of the consulars, and other opprobrious appellatives, they dropped from their motion.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Æqui humbled. Pride of Posthumius checked by L. Sextius.

THE next year, P. Corneilius Cossus, C. Valerius Potitus, Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus, and Numerius Fabius Vibulanus were created military tribunes with consular power. Whilst they were in office, the Republic would have had war, with two of its restless neighbours, if that with the Veientes had not been put off by a religious scruple among their chiefs, whose estates an inundation of the Tiber had lately damaged, by demolishing their seats and villas ; and the Æqui been diverted from assisting the inhabitants of Volæ, a people belonging to their own nation, by the blow they had received three years before. Incursions had been made from thence upon the territory of Lavicum, bordering with theirs, and hostilities committed upon the Roman colony lately planted there. They thought, by the assistance of all the Æqui,

they would escape with impunity for this insult; but being thus abandoned by their countrymen, the war with them was very inconsiderable, for they lost both their city and its territory, by one slight engagement and a short siege,

L. Sextus, one of the popular tribunes, attempted to bring in a bill for sending a colony to Volæ, as had been done to Lavicum. It ended in nothing, by reason of the dissent of his colleagues, who declared that they would suffer no bill to pass in the assembly of the commons, without the consent of the senate. Next year, the Æqui having recovered Volæ, peopled it anew, and strengthened the fortifications of the place, during the presidency of Quinctius Fabius Vibulanus for the second time, Cn. Cornelius Cossus, L. Valerius Potitus, and Posthumius Regillensis*, in quality of military tribunes with consular power.

To Posthumius was committed the management of the war against the Æqui. He was a man of a vile disposition, which became more visible in his victory, than during the dependence of the war: For, having raised an army with great expedition, and marched against Volæ, in several skirmishes he humbled the Æqui, and at last made himself master of the city, when he turned the insolence of his temper from the enemy, upon his fellow-citizens; and though whilst he was carrying on the siege, he had published that the soldiers should have the plunder after it was taken, he broke his word.

I rather think that the resentment of the army originated in this circumstance, than because the city, which had been lately plundered, and peopled with a new colony, did not produce so large a booty as this tribune had given out. From whatever source this disgust proceeded, he inflamed it much, upon his return to the city, being recalled by his colleagues on account of the dust raised by the tribunes. An expression of his was taken notice of in the assembly, equally ridiculous and extravagant. As Sextius, one of the tribunes, was proposing

* Regillensis was a surname common to two families; the Claudian and Posthumian to the first, because they came from Regillum; to the last, in honour of the victory gained by Posthumius over the Latins at the lake Regillus.

he Agrarian law, he added, that he would also bring in a bill, for sending a colony to Volæ, because that city and its pertinents was in justice the property of those who had conquered it by their arms: "Wo be to my soldiers indeed, says he, if they will not be quiet." An expression, which was not more shocking to the assembly who heard it, than it was afterwards to the senators.

The tribune Sextius, a man who neither wanted spirit nor eloquence, having found in the opposition a proud heart and a petulant tongue, whom he could provoke and enrage, till he was driven to such expressions as would not only render himself odious, but the cause he espoused, and the order to which he belonged, attacked Posthumius more frequently, and with greater warmth than any other of the military tribunes. Therefore, immediately upon the harsh and brutal expression, he cried out, "Do you hear, Romans, how Posthumius threatens his soldiers, as if they were his slaves? However, when the first offices of the state are to be disposed of, this savage will be thought more worthy of them in your judgment, than those who provide you with cities and lands, and send you into colonies? who procure you safe retreats for your old age; and for your interest, enter the list with such cruel and haughty antagonists. After this you may wonder, if you please, why so few appear as champions for the defence of your rights. What have they to expect from you?—Is it these honours which you chuse rather to confer on your adversaries than your defenders? The expressions you just now heard, drew groans from you. But what then, Were you just now to go to an election, you would prefer this man, who threatens you with *wo*, to those who are for procuring you lands, dwellings, and establishments."

CHAP. L.

Posthumius stoned to death by his own army.

THE report of this injurious expression having spread in the camp, it occasioned much greater indignation there.

‘How!’ cried the soldiers, ‘shall this monopolist, who cheated us of our spoils, dare to threaten us also?’ Wherefore, as these reflections were made openly, the Quæstor Sextius, to quell the sedition, believed it necessary to employ the same violent methods as had given occasion for them, and sent a lictor to one of the soldiers, whom he heard exclaiming: but this only served to increase the tumult; and the Quæstor being struck with a stone, was obliged to retire out of the crowd; the person who had done it insulting him at the same time, by calling out, *That the Quæstor had got no more than what the general had threatened to give the soldiers.* When Posthumius himself was called to quell the mutiny, he exasperated the troops more than ever by the strictness of his enquiries, and the cruelty of his punishments. At last, when he set no bounds to his fury, the cries of those whom he had condemned to be drowned under a hurdle, having drawn together a number of the soldiers, and raised a tumult, he burst like a fury from his tribunal, and thrust among the crowd, who were endeavouring to prevent the executing of his sentence. The lictors and captivions, in clearing the way, dealt about them too roughly among the crowd, which exasperated them to that extraordinary degree, that the military tribune was stoned to death by his own army.

When the news of this tragical event reached the city, and the military tribunes, with the concurrence of the senate, decreed that a precognition should be taken, relative to the murder of their colleague, the tribunes of the people interposed. This contest depended upon another. The conscript fathers were in the utmost concern, lest the people, for fear of the intended inquiry, should, in the heat of their passion, create military tribunes out of their own order; for which reason they exerted themselves to the utmost to get consuls elected. But the tribunes of the people would suffer no act to be passed by the senate, nor a comitia to be held for the election of consuls, so that the Republic fell into an inter-regnum. The fathers afterwards prevailed.

CHAP. LI.

The Trial of the mutinous Soldiers. Contests between the Orders.

Q. FABIVS VIBVLANVS, being declared inter-rer, held the comitia; when A. Cornelius Cossus, and L. Furius Medullinus, were created consuls. In the beginning of their administration, the senate enacted, that the tribunes should, without loss of time, lay the affair of the enquiry into the murder of Posthumius, before the assembly of the people; and that it should be left to the people to appoint whom they pleased to preside in that enquiry. The commons, with the concurrence of the whole body of the people, committed the charge of this matter to the two consuls. They executed their commission with great lenity and moderation; and the few examples that were made, are generally believed to have prevented the execution of their sentence by a voluntary death. Yet all these precautions did not stop the mouths of the people, who complained bitterly, that the bills which were brought in for their account, were suffered to ly on the table neglected and protracted for so many years, whilst one for shedding their blood, and bringing them to punishment, was put in execution directly, and with rigour. Now was the time, after the punishment of the seditious soldiers, for soothing the minds of the people, by a distribution of the lands of Volæ. The senators in that case, would have diminished the ardour of the people, in pushing the Agrarian law, which was calculated to dispossess the Patricians of the property of the public they had unjustly usurped. The people, at that time, were much exasperated with this provoking consideration, that the nobility not only persisted obstinately in retaining the public lands, of which they were violent possessors, but also prevented the distribution of those lately taken from the enemy, now vacant, which would also soon become the prey of a few Patricians, as the rest had done before.

The same year, the consul Furius led the legions against the Volsci, who were ravaging the territory of

the Hernici; but the enemy having disappeared, he took Ferentinum,* whither a great number of them had retired. The booty there came short of their expectation; the Volsci, when they began to despair of making a proper defence, had packed up their effects, in the night-time, and departed the city. The next-day it was taken; but it was almost desolate. Of its territory, the consul made a present to the Hernici.

CHAP. LII.

An Epidemical distemper, and a Famine. A. R. 341.

THE moderation of the tribunes rendered this year pretty peaceable. But L. Icilius, one of the tribunes of the people, immediately upon the accession of Q. Fabius Ambustus, and C. Furius Paulus to the consular fasces, as if it had been hereditary in his name and family, endeavoured to raise a sedition, by reviving the plea of the Agrarian laws. A plague, however, which broke out at that time, and gave more alarm than it proved destructive, diverted the people's attention from the forum and political disputes, to look after their families, and take care of their health. It is thought that the effects of the plague were less fatal, than those of the sedition would have been. The city was all over oppressed with sickness, though no great mortality ensued; but the neglect of agriculture, whilst the calamity prevailed, as it generally happens, the next year, when M. Papirius Atratinus, and C. Nautius Rutilus were consuls, produced a scarcity. This would have done much more mischief than the plague, if they had not found relief from their agents, whom they sent through all the nations upon the coast of the Tuscan sea, and the banks of the Tiber, to purchase corn.

The Samnites, who were then in possession of Capua and Cumæ, behaved insolently to the commissaries, and prohibited them from buying, whereas they were liberally supplied by the tyrants of Sicily. The Etrurians, with

* A town which originally belonged to the Volsci, now Fiorentino, situated in the Campagna di Roma, 48 miles from Rome.

the utmost dispatch, sent great quantities of grain down the Tiber. While the sickness prevailed in the city, the consuls had a demonstration of the desolate state of the city; for they could not find above one senator, for every particular embassy, for which reason, they were obliged to associate two knights with each of them. Excepting the effects of the plague and the famine, for two successive years, the Romans had nothing to trouble them at home or abroad. But, the moment they had got over these difficulties, all the miseries which had been the usual attendants on civil dissensions and foreign war, attacked them at once.

CHAP. LIII.

Opposition of the College to Mænius. Valerius humbles the Æqui, but is unpopular in the army.

THE former consuls were succeeded by Mamercus Æmilius, and C. Valerius Potitus, in whose consulate, the Æqui renewed their preparations for war; and although the Volsci did not take up arms by public authority, they joined the Æqui as volunteers, and served for pay. Upon advice of the progress of these enemies, who by this time had entered the frontiers of the Latins and Hernici, the consul Valerius began to make the levies for raising an army; But M. Mænius, one of those tribunes who had proposed the Agrarian law, opposed him; and while the commons were supported by this tribune, none of them could be compelled to take the military oath.

During this contest, they were surprised with the accounts that the fortress of Carventum was in the hands of the enemy. As this disgrace exposed Mænius to the odium of the senators, it furnished the other tribunes a noble pretext for opposing their colleague, being previously determined to declare against the Agrarian law. Wherefore, after long altercations on both sides, the consuls called gods and men to witness, that whatever damage or disgrace the enemy had or would bring upon them, it was all chargeable upon Mænius, who had obstructed the levies. Mænius, on the other hand, exclaimed, that if the violent possessors of the property of the

public, would give up what they held by so unjust a tenure, he would obstruct the levies no longer. The other nine tribunes put an end to the dispute, and declared it was the opinion of their college, 'That in opposition to their colleague, Mænius, they should support the consul Valerius, in imposing fines, or inflicting other punishments on those who refused to enlist for the war.' The consul now armed with this decree, having seized and imprisoned some of them who had appealed to the tribunes for assistance, the rest were afraid, and took the military oath.

However much the consul hated the army, and the army him, the moment they appeared before the fortress of Carventum, they discovered the greatest ardour in dislodging the garrison, and recovering the fort. The negligence of such of the garrison as had gone to plunder in the neighbourhood, gave them a favourable opportunity for the assault. The booty was considerable, as it contained the magazine of all their prædatory acquisitions round the country. The consul ordered the quæstors to sell the whole at vendue, and put the price in the public treasury, telling the soldiers they should share in the spoil, when they showed less reluctance to the war. This increased the resentment of the people, as well as of the soldiers, against the consul; insomuch, that when, by order of the senate, he entered the city with an ovation, the soldiers, in their licentious manner, repeated alternately a rough kind of verses, expressive of reproaches to the consul, and high encomiums on the name of Mænius. The people who lined the way to see the procession, rivalled the soldiers, in expressing their regard to Mænius, by loud acclamations and applauses, as oft as they heard his name. The senators were more uneasy on this account, than at the freedom the soldiers were taking with the consul; as it was no uncommon thing, on such occasions; and concluding from this, that Mænius would certainly be advanced to the military tribuneship, should he appear as a candidate, they took care to exclude him, by appointing the comitia to be held for electing consuls.

CHAP. LIV.

Three plebeian quæstors chosen.

THE consuls elected upon this occasion were Cn. Cornelius Cossus, and L. Furius Medullinus, for the second time. At no time were the people more highly provoked than at this, when they were not permitted to choose military tribunes. But they both consoled and avenged themselves on that account, in the election of quæstors. This was the first time that Plebeians were admitted to the Quæstorship; and of four places, there was only one reserved for Cæso Fabius Ambustus, a Patrician, Q. Silius, P. Ælius, and P. Pupius, were preferred to the sons of the first families in Rome. I find that three of the Icilian family, who had been chosen tribunes that year, and noted for the inveteracy of their family against the Patricians, were the principal instigators of the people to assume this freedom in giving their suffrages, promising them innumerable advantages, of which they were excessively fond; but declaring at the same time, that they would not move a step towards the execution of them, if at the Comitia for electing quæstors, the only officers whom the senate had left them at liberty to choose indiscriminately out of either order, they had not resolution enough to effectuate what they had so long inclined, and what the laws left them at liberty to do. The people considered this as a very great victory; for they did not estimate the quæstorship from the intrinsic privileges of the office, but as it opened a door by which men of low birth might enter to the consulship and to triumphs.

On the other hand, the fathers murmured, not because the honours of the state were to be shared with the commons, but because they were in a fair way to lose them altogether. They insisted, that if they were to go on at this rate, it was needless to train up children for exalted stations, if they were to be supplanted in the offices of their ancestors, and see others in possession of the honours due to them, whilst they were left in the obscure offices of priests and Salii, with no other em-

ployment but that of offering sacrifice for the prosperity of the people, divested of every share of government or authority in the state.

Whilst both parties were in this ferment, whilst the people were screwed up to the highest pitch, being headed by three people, celebrated for their exertions in popular causes; the fathers foreseeing that every other office would go in the same manner as the quæstorship, where the people had a liberty of choosing out of either order, directed all their engines to secure a consular Comitia, in which the people had as yet no alternative. The Iciliï, on the other hand, insisted for military tribunes, and that it was high time now for the Plebeians to be admitted to a participation of the honours of that office.

CHAP. LV.

Further contests with the Tribunes. Territories of the Æqui and Volsci ravaged.

BUT as yet no claim was entered by the consuls, for which reason, the people had it not in their power, by the force of their opposition, to extort what they wanted; when, very fortunately for their views, advices were received, that the Volsci and Æqui had marched out of their own country, to pillage that of the Latins and Hernici. To chastise the insolence of these restless depredators, when by a decree of the senate, the consuls began to make the levies, the tribunes opposed them with all their might, declaring, that fortune had presented them and the people with an opportunity of doing themselves justice. There were three of them, men of the first distinction among the Plebeians, and all of them exceedingly active and enterprising. Two of them undertook to have a continual eye upon the motions of his consul, whilst the third harangued the people at assemblies, and checked or spurred them, as seemed requisite. Thus were the consuls, on the one hand, prevented from expediting the levies; and the tribunes on the other hand, from holding the Comitia, the objects of their respective pursuits.

Some time after, fortune inclining to the side of the people, expresses arrived with the accounts that the soldiers who kept garrison in the fortress of Carventum, having gone out on a foraging match, the Æqui had surprised the fort, and put the few who were left for its defence to the sword. That the rest of the soldiers, either as they returned, and were entering the fort again, or as they were found straggling in the country, had met with the same fate. This affair, prejudicial as it was to the state, strengthened the hands of the tribunes in the present dispute. For, it was to no purpose that they had been solicited to obstruct the levies no longer, now that matters were come to this extremity; wherefore, as they still continued inflexible, notwithstanding the storm which threatened the state, and the odium they were like to bring on themselves, the senate was obliged to pass an act for the election of military tribunes, but with this express provision, that none of those who acted in the capacity of tribune of the people for this year, should be elected, nor be re-elected to the office of tribune for the succeeding year.

Without all doubt, the senate had the Icili in their eye, whom they accused of aspiring to a consular office, as a reward of the seditious use they made of their tribunitian power. Then the levies were made, and preparations for war carried on, with the universal consent of all ranks. Whether both consuls marched to retake the fortress of Carventum, or one of them staid in the city to preside at the election, is a question about which authors are not agreed. But, it is abundantly certain, nor has it been contradicted, that the Roman army, after they had spent a long time before Carventum, raised the siege, and went against Verrugo, a city of the Volsci, which they reduced, and by ravaging the territories of the Æqui and Volsci, made a considerable booty.

CHAP. LVI.

The Consuls offended with the Senate for proposing a Dictator. The Tribunes refuse to interfere.

AS the commons had prevailed in the first instance in obtaining the comitia they had insisted on, so in the event of the Comitia, the senate prevailed in their turn. For, contrary to all expectation, three Patricians, C. Julius Julius, Publius Cornelius Cossus, and C. Servilius Ahala were elected military tribunes with consular power. It is said, that the Patricians had recourse to a stratagem, with which the Icili reproached them at that very time, in setting up a number of low fellows to appear as candidates with men of the first merit; and, that the people, ashamed of the tattered appearance made by some of them, rejected the Plebeian candidates altogether. Whether it was, that the hopes of the Æqui and Volsci were revived from the circumstance of their having been able to defend the fortress of Carventum, or if their resentment was raised by the loss of the garrison of Verrugo, advices were brought, that they were making extraordinary preparations for war, and that the Antiates were at the head of the confederacy, who had ambassadors making the circuit of their different courts, remonstrating against them as a body of poltroons, who, whilst they were skulking within their walls, suffered the Romans, the year before, to ravage their country at pleasure, and cut in pieces the garrison of Verugo. That hostile armies were not only sent against them, but colonies planted in their country; and, that the Romans not content with a dividend of their subject among themselves, had taken Ferentinum from them, and given it in a present to the Hernici.

The resentment of the people being, by these reproaches, screwed up to the highest pitch, wherever they went, the youth were very forward to enlist. Wherefore the youth of all the confederate nations having rendezvoused at Antium, there they encamped and waited for the enemy. When advices of these motions were carried to Rome, and greatly exaggerated in the rela-

tion, the senate, as the last resource in cases of imminent danger, immediately ordered a dictator to be named; a circumstance, which, it is said, greatly offended Julius and Cornelius, and produced very warm disputes with the senate; and when the principal of that order complained that the military tribunes refused to subject themselves to the authority of the senate, and at last had recourse to the tribunes of the people, alledging they had precedents, where, in similar cases, consuls had been over-ruled by the authority of the tribunes. The tribunes, far from being dissatisfied with this misunderstanding among the fathers, told them that it was ridiculous to expect any assistance from them, whom they did not respect as citizens, nor regard as men. That if ever the honours and government of the state should be common to both orders, they should soon be convinced, that the decrees of the senate should not become void through the insolence of any magistrate whatever. In the mean time, the Patricians, who seemed amenable to neither laws nor Magistrates, might exercise the authority of tribunes for themselves.

CHAP. LVII.

A Dictator created, who dispels the storm at Antium.

THIS dispute had engrossed the public attention at a most unseasonable conjuncture, when they had so great a war upon their hands, whilst Julius and Cornelius had long held forth, in alternate harangues, the injustice of wresting from them the honours the people had bestowed on them, as they were sufficiently qualified themselves for doing their duty as generals, and conducting the war; when Abala Servilius rose up, and represented, ' That he had long been silent, not because he was at a loss how to act as the interests of a good citizen were never separated from those of the public, but because he would have wished that his colleagues had voluntarily submitted to the authority of the senate, rather than to have suffered them to apply to the power of the tribunes to compel them. That even then, did the situation of affairs permit, he would most cheerfully give

‘ them time to recede from a resolution in which they
‘ had discovered too much obstinacy ; but as the dangers
‘ of war were too importunate to admit of delay, he would
‘ prefer the interest of the state to the favour of his col-
‘ leagues ; and if the senate persisted in their resolu-
‘ tion, he would name a dictator that very night ; and if
‘ any should oppose the senate’s decree, he would con-
‘ sider their authority as sufficient for his purpose.’
When by this declaration, he had gained the just ap-
plause and favour of all ranks, he named P. Cornelius
dictator, by whom he was also declared general of the
horse, which may convince any one, who will compare
his conduct with that of his colleagues, that those who do
not court respect and honour, are sometimes in the way
to both.

The war was not considerable. For the enemy was
routed at Antium, in one engagement, and that a very
slight one. The victorious army laid waste the country
of the Volsci, and took a fort upon the lake Fucinus,
where they made three thousand prisoners ; the rest of
the Volsci being obliged to take refuge within their
walled towns, and leave their country to be ravaged by
the enemy.

The dictator having finished this war in such a man-
ner, as made it appear that he had neglected no oppor-
tunity fortune put in his way, he returned to Rome with
more success than glory, and resigned his office. The
military tribunes, without the least mention of a consu-
lar comitia, very probably out of resentment because a
dictator had been created, proclaimed the assemblies
for the election of military tribunes. The fathers were
the more sensibly piqued at this proceeding, as they saw
themselves betrayed by their own party. Wherefore as
they had, the preceding year, created a disgust among
the Plebeians at the better sort of their order, by setting
up for candidates mere tatterdemalions, so now, having
prevailed with those of the Patricians who were most
eminent for the popularity and lustre of their families,
to appear as candidates, they secured all the places, and
gave not the least chance to a Plebeian. There were
four elected, who had all filled that office before, L.
Furius Medullinus, C. Valerius Potitus, Numerius Fa-

bis Vibulanus, and C. Servilius Ahala. The last was rewarded by being continued in his office, both in regard of his other virtues, and the favour he had lately acquired by his singular moderation.

CHAP. LVIII.

The people refuse their assent to a war with the Veientes.

THAT year, the truce with the Veientes being expired, heralds and commissioners were dispatched to demand satisfaction for injuries sustained. These heralds were met on the way, as they were approaching the marches, by an embassy from Veii. The embassy requested that they would proceed no farther, till they had an audience from the senate of Rome. The ministers of the Veientes obtained from the senate, that since their state laboured under all the calamities of civil dissensions, that satisfaction should be demanded of them. So far were they from taking advantage of the misfortunes of others to promote their own interest.

At this time the Romans met with a disaster in the country of the Volsci, in the loss of their garrison at Verugo, where a little time was of such consequence, that the garrison who were besieged by the Volsci, and had implored assistance, might have been relieved, had they been reinforced in time. The army sent for this purpose came only in time to retaliate on the enemy just as they had put the Roman garrison to the sword, and dispersed themselves with a design to plunder. The senate was more to blame in not hastening the troops, than the tribunes, because they were told that the garrison made a vigorous defence; never reflecting, that no courage whatever, can exceed the bounds of human force. These brave fellows sold their lives dear; and after their fall were severely revenged.

The following year had for military tribunes, the two Corneli Cossi, P. and Cn. Numerius, Fabius Ambustus and L. Valerius Potitus, when a motion was made to chastise the Veientes for the insolence of their senate in ordering the Roman ambassadors to be told, when they were demanding restitution, that if they did not imme-

diately leave the city and dominions of Veii, they would treat them as Lars Tolumnius had treated the Roman ambassadors on a former occasion.

The fathers could not put up with so daring an insult, and therefore decreed that the tribunes should forthwith lay before the people a motion for declaring war against the Vejētes. The moment this motion was mentioned in the assembly, the youth began to murmur, insisting, 'That the war with the Volsci was not finished; that it was but lately that two garrisons had been put to the sword, and though they had been since recovered, were not supported without danger: not a year passes without a battle: and yet, as if they had not toiled enough, we must begin a new war against powerful neighbours, who may engage all Etruria in their cause.'

Thus they talked of their own accord, and the tribunes did not fail to encourage them in their opposition, by representing, 'That the chief war they had to sustain was that which the senate carried on against the commons. That they were sent into the field only to be slaughtered, or to be kept at a distance, and in a manner banished from the city, that they might not, were they allowed repose at home, turn their minds upon liberty and colonies, or concerting measures for expediting the Agrarian law, and voting with freedom in their assemblies.' Then taking the veterans by the hand, counted the years they served, examined their wounds and scars, asking them whether they had yet any room for more wounds, or any more blood to spare to the Republic? By these arguments, which they took every opportunity to enlarge upon in private conversations and public assemblies, they prepossessed the people against the war, so that the bill was deferred to a future day; because it appeared plain, had it been proposed under so many prejudices, it must have been rejected.

CHAP. LIX.

Anxur taken and plundered by the Soldiers, who are appointed pay by a decree of the Senate.

IN the mean time, the military tribunes resolved to lead an army against the Volsci. Only Cn. Cornelius was left at Rome. The other three, finding that the Volsci had not encamped, and did not seem as if they would hazard a battle, divided their forces into three bodies, and laid waste the country on different sides. Valerius marched to Antium, and Cornelius to Ecetræ, pillaging the houses and country all the way, to amuse the Volsci. But Fabius, without stopping to plunder, marched directly to lay siege to Anxur, the principal object of the expedition. This was that Anxur, which was afterwards called Terracina. It was situated above a marsh, whence Fabius made a feint of carrying on his attack. Four cohorts were sent round, under the command of C. Servilius Ahala, to take possession of an eminence which overlooked the city: From this eminence, where the town was not defended, they made an attack upon the walls, with a prodigious clamour and noise, which quite confounded those who defended the lower part of the city against Fabius, and gave him an opportunity unobserved to prepare for a scalade. In a moment every corner was crowded with enemies: and for some time upon the walls, there was a great slaughter among those who fled, as well as those who fought, and among the armed and unarmed without distinction. Wherefore, the conquered having no hopes of quarter, even should they surrender, were driven by necessity to renew the fight, when all of a sudden it was published aloud, that none but such as were found in arms had any thing to fear, which determined the whole multitude to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion.

Two thousand five hundred were made prisoners; but the rest of the booty Fabius would not suffer to be touched, till his colleagues should come up, representing to his army, that they had also contributed their share in the taking of Anxur, in so far as they had prevented the other cities from coming to its relief. When they arriv-

ed, the three armies plundered the city together, which by a long train of prosperity, had now become opulent. This liberality of the generals, began a reconciliation between the people and the Patricians; but what completed it, was a decree of the senate, very seasonably obtained by means of the whole Patricians, without so much as a hint from the people or their tribunes, ordaining the soldiers to be paid out of the treasury, whereas before they had served the state at their own expence.

CHAP. LX.

Joy of the people on this occasion. Envy of the Tribunes.

NO circumstance, we are told, ever gave the people a more sensible pleasure, than the news of this decree of the senate. They ran in crowds from all quarters to the senate-house, and taking the senators by the hand as they came out, called them fathers, in every sense of the word: declaring, at the same time, that after such an instance of goodness, there was not a single citizen, who to the last moment of his life, would not be ready to expose himself to every danger, for so generous and beneficent a country. The people's satisfaction in this decree, did not only arise from the advantage it promised them, in having their estates liable to no expence, whilst they were personally engaged in the service of the public, but also because it was a voluntary deed of the senate, neither thought of by their tribunes, nor such a demand even surmised by themselves. It was this consideration which augmented their joy, and enhanced the value of the favour.

The tribunes of the people were the only persons who had no share in the general joy and harmony that reigned all over the city on this occasion. They insisted, that this was a stroke in politics, which would not be agreeable to all the fathers, nor would they find their account in it so much as they imagined. That at first sight, it had a specious appearance, but experience would shew it in a different point of view. For how could the money be raised, but by imposing a tax upon individuals? It was plain, therefore, that the senate was liberal at the expence of others. That though others

might wink at this innovation, those who had already served out their time, would never consent, that the condition of their successors should be better than theirs had been; or, that they who had already served their country at their own charge, should be saddled with a tax for the support of others.' Such speeches fit an impression with some, and the tribunes proclaimed, that they were ready to assist all those who were disposed to stand out against the tax for the pay of the soldiers.

The fathers, however, were determined to persevere supporting so laudable an undertaking, and were the first to pay in their contributions: and because they had as yet no silver coin, some sent carriages loaded with brass to the treasury, which gave their contingents a magnificent appearance. When the senators had paid their respective quotas, with the utmost impartiality, agreeable to their valuations, the principal Plebeians, who were in friendship with the nobility, as had been concerted, began to pay in their assessments; and when the lower Plebeians observed how much they were commended by the senators, and respected as good citizens by the soldiers, all at once despising the assistance of the tribunes, he was the best man who paid first. The bill was now passed for declaring war against the Veientes; and the new military tribunes led an army against Veii, the greatest part of which consisted of volunteers.

CHAP. LXI.

Artena taken, the Fort having been betrayed by a slave.

THE military tribunes this year, were T. Quinctius Capitolinus, P. Quinctius Cincinnatus, C. Julius Iulus, a second time, A. Manlius, L. Furius Medullinus, a second time, and Manius Æmilius Mamercinus, who first invested Veii. About the commencement of this siege, the states of Etruria held a general council at the temple of Voltumna, to consider whether they should make the siege of Veii a common cause, but it does not appear that they came to any resolution. The siege, in the year following, was carried on with still less vigour than at first, part of the tribunes and the armies they commanded, having been called off to a war with the Volsci.

C. Valerius Potitus, for the third time, Manius Sergius Fidenas, P. Cornelius Maluginensis, Cn. Cornelius Cossus, Cæso Fabius Ambustus, and Sp. Nautius Rutilus a second time, were elected military tribunes with consular power for this year. The Volsci gave them an opportunity of coming to an action with them, between Ferentinum and Ecetra, in which the Romans had the advantage; after which, the military tribunes formed the siege of Artena, a town belonging to the Volsci, where the besieged having attempted a sally, were driven back to the city, with such precipitation, that the Romans had an opportunity of entering with them pell mell, and of taking every thing but the castle, into which, as it was naturally strong, a body of armed men had thrown themselves. Under this fortress many were put to the sword, and many fell into the hands of the victors. The fort itself was then besieged: but to storm it would have been impracticable, being, for the extent of the place, sufficiently defended, and there could be no hopes of a surrender, as all the corn in the public magazines had been conveyed thither, before the town was taken, so that at last, the Romans must have been so tired out as to have raised the siege, had not a slave betrayed the fort into their hands. The soldiers having been admitted by his means, through a very intricate passage, took the place, and having put the guards to the sword, the rest of the garrison were all at once so struck with terror, that they immediately surrendered at discretion. The city and citadel were both demolished, and the legions withdrawn from the Volscian territory, to push on the siege of Veii, with all the force the Romans could muster.

The slave, besides his liberty, had the effects of two families assigned him, as the reward of his treason. He was called the Roman Servius. Some think, that this Artena belonged to the Veientes, and not the Volsci. A city of the same name, situated between Cære and Veii, leads them into this mistake; but this Artena was destroyed by the Roman kings, and besides, was not the property of the Veientes, but of the Cæretes. This other Artena, the destruction whereof hath been just now described, lay in the territory of the Volsci.

TITUS LIVIUS'
ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE REDUCTION OF VEII.—BANISHMENT AND
RECALL OF CAMILLUS.—DESCENT OF THE GAULS.—DE-
STRUCTION OF ROME.—RESTORATION BY CAMILLUS.

CHAP. I.

War with the Veientes. A. R. 350.

WHILST all around were in peace, the Romans and Veientes were at war, which they prosecuted with such a spirit of hatred and revenge, that it appeared the war must terminate in the dissolution of the conquered. The assemblies for the election of magistrates in these two states, acted upon principles entirely different. The Romans increased the number of their military tribunes, eight being elected this year, which never happened before; namely, Manius Æmilius Mamercinus, a second time, L. Valerius Potitus, a third time, Ap. Claudius Crassus, M. Quinctilius, L. Julius Julus, M. Posthumius, M. Camillus, M. Posthumius Albinus.* The Veientes, on the contrary, tired out with the annual intrigues about elections, which sometimes laid the foundation of civil broils, chose a king to rule over them.

* The two last were censors, not military tribunes, according to the Capitoline marbles.

This proceeding gave great offence to the other state of Etruria, who not only had an aversion to monarchy, but a particular dislike to this king. His person and pride had formerly rendered him odious to the people, in having violently interrupted the yearly games, any intermission in which was reckoned criminal. He had stood candidate for the office of high-priest, and by the suffrage of the twelve Lucumonies, saw another preferred; in resentment of which affront, he took an opportunity, when the games were at the height, to call off actors at a moment's warning, of which the greatest part were his own slaves. For this reason, the Etrurians, of all the nations the most superstitious, and the most precise in the observance of every religious rite, were determined to suffer the Veientes to stand on their own legs, whilst they were subject to a king. The accounts of this resolution were suppressed at Veii for fear of the king, who would have treated the retailer of such intelligence as a disturber of the peace, whatever authority he had for the report he circulated. The Romans were not without intelligence, that all was quiet in Etruria; yet as they had been advised that this affair had been debated in all their councils, they raised fortifications to have a double effect, and fronting different ways, to secure themselves against the city, and the sallies of the besieged, and to prevent any succours that might come from Etruria.

CHAP. II.

A Winter Campaign determined on, and opposed by the Tribunes.

THE Roman generals, thinking it would be more practicable to starve the city by a blockade, than to carry it by assault, ordered barracks to be built to defend them from the rigour of the season, a thing absolutely unknown to the Roman soldiery, as they were determined to continue the war during the winter. When the noise of this resolution reached Rome, the tribunes, who had been long at a loss for materials to raise a combustion, immediately repaired to the assembly, with a view to exasperate the people; representing, 'That they might now

see pretty plainly, what were the views in the pay granted to the soldiers; that they had not been deceived, when they asserted, that with this instance of generosity from their enemies, was conveyed a secret poison.—That they had received it in exchange for their liberty.—That the youth were removed and banished from the city and public affairs for good and all; and without regard to the rigour of the season, were to be kept in the field all the winter, without the liberty of visiting their families or looking into their own affairs. And after all, what reason can be assigned for continuing the campaign? Why, that the youth in whom the strength of the people consists, may be prevented from doing any thing in full assemblies, for their common interest. That besides, they were subjected to much more fatigue, and had greater hardships to encounter, than the Veientes, who, whilst they defended their town, which was secured by excellent walls, and the natural strength of its situation, passed the winter in their own houses: whereas, the Roman soldiers, amidst toil and hardships, were exposed to frost and snow, were obliged to lie in tents, without laying aside their arms, even during the winter, a season of rest and respite from war, all the world over. A yoke of servitude, which neither the kings, nor before the existence of tribunitian power, the consuls, haughty as they were, nor the despotism of a dictator, nor even the cruelty of the decemvirs, had ever imposed; which the military tribunes now exercise without mercy over the commons of Rome, in obliging them to serve in the field, the whole year round. What then would they do, were the consuls, or dictators, who being only invested with the shadow of consular dignity, to lord it with such tyrannical rigour? But even in this circumstance, there is hardly any room for complaint; among eight military tribunes, there was not a place for a single Plebeian. That formerly the Patricians, without a very hard struggle, could not fill up three of these places; but now eight at a time jump at once into power, and yet among all that number, a single Plebeian could not be smuggled in, who, if good for nothing else, might have put his colleagues in mind, that

‘ the soldiers were not slaves, but freemen and fellow-citizens, who ought at least, during the winter, to be permitted to return to their houses and families, in order that once in the year, they might see their fathers, wives, and children, enjoy their liberty, and give their voice in the election of magistrates.’

Whilst the tribunes were exclaiming in this manner, they found an antagonist in Appius Claudius, who had been left by his colleagues, for the purpose of opposing the seditious attempts of the tribunes, being highly qualified for the task: for from his youth he had been trained to contend with the Plebeians, and had advised, some years before this, as we had occasion to observe, to blunt the edge of tribunitian power, by opposing it to itself.

CHAP. III.

Appius enters the lists with the Tribunes.

APPIUS, who was remarkable for quickness of conception, which too was greatly improved by his practice, spoke to the following effect: ‘ If ever, gentlemen, there was a doubt, whether it was to promote your interest, or their own, that your tribunes are still on the watch to raise seditions in the state, I am certain this year must have cleared up every difficulty on that score. And whilst I rejoice, that there is now an end of the wild tedious goose-chase they have led you, I congratulate you, and the republic on your account, that your prosperity hath, in a very peculiar manner, contributed to open your eyes. Is it not evident to all the world, that your tribunes were never so sensibly touched with any injuries you ever received, if indeed you ever received any, as with the generosity of the senate to the people, in appointing them pay, whilst employed in the service of the republic? What else, do you imaginē, could have alarmed them at that time, or what is it they would wish to disturb now, but all union between the two orders of the state, as being entirely repugnant to their seditious views? Like rascally quack doctors, by Hercules, they hatch employment for themselves. Their desire was to see some

‘ disease constantly prevailing in the state, that you
‘ might always have recourse to them for a cure. But,
‘ tribunes, whether do you profess to be the people’s
‘ protectors, or their enemies? Are you advocates for,
‘ or against the soldiers? Perhaps you will tell me,
‘ that every act of the senators, whether for, or against
‘ the interest of the commons, you are determined to
‘ dislike: and as masters did not suffer their slaves to
‘ have any intercourse with their neighbours, that they
‘ might neither be well or ill used by them, so you will
‘ not suffer the commons to have any intercourse with
‘ the nobles, lest by our complaisance and generosity,
‘ we should secure their attachment, and lest they, on
‘ the other hand, should shew their regard, in their obe-
‘ dience to our orders. How much more then should it
‘ be your study, suppose you had no regard for the state,
‘ if you had but the least spark of humanity remaining,
‘ to use your utmost endeavours, to promote this reci-
‘ procal complaisance and compliance between the se-
‘ nate and people? For, should this harmony be per-
‘ manent, who would not venture to promise, that this
‘ our empire would soon be the most respectable of all
‘ around us?

CHAP. IV.

Appius in continuation.

IN the sequel of my discourse, I shall show how much
‘ the resolution of my colleagues, not to withdraw the
‘ troops from before Veii, till it is taken, is not only ex-
‘ pedient, but necessary: at present only permit me to
‘ speak with regard to the condition of the troops there.
‘ And I am convinced, were I to speak, not only to
‘ you, but in the camp, where the soldiers themselves
‘ would be my judges, I should infallibly have their
‘ approbation. For, were my own ingenuity to furnish
‘ me with nothing new to advance in this affair, I
‘ should think myself at no loss, when I can confute my
‘ opponents from what they themselves have advanced.
‘ It was but lately that they insisted that the soldiers
‘ ought to have no pay now, because they had none
‘ before. How then can they be offended now, when

those who have got an extraordinary emolument, are taxed with an adequate service? There will be no great exertions without a view of returns, nor much profit without a great deal of pains. Pain and pleasure, however contrary in their nature, seem to have an intimate connection with each other. The soldier, in former times, grudged excessively to serve the public at his own charge, whilst, with pleasure, he employed a part of the year in cultivating his farm, to get a subsistence for his family at home, and for himself when he took the field. He is now happy in the reflection, that the public must support him, and receives his pay with pleasure. As he is at no great expence, he can bear with patience to be kept a little longer from his family, and family affairs. Besides, were the republic to reckon with him, it might justly be urged, you are paid for a year's service, why would you scruple to serve out your year? Do you think it would be reasonable to exact full pay, for half service? It is with reluctance, gentlemen, that I touch upon these things. These are arguments proper only to be used with mercenary troops. With you, we would wish to act as with fellow citizens, and think it but reasonable you act with us, as with your native country. Either we should not have undertaken this war, or we should certainly support it in a manner worthy the Roman people, and bring it to a conclusion, as quickly as possible. This we can accomplish, if we press the besieged with vigour, and not quit the siege, till we have crowned our hopes, by making ourselves masters of the city. If we had no other motive for our perseverance, by Hercules, the shame of raising the blockade, ought to be more than sufficient. For the sake of one woman, a city, in former times, was besieged for the space of ten years, by the united power of Greece; and pray, how far were they from home? What countries, what seas intervened? Shall we then scruple to carry on a siege for twelve months, within twenty miles; nay, almost within sight of Rome? It cannot be alledged, that the cause of the war is a trifling affair, or that we had not a sufficient provocation to persist in the prosecution of it. Seven times have they renewed hostilities. In time of peace they never

kept their faith. A thousand times have they ravaged our lands : at their instigation, the Fidenates revolted : they butchered the colonies we had planted at Fidenæ : it was they who, contrary to the law of nations, caused our ambassadors to be assassinated. They have endeavoured to arm all Etruria against us, nor have they yet given over their intrigues. Nay, they were within an ace of offering violence to our ambassadors, when they were demanding satisfaction for dangers sustained.

CHAP. V.

Appius in continuation.

ARE these the enemies we should treat with lenity ? have they any title to be indulged with a respite ? But, suppose all these motives, forcible as they are, were to go for nothing, will not these which follow, have some weight with you ? Their city is surrounded with considerable works, which keep them shut up within their walls. Their lands either ly without cultivation, or are totally ruined by the war. Were we to take off our army, the consequence is evident ; prompted by a desire of revenge, and still more by necessity, which the losses they have sustained lay them under to plunder, will they not immediately retaliate upon us ? Were we to listen to your tribunes, we would not remove the war, but draw it home into our own country. And after all, what are these peculiar advantages, which these good tribunes would substitute, in place of pay to the soldiers, of which they would wish to deprive them ? The soldiers, with immense labour, have drawn a ditch and rampart through a large tract of ground. On these, at first, they only raised a few forts, but since the army has been reinforced, they have multiplied them prodigiously. They have erected redoubts, not only against the town, but against Etruria also, to prevent the aid which might be sent from thence. Why need I men-

' tion towers*, galleries†, mantalets‡, and all the other
 ' engines used in sieges? After we have bestowed so
 ' much labour, and brought our works to such perfec-
 ' tion; say, do you think it would be prudent to aban-
 ' don them now, that we may go the same round of
 ' sweat and labour to replace them at the opening of
 ' the summer campaign? Is it not much more easy to
 ' defend the works already constructed, to push on the
 ' siege with vigour and firmness, till we accomplish our
 ' designs? It cannot be a matter of long standing, if
 ' we go on without interruption, and do not ourselves
 ' frustrate our hopes, by our own delays and remissness.
 ' I only speak of the labour we must undergo, and the
 ' time we must lose. But this is not all. By protracting
 ' the war, we expose ourselves to a much greater dan-
 ' ger. Do we sit down without the least concern, whilst
 ' the states of Etruria meet so frequently, to deliberate
 ' on sending aid to Veii? As matters now stand, they
 ' are disgusted with the Veientes, they hate them, and
 ' will not interpose for their relief. Nay, for them, we
 ' may take Veii when we can; but, who can divine, if
 ' we intermit our operations, that they will be of the
 ' same mind some time hence? Only give them a little
 ' respite, and you will see how their embassies will be
 ' reiterated and redoubled. The circumstance of esta-
 ' blishing monarchy at Veii, which alone gives umbrage
 ' to the Etrurians, may change in an instant, either by
 ' the general consent of the state, to reinstate them into
 ' favour with the Etrurians, or by a voluntary resigna-
 ' tion in the king himself, who may not be willing that
 ' his sovereignty should interfere with the good of his
 ' country. Only consider seriously, the train of evils

* They were made of wood, to move on four, or more wheels,
 placed within them so as not to be seen. They consisted of ten or
 more stories, as occasion required, and closely floored. They con-
 tained the cranes, scaling-ladders, &c. and brought them up to
 the walls.

† These were made of rafters, and were eight feet high, seven
 broad, and sixteen long. They were roofed with planks and hur-
 dles; their sides were wickered with twigs, and covered with raw
 hides. They moved on secret wheels, like the towers.

‡ They moved also on secret wheels, but their roofs and fronts
 were sloped; they were used in digging or filling up trenches, le-
 velling and bringing up the battering rams to the walls.

that must be consequent on the measures prescribed by your tribunes. The loss of works constructed with so much labour, the impending devastation of our country, and all Etruria about our ears, in place of the single state of Veii. These, tribunes, are your wise maxims, very like the prescriptions of an empiric by Jove, who by administering palatable meat and drink to his patient, lengthens out the disease, and perhaps renders it incurable, whereas by the application of stronger medicines, he might have quickly recovered.

CHAP. VI.

Appius in Continuation.

SUPPOSE a winter campaign were not essential indeed to the success of the present war, it must certainly be of the highest importance with respect to military discipline, to accustom the soldiers, not only to enjoy the victories they acquire, but also, when obstacles come in the way, not to be overcome by their continuance, but wait the issue of their hopes, though it may be deferred beyond their expectation; to continue the war during the winter, if it cannot be ended in summer, and not, like birds of passage, look round for houses and a safe retreat, as soon as autumn comes on. Shall keenness for sport, and the pleasure of hunting, pray, draw men over mountains and through forests, amidst frost and snow; and shall we not shew the same patience in a necessary war, that we chuse to discover in our sport and parties of pleasure?—Do we believe that our soldiers are so soft and enervated, either in body or mind, that they cannot stand a single winter in the camp, nor stay so long from home? Like those who carry on a war by sea, must they watch the changes of the weather, and observe seasons, being incapable of bearing heat or cold? Were any one to tell them so, they would certainly be put to the blush, and answer with indignation, that they were effeminate neither in mind nor body; and to them a winter's campaign was no greater hardship than a summer's; that they never commissioned the tribunes to be advocates for their cowardice and effeminacy; and that they

‘ had forgot, it was not in the shade, nor under the roof,
‘ that their ancestors had established the tribunitian
‘ power. These are sentiments worthy your soldiers,
‘ worthy of the Roman name: not to have a view only
‘ to the siege of Veii, nor to the war we are carrying on
‘ at present, but to regard the establishment of our repu-
‘ tation, for other wars, and other enemies, in time to
‘ come. Do you think that a judgment will not be
‘ formed of us from our behaviour on this occasion? And
‘ that it is a matter of indifference, whether the neigh-
‘ bouring nations have reason to conclude, that if a city
‘ can only sustain the first ardour of the Romans, which
‘ is of no long duration, there would be nothing more to
‘ fear? Will it not establish the terror of the Roman
‘ name, when it is remarked, that neither the long con-
‘ tinuance of a tedious siege, nor the rigours of winter,
‘ can induce a Roman army to give up a place they
‘ have once invested; that they have not yet learned to
‘ put an end to a war, in any other way, than by vic-
‘ tory; and that they value themselves as much upon
‘ their perseverance, as their impetuosity, in their at-
‘ tacks? Perseverance is necessary in every kind of war
‘ whatever, but in sieges indispensably so; because most
‘ cities are rendered impregnable by fortifications and
‘ their natural situation, they require time, and to be in
‘ want of the necessaries of life, to compel them to a
‘ surrender. This will be the case with Veii, if the tri-
‘ bunes of the people go not over to the side of the ene-
‘ my, and give the Veientes that assistance at Rome,
‘ which they look for in vain in Etruria. Could any
‘ thing have happened more to the wishes of the Vejen-
‘ tes, than to see Rome first, and then the camp, having
‘ caught the infection, torn in pieces by divisions? Such,
‘ at the same time, upon honour, is the firmness of the
‘ Veientes, that not even the pressures of a long siege,
‘ nor the burthen of a new king, have brought about
‘ the least disturbance among them. The refusal of aid
‘ from Etruria has not excited them to mutiny. To at-
‘ tempt a sedition there, would be punished with imme-
‘ diate death; no man dares mutter *there*, what *you* speak
‘ out with impunity. Whoever deserts his colours, or
‘ abandons his post, is sure of the bastinado. But here,
‘ they who advise, not one or two soldiers, but whole

armies, to quit the colours, and leave the camp in a body, in our assemblies, are listened to with attention; nay, whatever a tribune of the people, is pleased to advance, were it to betray your country, and sink the commonwealth, him you accustom yourselves to hear with patience. Infatuated with the charms of the power of your tribunes, you suffer the grossest crimes to ly concealed under it. It only remains for them to carry the same spirit of revolt into the camp, which they are labouring to foment in your assemblies, and by their seditious harangues, corrupt the army, and teach them to be disobedient to their officers. For such now is the complexion of liberty at Rome, that to disregard the senate, the magistrates, the laws, the customs of our ancestors, the regulations of the fathers, and all military discipline whatever, passes for spirit.

CHAP. VII.

*The works of Veii in flames;—repaired by the Romans.—
Extraordinary unanimity between the Orders.*

APPIUS was already a match for the tribunes in their own assemblies, when the news of a loss at Veii, which nobody could have dreamed, would have produced such an effect, all at once turned the scale entirely in his favour, cemented more strongly the orders of the state, and inspired them with new ardour for pushing the siege with more vigour than ever.

For when they had raised a mount * near the town and had only to fix the galleries to the walls; as the Romans were more intent on carrying on their works by day, than guarding them in the night, a port was opened all of a sudden, whence multitudes sallied out armed with lighted torches, and set fire to the works. In an instant, these works, which had taken so long a time in the construction, were all in flames; and numbers, who endeavoured to extinguish them, lost their labour, and their lives into the bargain, either by the fire, or the sword.

* The Agger was made of fascines, stones and earth, composed of ballisters crossing each other in form of a *Lattice*; its height was short of the walls, as it had wooden towers upon it, overtopping them.

When the news of this disaster reached Rome, the feelings of every citizen were discernible in their looks, and the senate was greatly concerned, from an apprehension, that it would be impossible to prevent a sedition in the city as well as in the camp, for the tribunes would not fail to crow over the commonwealth, as on a victory obtained. But instantly those who, by their valuation, were in the rank of knights, though they had not horses assigned them by the public, having previously concerted among themselves, applied directly to the senate; and having obtained an audience, offered to equip themselves at their own expence, for the public service. For this generous office, the senate thanked them in the politest terms; and the news being circulated through the forum and the city, brought the people, in a moment, to the senate-house by the lump; declaring that they were of that order which now served on foot; and though it was out of their turn, that they were ready to serve at Veii, or wherever the senate should be pleased to lead them; at the same time, were they led to Veii, they declared that they would not return before that city was taken.

The joy excited by a proposal so generous, was excessive. The people were not ordered the thanks of the house to be returned by the magistrates, as had been done with respect to the knights; nor were any of them called into the senate-house, to hear their answer? The senators could not keep within doors; but out they ran, and from an eminence, every one in particular, by his words and gestures, expressed to the multitude that were standing below in the comitium, the general gladness and exultation; such unanimity, they cried out, would render Rome happy,—invincible,—eternal. They praised the knights, they praised the commons: nay, they extolled the day,—the glorious day! They acknowledged the senate was now outdone in kindness and benevolence. The two orders seemed to vie with each other in weeping tears of joy, till at length the fathers were called back into the house, where they enacted, that 'The military tribunes should, in an assembly of the people, return thanks to both horse and foot, in name of the Republic, and assure them that the senate would never forget the regard they had shewn their country on this occasion; and, moreover, ordered that all the

‘volunteers should receive pay, as if they had been levied in form.’

On this occasion too, a certain pay was instituted for the horse; and it was at this time that the cavalry in general began to receive pay out of the treasury. The new army of volunteers were conducted to Veii; the works that had been destroyed by the enemy were not only restored, but new ones constructed. Provisions were conveyed from the city with more care and diligence than ever, that nothing necessary might be wanting to an army that deserved so well of the Republic.

CHAP. VIII.

The Falisci and Veientes support Veii, and beat the Romans. Misunderstanding of the Generals. A. R. 351.

THE military tribunes, for the following year, were C. Servilius Ahala, for the third time; Q. Servilius, L. Virginus, Q. Sulpicius, A. Manlius, a second time, and Manius Sergius, a second time also. Whilst those tribunes were totally intent upon the war with the Veientes, by the negligence of the governor of the fort at Anxur, in giving furloughs to the soldiers, and admitting the Volscian merchants without reserve, the centinels at the gates were betrayed, and the fort surprised. Few of the garrison fell in it; as all of them but such as were sick, followed the business of sutlers in the adjacent country and neighbouring towns. Neither did they succeed better at Veii, where the whole care of the public centered. For the Roman generals hated one another more heartily than they did the enemy; besides that the sudden appearance of the Capenates and Falisci had rendered the Veientes more formidable.

These two Etrurian nations were not without their fears, that were Veii to fall, they would be the next whom the Romans would attack, as lying most contiguous for that purpose. The Falisci had laid themselves open to the resentment of the Romans, by taking part, on a former occasion, with the Fidenates, when at war with the Republic; and now having sent deputies up and down among the neighbouring states, they bound themselves

by an oath, and marched with their armies to Veii, when least expected. They happened to attack that quarter of the camp where Manius Sergius commanded, and caused the greatest terror and dismay; for the Romans were persuaded that all Etruria was up in arms, and had already arrived in prodigious numbers. The same opinion prevailed among the besieged in the city, and encouraged them to make a sally.—Thus was the Roman camp assaulted on both sides, and whilst they ran up and down, charging here and there, they could neither keep back the Veientes within their fortifications, nor defend their own lines, so as to repel the enemy on the outside.

The only resource they had, was in the hopes of assistance from the greater camp, as some of the legions might make head against the Capenates and Falisci, whilst others withstood the sallies of the townsmen; but Virginius, between whom and Sergius there was a secret misunderstanding, had the command of that camp. When he was told, that most part of their redoubts were attacked, their lines broke through, and the enemy advancing on both sides, he kept his troops under arms, saying at the same time, that if there was any need of assistance, his colleague would certainly send him word.

The arrogance of the one, was equalled by the obstinacy of the other, who scorned to ask assistance from one he hated, and chose rather to be defeated by the enemy, than be obliged to his fellow citizen for victory. For a considerable time, the troops, thus charged on both sides, suffered exceedingly; at last having abandoned their works, a very few escaped to the grand camp, the greatest part, with Sergius himself, having made the best of their way to Rome. As he laid the whole blame on his colleague, Virginius was sent for, and the command given to their lieutenants during their absence. The affair was laid before the senate, when the two colleagues ran into invectives against each other. Few of the senators consulted the public interest upon this occasion, but stood up in defence of one or other of the delinquents, as private friendship or favour determined them.

CHAP. IX.

Suspension of the old, and election of new Magistrates.

THE principal of the senate were of opinion, that they ought not to wait for the usual time of elections, but instantly proceed to the election of new military tribunes, who should enter upon office on the first of October. The opinion met with general approbation; nor did the other military tribunes make the least objection. But Sergius and Virginus, on whose account alone, it was evident the senate were displeased with that year's magistrates, first intreated that they might not be disgraced, and at last entered a protest against the decree of the senate, declaring they would not quit their office till the thirteenth of December, the usual time for the election of new magistrates.

During these disputes, the tribunes of the people, who, much against their inclination, had been quiet, whilst harmony prevailed, and the affairs of the republic were in a prosperous train; began all of a sudden to assume an imperious tone, and threatened the military tribunes with instant imprisonment, if they did not obey the orders of the senate. Then C. Servilius Ahala, tribune of the soldiers, addressing himself to the tribunes: 'As to you and your menaces,' said he, 'I should not be displeased with an opportunity of proving, that you have not more courage to execute, than right to threaten, But the decrees of the senate must be obeyed. Wherefore, tribunes, let us have no more of your interfering in our disputes, to make that a pretence for doing injustice; and my colleagues shall submit themselves to the pleasure of the senate, or if they should persist in being refractory, I shall instantly name a dictator, who will know how to oblige them to quit their office.'

This discourse was applauded by the whole assembly, the senators being very much pleased, that a more certain and consistent method was found out for keeping magistrates in order, than the thunder of the tribunitian power. Sergius and Virginus being thus reduced to obedience, the military tribunes, with common consent, held the Comitia, and elected successors, who were to

enter upon office the first of October, previous to which they gave in their own resignation.

CHAP. X.

Exertions of the Tribunes to prevent Levies and payment of Taxes.

DURING the administration of L. Valerius Potitus, a fourth, M. Furius Camillus, Manius Æmilius Mamercinus, a third, Curius Cornelius Cossus, a second time, Cæso Fabius Ambustus, and L. Julius Julus, who were elected military tribunes with consular power, at this time, there was sufficient business both at home and abroad. Wars were multiplied upon their hands, all at the same time, with the Veientes, the Capenates, the Falisci, and the Volsci, in order to recover Anxur. Moreover at Rome, they had no small difficulty in making the levies and collecting the taxes. The co-optation of two tribunes, became another bone of contention, and the trial of the two military tribunes, who had just divested themselves of consular power, raised no small contention.

To raise the levies however, was the first business of the military tribunes. Nor were the young men only inrolled, but the old were also obliged to give in their names, to serve as a city guard. The more numerous the levies, the more money became necessary for their pay, which, as it fell upon those who remained at home, it was paid with no good will, as they too did the duty of soldiers, and served the state, when they acted in quality of city guards.

These things sufficiently hard in themselves, were greatly aggravated by the seditious harangues of the tribunes, who insisted, that pay had been established for the soldiers, with no other view, but to ruin one half of the citizens by the hardships of war, and the other, by impositions they were not able to support. 'Why,' pursued they, 'one war has already been spun out to the third year, and designedly mismanaged, to protract it still longer. At one single levy, armies have been raised for four separate wars, and both boys and old men mustered to complete them. Now, they no longer make any difference between winter and summer ;

‘ —No rest at all for the poor Plebeians, who after all
 ‘ their other hardships, are now taxed, although they had
 ‘ brought back nothing from the wars, but bodies worn
 ‘ out with fatigue, wounds, and old age; and at home,
 ‘ found their farms uncultivated through the long absence
 ‘ of their owners; and yet, notwithstanding the ruinous
 ‘ state of their affairs, tribute they must pay. Thus does
 ‘ the pay of the army return accumulated to the state, as
 ‘ if it had been let out at interest.’

Besides the levies, taxes, and other cases of more importance, at the election of the Plebeian tribunes, the number could not be completed. The Patricians struggled hard to get some of their order co-opted to fill up the vacant places; and when they failed in that attempt, they carried that two Plebeians, C. Lacerius, and M. Acutius, should be elected, and that no doubt, by means of their own influence, for the purpose of invalidating the tribonian law.

CHAP. XI.

Prosecution of Sergius and Virginus.

AMONG those who had been chosen, there happened to be one Trebonius, who believed that nothing less was due to his name and family, than the defence of a law instituted by one of his ancestors. He exclaimed, ‘ That
 ‘ the military tribunes had extorted what some of the
 ‘ Patricians had sued for in vain, as they had found in
 ‘ their first attempt; that the Trebonian law was infringed, and a co-option of tribunes effected, not by the
 ‘ suffrages of the people, but by the authority of the
 ‘ Patricians, and the matter was now come to that pass, that the tribunes of the commons were either actually
 ‘ Patricians, or their creatures. The sacred laws were
 ‘ prostituted, and the power of the tribunes trampled under foot: and he insisted all these were owing to the
 ‘ fraudulent practices of the Patricians, and the wickedness and treachery of his colleagues.’

Whilst not only the senators, but even the tribunes, the co-opted as well as the elected, had incurred the odium of the people, these of the college, P. Curatius, M. Mitilius, and M. Minutius, afraid of losing their in-

terest, to divert the public odium from themselves, run open mouthed against Sergius and Virginus, the military tribunes of the former year, and cited them to take their trial.

They made open proclamation, ' That to such as groaned under the burdea of taxes, levies, a tedious campaign, and the prolongation of the war; who lamented the loss of their children, brothers, kinsmen, and friends, that fatal day at Veii, they offered a fair occasion to avenge themselves and the public, upon the heads of two persons, Sergius and Virginus, who were equally culpable and responsible for all the misfortunes that had happened. Nor did this appear more evidently from the indictment laid against them by the prosecutor, than the confession of the criminals, who being equally conscious each of his own guilt, had laid the blame upon one another, Virginus reproaching Sergius with cowardice, and Sergius retorting on Virginus, his treachery. That it was impossible they could have acted a part so shamefully inconsistent, without the concurrence of the fathers, who were in concert, and equally fraudulent with them. With a view to protract the war, they had before that time given the Veientes an opportunity of setting fire to their works; that now they had sacrificed the army, and delivered up the Roman camp to the Falisci. That their whole plan was to keep the youth, till they grew gray, before Veii, that the tribunes might not have it in their power to bring in a bill about the partition of lands, or any thing else respecting the interest of the commons, as they had not a sufficient number of citizens to support their bills, and make head against the intrigues of the nobles. That these delinquents had sentence already passed against them by the senate, the Roman people, and by their own colleagues. For by a decree of the senate, they were set aside as magistrates, and when they refused to abdicate in terms of that order, they were compelled to do it by their colleagues, for fear of a dictator. Nor was this all, for the Roman people proceeded to make a new election, not as usual, on the 13th of December, but instantly on the 1st of October; because, had they continued any longer in office, this republic must have sunk at once.

‘ And yet these men, convicted and damned as they have been before so many tribunals, have the assurance to appear before the people, expecting to be acquitted, imagining they have been sufficiently punished in losing the fasces two months before the time. They do not seem to know the difference between disarming them for fear of further mischief and punishing them for what they have done.’ Were not their colleagues broke who had committed no fault? Upon this occasion, the Romans ought to recal those dispositions they felt on their late defeat, when they saw their army covered with wounds, flying, affrighted, and falling down at the gates of Rome, accusing not fortune, nor the gods, but these two generals. They may rest assured, that there is not a soul in this assembly, who that day did not heartily curse and detest L. Virginus and M. Sergius, their families, and all that belonged to them. Is it fit then, that after invoking the gods to punish these criminals, that they should receive the least indulgence from those who have them in their power, which they ought to exert against them? For the gods are never the executors of vengeance themselves; it is enough that they furnish the injured with an opportunity of revenge.’

CHAP. XII.

Sergius and Virginus condemned. A Plebeian elected to the military Tribuneship for the first time

THE people, irritated by these harangues, condemned the criminals, each in a fine of 10,000 asses of brass,* nor would give any ear to Sergius’s plea, of the chance and fortune of war, nor to Virginus’s intreaty, not to render him more unhappy at home than he had been in the field. The resentment of the people being turned totally against these two generals, quite cancelled the remembrance of the co-optation of tribunes, and of the treacherous attempt upon the Trebonian law. The tribunes, after this victory, to give the people an immediate return for their sentence, published the Agrarian law, and forbade

* £ 32 : 5 : 9½.

the tax to be collected, although they had so many armies to support, and their military affairs were in so successful a train, that they were like to come to a conclusion, without the effusion of blood. For the camp which had been lost before Veii, was recovered and secured by guards and redoubts. The tribunes, M. Æmilius and Cæso Fabius, commanded there. M. Furius led an army against the Falisci, and Cu. Cornelius against the Capenates, but not an enemy appeared; however, they carried off a considerable booty, and laid waste the country, by burning their villages and consuming their corn, without meddling with their towns, either to assault or besiege them.

Having plundered the lands of the Volsci, they attempted to take Anxur by storm, but as its situation was high, they were disappointed, and began to turn the siege into a blockade, by surrounding it with a moat and rampart. The province of the Volsci had fallen to Valerius Potitus. Whilst these military affairs were in this train, an intestine division gave them much more trouble than all the foreign wars in which they were engaged. As the tribunes would not suffer the tax to be levied, and consequently no remittances having been made to the commanders, the soldiers became importunate for their pay, which almost had diffused the seditious sentiments throughout the camp which raged in the city.

Whilst the people were in this passion with the fathers, the tribunes of the people represented, that now was the time for establishing their liberty, and transferring the honours of the state from such wretches as Sergius and Virginus, to bold and manly Plebeians. However, they went no farther, than just to ascertain their right, by electing one of their order, P. Licinius Calvus, to the dignity of military tribune, with consular power: the rest were all Patricians, viz. P. Mænius, L. Titinius, P. Mælius, L. Furius Medullinus, and L. Publius Volscus.

The people, as well as the man of their choice, were really amazed that they had carried so great a point. Licinius had never borne any public office before, only he was an ancient senator, and now a very old man. It does not appear from what motives he was pitched on to be the first, and the properest person to fill this ho-

nourable station. Some believe that it was in compliment to his brother Cn. Cornelius, who had been military tribune the year before, and had given triple pay to the soldiers. Others ascribe it to a very seasonable speech, in which he recommended unanimity to both orders, and had the thanks of senate and people. The tribunes elated with this victory at the election, passed from their opposition to the tax, which had greatly clogged the wheels of government. Wherefore, the money was collected without any trouble, and remitted to the army.

CHAP. XIII.

An epidemical distemper. Introduction of the Lectisternium. Defeat of the Falisci, Capenates, &c.

ANXUR, in the country of the Volsci, was soon after retaken, owing to the negligence of the city guards upon a holiday. This year was remarkable for the severity of the winter, and a prodigious fall of snow; insomuch that the roads were impassable, and the river quite frozen up. It had no influence, however, with respect to provisions, as a sufficient stock had been laid in before. As P. Licinius had obtained his office without noise, and with greater joy on the part of the people, than vexation on the part of the senate, so he executed it without offence to either: which engaged the commons in a peculiar manner to raise Plebeians to the military tribuneship, next election.

Of all the Patricians who offered their service, none was accepted but M. Veturius. The centuries in general voted Plebeians for the remaining places of military tribunes, with consular power; namely, M. Pomponius, C. Duilius, Volero Publilius, Cn. Genutius, and L. Atilius. Whether it was owing to the intemperance of the air, changing suddenly from cold to heat, or to some other cause, the severe winter was succeeded by a summer gross and pestiferous to all kinds of animals. As no prescription was effectual in removing a distemper that seemed incurable, the senate ordered the Sibylline books to be consulted.

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The duumvirs, who had the care of performing the sacred rites, instituted the Lectisternium,* for the first time at Rome, and continued the festival for eight days, having spread three beds, with all the pomp and magnificence the simplicity of these times would admit, to appease Apollo, Latona, and Diana, Hercules, Mercury, and Neptune. This ceremony was also celebrated by private families. Open house was kept throughout the whole city, and every thing brought out to the street to be used in common. Nay, it is said, that every one, known or unknown, and all strangers, were entertained with a hearty welcome. Persons at variance, laying aside all animosity and disputes, conversed with freedom and affability. Prisoners were released from their chains during the days of the festival, and religion forbade those to be bound, when the ceremony was over, whom the gods had set free.

In the mean time, at Veii, the army had many objects of terror, three confederate armies being ready to fall upon them at once. For all on a sudden, the Capenates and Falisci, having come to the assistance of the Veientes as before, invested the camp, so that the Romans were obliged to front three different ways, to repel as many different attacks.

The remembrance of Sergius and Virginus's fate, had a peculiar influence upon their behaviour. The troops in the grand camp, that in the former action had been idle spectators, being instantly led round, fell upon the rear of the Capenates, who had attacked the Roman lines. The battle being thus begun in that quarter, quite disconcerted the Falisci; and a sally very seasonably made from the lesser camp during this consternation, made them fairly show their backs. The Capenates being thus repulsed, the conquerors pursued them with prodigious slaughter. Nor was it long before the troops which ravaged their country, accidentally fell in with the scattered remains of this army, and cut them all to pieces. Many of the Veientes, whilst they were retreating to the city, were slain before their gates, which were shut against those who came last, to prevent the Romans from entering with them.

* From *Lectos sternere*, to prepare beds.

CHAP. XIV.

Intrigues of the Nobility to engross the offices of State.

THESE were the memorable events of this year. The comitia for the election of magistrates was now approaching, which gave the Patricians more concern than the event of the war, as seeing the supreme authority not only shared with, but almost engrossed by the commons. Wherefore, having prepared gentlemen of the highest quality and character, by concert, to offer their service, they imagined the people would be ashamed to set them aside. But notwithstanding these precautions, as if they had all been candidates, they left nothing unattempted, importuning both gods and men to favour their pretensions. They raised religious scruples about the elections made the two preceding years; representing that the year before, the winter had been intolerable, setting in, as it were, with celestial prodigies. In the next, indeed, there were no extraordinary appearances, but the consequence of them, a dreadful plague, which raged in town and country, and without all doubt, was the effect of the anger of the gods, whom the Sybilline books had directed them to appease, in order to remove the plague. For the gods were displeased that honours were prostituted, and the distinction of families confounded at the comitia, which should be held under proper auspices.

Wherefore the people, being dazzled with the dignity of the candidates, and over-awed by religion, elected none for military tribunes but Patricians; and these, for the most part, the most distinguished of their order. They were L. Valerius Potitus, a fifth, M. Valerius Maximus, M. Furius Camillus, a second, L. Furius Medullinus, a third, Q. Servilius Fidenates, a second, and Q. Sulpicius Camerinus, a second time. During their administration, the operations before Veii made no great noise. Their whole force was employed in depredations. The two commanders in chief, Potitus at Falerii, and Camillus at Capena, carried off a vast booty, leaving nothing behind them, which fire or sword could destroy.

CHAP. XV.

Prodigy of the Lake at Alba. A. R. 355.

IN the mean time, many reports were circulated about prodigies that had been seen, but in general they met with neither regard nor credit, as being supported by only one single testimony; and perhaps, too, being at war with the Etrurians, because they had no diviners to explain them. One however, engrossed all their attention. A lake in the grove of Alba rose to a very extraordinary height, without any rain to swell it, or any other visible cause to lessen its merit as a miracle. Deputies were dispatched to Delphi, humbly to enquire at the oracle, what the gods presaged by this prodigy; but the fates raised up an interpreter nearer home.

A certain old man at Veii, who amidst the mutual reproaches of the Roman and Etrurian guards, and centries on their posts, cried out, as if he had been inspired, 'Veii shall never be taken by the Romans, whilst there is water in the lake of Alba.' At first this was disregarded, as having been spoke at random, but soon after became the general topic of conversation: when one of the Roman centries enquired at the next townsman, with whom the length of the siege had given him an opportunity of being acquainted, who this same man might be, who had expressed himself so mysteriously concerning the lake of Alba. Hearing he was a diviner, and having himself great faith in divinations, under pretence that he wanted to consult him about the meaning of a prodigy respecting himself, if he would assist him in it, he decoyed the soothsayer to a private interview. When they had both gone out a good way from their people, without arms, or the least jealousy, the Roman, who was a stout young man, caught the feeble old fellow in his arms, in sight of both armies, and whilst the Veientes were loudly exclaiming against the proceeding, ran off with him to the Roman camp.

He was carried before the general, and by him sent to the senate at Rome. When he was interrogated with respect to the meaning of what he had said relative to the lake of Alba, he made answer, 'That certainly the

‘ gods had been highly offended with the Vejeptian nation on that day, when they had put it into his mind to discover the fatal secret that was to ruin his native country. But what he had then uttered by a divine impulse he could not now recal, so as it might still remain a secret; and by concealing what the gods intended to be revealed, he should perhaps contract no less guilt than by discovering what ought to have been concealed. For thus it was recorded in the books of the fates, thus it was confirmed by divination among the Etrurians, that if at any time, the lake of Alba swelled to an immoderate height, and the Romans at that time drain it in a proper manner, they should be victorious over the Vejentes. But till that time, the gods would never abandon the walls of Veii.’

He then informed them in what manner the drains ought to be made. But the fathers thinking his authority too slight, and not entirely to be depended upon, in a matter of such importance, determined that they should wait for the return of the deputies from Delphi, with the answer of the Pythian oracle.

CHAP. XVI.

The Tarquinienses take the opportunity of the troubles at Rome to ravage the country, and are punished.

BEFORE the return of the deputies from Delphi, or an expiation of the Alban prodigy found out, the new military tribunes, with consular power, L. Julius Julus, L. Furius Medullinus, a fourth time, L. Sergius Fidenas, A. Posthumius Regillensis, P. Cornelius Maluginensis, and A. Maqlius, entered upon their office. In that year, the Tarquinienses, a new enemy, started up. They saw the Romans had many wars upon their hands at the same time, with the Volsci, who besieged the fort at Anxur, with the Æqui who invested the Roman colony at Lavicum, and besides with the Vejentes, the Falisci and Capenates; and moreover, the contests between the Patricians and Plebeians to embarrass them at home; all which together gave them the fairest opportunity of humbling the Romans, for which reason they detach-

ed several light armed cohorts to ravage the Roman lands.

They flattered themselves that the Romans would suffer this injury to pass with impunity, not to burden themselves with a new war, or at least resent it so feebly, that they would obtain an easy victory. The Romans were not so much concerned about their depredations, as they were enraged at the baseness of the action. For which reason they made no great preparations to make sure of their revenge; nor did they long defer it.

A. Posthumius, and L. Julius, being prevented from making a levy in form by the interposition of the tribunes, got together an army of volunteers, whom they had engaged by their persuasions, and striking obliquely through the country of the Cære, surprised the Tarquinienses on their return from pillaging, laden with plunder. Many were killed on the spot; and they were all eased of their burdens.

The Romans having recovered the plunder of their lands, returned to Rome. The sufferers had two days allowed them to pick out what belonged to them; on the third, such effects as were not claimed, as belonging for the most part to the enemy, were sold at public vendue, and the proceeds divided among the soldiers. The event of the other wars, especially that with the Veientes, was still very uncertain. And the Romans depending now no longer on human resources, relied entirely on fate and the gods. When the deputies returned from Delphi with the answer of that oracle, it agreed exactly with the prisoner's report. It ran as follows: 'By all means, Romans, drain the lake of Alba, but take care that the water reach not the sea, in one continued stream; carry it off by small detached drains, till it insensibly lose itself in the ground: then push on the siege with vigour, and remember, that those very fates, whose decrees are now revealed, give you the victory over a city, which you have been besieging for so many years. When the war is finished, and you victorious, bring a large present to my temple; and see to re-establish the religious rites of your country, with the usual ceremonies that have been neglected.'

CHAP. XVII.

Expiation of the Alban prodigy. General diet of Etruria.

THE captive diviner began now to be considered in a very high point of view; and two of the military tribunes, Cornelius and Posthumius, began to make use of him, in order to expiate the Alban prodigy, and appease the gods in form. And it was at length found out, that what they were accused of by the gods, with regard to the neglect of ceremonies, and the omission of solemn annual festivals, was neither less nor more, than a defect in the election of magistrates; and that the festival, in honour of Jupiter Latialis, and the sacrifice on mount Alba, had not been celebrated with due propriety: There was only one way of expiating these omissions, which was by divesting the military tribunes of their office, repeating the auspices anew, and reducing the government to an inter-regnum. All which was done by a decree of the senate: and three gentlemen, L. Valerius, Q. Servilius Fidenas, and M. Furius Camillus, successively performed the office of inter-rex.

In the mean time, there were continual disturbances; for the tribunes constantly opposed the comitia, till they had first obtained a promise, *That the greater part of the military tribunes should be chosen out of the Plebeian order.* During these transactions, the states of Etruria held a general diet at the temple of Voltumna, where it was moved by the Capenates and Falisci, that all the lucumones of Etruria should, with one resolution and consent, march to the relief of Veii. Their answer was, 'That the Veientes themselves had made the same requisition at a former diet, and had been denied, because it ill became them to seek assistance from those, whose advice they did not deign to ask upon a matter of such importance; but now they were obliged to give a negative to their motion, from circumstances which regarded themselves. This, in particular, was the case of that part of Etruria, which bordered upon the Gauls, a strange nation, lately settled on their frontier, with whom they had no assurance of peace, nor any certain prospect of war. Yet, on account of their re-

• lation and name, they would so far regard their present
 • danger, that if any of the youth chose to join them as
 • volunteers, they should have full liberty.' This oc-
 casioned a report at Rome, that a prodigious assemblage
 of enemies were upon their march; which, as generally
 happens, drowned their intestine broils in a concern for
 their common danger.

CHAP. XVIII.

*Titinius and Genucius receive a check from the Capenates,
 &c. Great consternation at Rome.*

LICINIUS CALVUS was, by the prerogative tribes,
 chosen military tribune, without suing for it, or meeting
 with any opposition from the fathers, from the proofs he
 gave of his moderation in his former magistracy, but
 especially on account of his advanced age. Besides, it
 appeared that his colleagues would be chosen from among
 those who had served with, or immediately succeeded
 him, viz. L. Titinius, P. Mænius, P. Mælius, C. Genu-
 cius, and L. Atilius; but after the rest of the tribes were
 called in due order, and before the return was made of
 the election, P. Licinius Calvus, with permission of the
 inter-rex, addressed the assembly thus:

• I perceive, Romans, that your remembrance of the
 • union between my colleagues and me, in our first ad-
 • ministration, an union more necessary than ever in the
 • present conjuncture, disposes you to re-elect several of
 • us, whom experience has made still more capable of
 • commanding, into the same office. As for me, indeed,
 • I am not the same man; in me you behold only the
 • shadow and name of Licinius. The strength of my
 • body is gone, I can scarce see or hear; my memory
 • fails me, and the vigour of my mind is worn out.
 • Suffer me to present my son to you, (holding him by
 • the hand,) the living image of him you honoured first
 • of all the Plebeians with the office of military tribune.
 • Brought up under my eye, and in my principles, him
 • I give; I devote to the commonwealth in my stead.
 • I shall be highly obliged to you, gentlemen, if you
 • transfer the honour you gave me, spontaneously and

‘ unsolicited, to the demand of my son, and the request
‘ which I add in his favour.

His request was granted without difficulty, and his son, P. Licinius, was returned military tribune with consular power, together with those whom we have mentioned above. Titinius and Genucius, military tribunes, marched against the Falisci and Capenates, and acting with greater bravery than prudence, fell headlong into an ambuscade. Genucius paid dear for his temerity, for he was killed fighting valiantly at the head of his troops. Titinius rallied his men, after they had recovered from their fright, and having gained an eminence, drew them up again in order of battle; but he took care not to risk another engagement upon fair ground.

The disgrace was greater than all the loss they sustained, which, however, in the consequence was near proving a total defeat, such was the consternation, not only at Rome, where fame had exaggerated every circumstance, but also in the camp before Veii. For a report having been circulated all over the camp, that the victorious Capenates and Falisci had cut off the Roman troops with both their generals, and were in full march and at no great distance, with all the Etrurian youth for Veii, it was with much difficulty the soldiers could be prevented from flying outright. The alarm was still greater at Rome, for there they were persuaded that the camp at Veii was already attacked, and part of the enemy in full march to attack the city. The citizens flew to the ramparts, and the ladies, whom the general consternation had driven out of their houses, offered up supplications in the temples, imploring the gods, that if the Romans had by proper rites renewed the neglected ceremonies, if the prodigies had been duly expiated, they would protect the temples, houses, and walls of Rome from destruction, and turn all the present terror against Veii.

CHAP. XIX.

The Dictator Camillus raises an army, defeats the Fálisci, and carries on new works at Veii.

BY this time, the games and the *Feriae Latinæ* were renewed, the waters drained from the Alban lake into the fields, and the destruction of Veii at no great distance. Wherefore, Furius Camillus, the general, for whom the fates had reserved the destruction of Veii, and the preservation of his country, was named dictator, who also appointed P. Cornelius Scipio general of the horse. The change of the general, in a moment gave a wonderful turn to all their affairs. New hopes, new souls, seemed to animate the whole body of the republic, and fortune seemed to have come over to the side of the city.

His first care was to punish those who had fled from Veii in the sudden consternation, with all the strictness of military discipline, and thereby taught them, that an enemy ought not to be the principal object of terror to a soldier.

Having fixed a day for the levies, he in the mean time posted to Veii, in order to revive the courage of the troops there, and then returned to Rome to raise a new army. Nobody refused to enlist; foreigners too, the youth of the Latins and Hernici, offered their service, and came accordingly, for which he thanked them in full senate. When every thing was ready for taking the field, the dictator, by order of the senate, made a vow to celebrate the great games,* when Veii should be taken, and to rebuild, and dedicate a-new, the temple of the goddess Matuta,† which had formerly been dedicated by king Servius Tullius. Wherefore, leaving the city with his army, and thereby raising the expectation, rather than the hopes of the people, he fell in with the Fálisci and Capenates, in the territory of Nepète.‡ Every action of his was the result of prudence and reason,

* Those of the Circus.

† Juno, sister of Semele, aunt of Bacchus, and wife of Athamas, was so called at Rome.

‡ Nepi.

and the success as usual, was answerable. He not only routed the enemy in the engagement, but took their camp, where he found considerable spoils, of which the greatest part was remitted to the quæstor, and the remainder given to the soldiers. From thence he led his army to Veii, where he increased the number of forts on the lines, and prohibiting by proclamation, all fighting without orders, which had often happened between the walls of the town and the lines, in inconsiderate skirmishes, he employed the people in useful works.

He then began the most important and laborious work of all, which was to carry a mine into the enemy's citadel. That there might be no intermission in the work, and at the same time to ease the workmen, that they might not be oppressed with continual labour under ground, he divided the pioneers into six bands, each of which was to work six hours at a time. Thus the work was carried on night and day without intermission, till a passage was opened to the citadel.

CHAP. XX.

The works completed. Disputes about dividing the spoil.

THE dictator, when he saw that he must now infallibly conquer, and that the richest city of Italy was on the point of falling into his hands, where, of consequence, more considerable spoils would be taken than had been gained in all their former wars together; that he might neither draw the anger of the soldiers upon himself, for dividing them with too much parsimony, nor the envy of the fathers, for distributing them with too much profusion, wrote to the senate to inform that body, 'That by the favour of the immortal gods, his own conduct, and the perseverance of the soldiers, Veii would soon be in the hands of the Roman people. That, therefore, he would be glad to have their opinion with regard to the disposal of the spoils.'

The senate were divided into two opinions. The one was that of Licinius the father, who being first asked by his son, answered, that he thought proclamation should be made, that whoever of the citizens was desirous of

sharing in the plunder of Veii, might repair to the dictator's camp. The other was the opinion of Ap. Claudius, who spoke warmly against this bounty, as being an unprecedented prodigality, and inconsistent with equity and sound policy. That if it was not judged proper, that the money taken from the enemy should be lodged in the treasury, exhausted as it was by so many wars, he would advise, that it should be appropriated to the payment of the soldiers, which would be an ease to the people, in regard to the taxes. That thereby every family would be equally sensible of the benefit of this largess, and the rapacious hands of idle citizens would not deprive the soldiers of the rewards so justly due to their labour, it being usually observed, that the bravest and most forward in battle, were the least active and expert at plundering.

Licinius, on the other hand, insisted, that the money so reserved and appropriated, would be a source of endless discontent, and occasion impeachments, and seditions, and new laws. 'It was better, therefore,' pursued he, 'to conciliate to the senate, the good will of the multitude, by a bounty which would relieve their present indigence, exhausted as they were, by the contributions of so many years; and make them sensible of the fruits of persevering in a war, in which they might almost be said to have grown old. That what each man should take with his own hand from the enemy, and bring home, would give him more pleasure and satisfaction than a gift of much greater value, at the pleasure of another. That the dictator, in referring the matter to the senate, had no other view on earth, but to spare himself envy and reproach. That the senate also ought, from a like regard to themselves, to refer the whole to the disposal of the people, and suffer them to take the plunder, as chance should throw it in their way.' This advice, which was the most popular for the senate, appeared to be the safest: wherefore, proclamation was made, that such as wanted to share in the plunder of Veii, had only to repair to the camp, which, in consequence, was soon filled with prodigious numbers that flocked thither.

CHAP. XXI.

Veii taken and plundered by the Soldiers.

THE dictator then went out to take the auspices, and ordered the soldiers to arm. 'O Pythian Apollo, (said he,) it is by thy inspiration, and under thy direction, that I am going to carry destruction to Veii; to you, then, I devote the tenth part of the spoils. And O queen Juno, who now residest in Veii, be pleased to follow us victorious to our city, which shall soon be thy city, and where thou shalt possess a temple worthy thy majesty.' Having finished his prayers, and his army being sufficiently numerous, he ordered an assault to be made on all sides of the place at once, to give the besieged no opportunity of discovering their danger from the mine. The Veientes never dreamed that they were betrayed by their own diviners, and given up by foreign oracles; that some of their tutelary gods had been invited to partake of the spoils, and others conjured to leave their city, to take up with new habitations and new temples among the enemy; and, in short, that their last hour was come: and, therefore, fearing nothing less than that their walls were undermined, and their citadel full of enemies, were eager to run in emulation of each other to the walls, unable to guess why the Romans, who had not appeared out of their lines for many days, advanced all on a sudden like madmen, to attack the place on all sides.

A story goes here, that his majesty of Veii was, at that instant, sacrificing to the gods, when the soldiers in the mine heard the diviner say, that the gods would give the victory to him who should dissect the entrails of that victim; and the Romans immediately opening the mine, seized upon the entrails, and carried them to the dictator. But in things of so old a date, I think it sufficient to take what is probable for true. Incidents of this kind, which are fitter for the stage, that delights in the marvellous, than for history, it is not worth while either to affirm or refute.

A select body of troops, which at that time filled the mine, appeared suddenly in arms in the temple of Juno,

which stood in the citadel of Veii. Some attacked the soldiers behind as they defended the walls; some unbarred the gates; and some of them, whilst they were pelted from the house tops with stones and tiles by the women and slaves, set fire to the houses. The whole city resounded with the shouts of the invaders, and cries of the besieged, mingled with the shrieks and lamentations of women and children. In an instant, the walls were cleared of those who defended them, and the gates broke open, when part of the Roman army entered in whole battalions, others scaled the deserted ramparts, so that the city soon swarmed with enemies, and the battle raged in every quarter. However, after a prodigious slaughter, it began to subside, when the dictator ordered the heralds to proclaim quarter to all who should lay down their arms.

Here the slaughter ended, and the surrender of the unarmed multitude commenced: then also, with permission of the dictator, the soldiers fell to plunder. When Camillus had ocular demonstration, that the spoils, both in quantity and value, far surpassed what he had ever expected or imagined, he is said to have lifted up his hands to heaven, praying, ‘that if the good fortune of the Roman people, or his own, appeared too great in the sight of gods or men, that the envy thereof might fall upon him, but to spare the commonwealth.’ It is further added, that as he was turning round, after this prayer, that he fell on the ground; an accident construed by some to presage his condemnation, after it had really happened, and the destruction of Rome, after it was taken by the Gauls: both these events happened a few years after. Thus was that day spent in slaughtering the Veientes, and plundering their most opulent city.

CHAP. XXII.

Murmurs against Camillus. Juno brought to Rome.

NEXT day, the dictator exposed the freemen to public sale, the proceeds whereof alone were set apart for the public treasury. At this the people took great offence, alledging, that what plunder they carried home with them, they had no reason to ascribe to the general, who,

with a view to make them the authors of his own malevolence, had submitted an affair to them, which entirely depended on himself; nor to the senate, but to the family of the Licini, a son whereof had laid the matter before the senate, and his father had strongly espoused the interest of the people, in supporting the motion.

After all the worldly riches had been removed from Veii, they began to remove what had been consecrated to the gods, and the gods themselves; but in this they acted more like worshippers than pillagers. For some of the youngest men of the whole army were selected, to whom, when their bodies were washed perfectly clean, and clothed in white, it was given in charge to transport queen Juno to Rome. They entered her temple with reverence, touching her at first with a religious awe, because that statue, by a ceremony among the Etrurians, none used to touch, but a priest of a certain family. At last when one of the lads, whether by a divine impulse, or in a youthful frolic, asked her, 'Will you go to Rome, Juno?' 'Yes, yes, (cried they altogether,) you see the goddess nods her assent;' which gave rise to the story, that she was heard to pronounce distinctly, 'With all my heart.' Certain it is, that she was easily moved from her place, and that they got her to Rome, with as little trouble or difficulty as if she had followed them. They conveyed her safe and sound to the Aventine hill, whither the dictator had invited her; and which was from that time to be the seat of her residence for ever: and where he dedicated a temple to her, in discharge of a vow he had made.

Such was the fate of Veii, the richest city of all Tuscany; the final ruin of which, demonstrated its greatness: for having sustained an unremitted siege for ten summers and as many winters, wherein Rome had suffered more from it, than it had done from Rome, it was at last, by unavoidable destiny, reduced not by force, but by stratagem.

CHAP. XXIII.

Camillus returns in triumph. The people disgusted.

WHEN news of the reduction of Veii reached Rome, although the prodigies had been expiated, the responses of the diviners, and of the Pythian oracle, a secret to none; and to secure success by every device human prudence could afford, they had chosen the greatest general of his age, Marcus Furius; yet because the fortune of war had shifted so often, and they had met with so many defeats, the joy was incredible, as if the cause of it had been beyond all expectation. Before the senate could pass any decree, the Roman ladies had filled all the temples, returning thanks to the gods. The senate ordained solemn supplications for four days, a greater number than had ever been appointed in any former war. Never had any general such a retinue before, at his arrival; for all ranks and conditions ran in crowds to meet him; and the magnificence of that day's triumph, far exceeded what was usual on such occasions. He himself was more especially conspicuous, having made his entry into the city in a chariot drawn by four white horses; whence it was inferred, that he exalted himself not only above the condition of a citizen, but even of human nature. They considered it as an act of impiety for the dictator to be drawn by the same number of horses, and of the same colour too, with those of Jupiter and the sun; and this circumstance alone, however much it might heighten the splendour of his triumph, rendered it less agreeable to the spectators.

After this he drew the plan of the temple of queen Juno on the Aventine hill, and dedicated that of the goddess Matuta. Wherefore having thus performed his duty to the gods, and done such signal service to the state, he abdicated the dictatorship.

The present to Apollo came then under public consideration. When Camillus represented, that he had vowed the tenth part of the spoils to the god, the priests gave it as their opinion, that the people ought to perform the vow. But to prescribe a method to make the people bring in the spoils, so as to deduct from them

what was due to the god, was no easy matter. At last they had recourse to an expedient, which seemed to be least troublesome. They ordered all those who wished to have their consciences clear with respect to this vow, and to insure the safety of their families, to make a fair and candid estimate of the booty they had obtained, and lodge the tenth part of that value in the public treasury, that it might be formed into a present of pure gold, worthy the august temple, and majesty of that god for whom it was intended, and suitable to the grandeur of the Roman people. This contribution added to the people's disgust at Camillus.

In the mean time ambassadors came from the Volsci to sue for peace, which was granted them, not out of respect to their merit, but to give the people some respite from war, with which they had been so long and so much harassed.

CHAP. XXIV.

Enrollment for a Colony to be planted in the Volscian territory. Motion for transferring it to Veii.

AFTER the reduction of Veii, six military tribunes with consular power, were elected for the following year, the two P. P. Cornelii, Cossus, and Scipio, M. Valerius Maximus, a second, Cæso Fabius Maximus, a third, L. Furius Medullinus, a fifth, and Q. Servilius, a third time. Whilst the war with the Falisci fell by lot to the Cornelii, that with the Capenates, to Valerius and Servilius, they made no attempt upon their cities by storm, or blockade, contenting themselves with ravaging the country, and carrying off their implements of husbandry. Not one fruit-tree nor stalk of corn was left in the country. This distress humbled the Capenates. They sued for peace and obtained it.

The war with the Falisci was carried on. At Rome, during these transactions, there were many seditions; to appease which, they had determined to send a colony into the country of the Volsci, for which 3000 Roman citizens were enrolled. The three commissioners chosen to conduct this business, had assigned to each planter three seven-twelfths Roman acres. The people began

to look upon this as no favour, imagining it was only a bait to divert their attention from more lucrative expectations. For why should the people be banished among the Volsci, when they had in prospect Veii, a most beautiful city, and all its domains, richer and more extensive than even the territory of Rome? With Veii they thought Rome would bear no comparison, either for situation, or the grandeur of its buildings and accommodations, public and private.

Moreover, a motion was made, which became more serious after Rome had been taken by the Gauls, of removing to Veii. But in this motion it was proposed, that part of the senate and part of the people should settle at Veii, and that the two cities inhabited by Romans, should constitute but one commonwealth. But this the nobility opposed so warmly that they declared they would sooner die in sight of the Roman people, than suffer such a bill to be tabled: ‘ If there be such dissensions in one city, what must there be in two? Would any man in his senses prefer a conquered city, to his own native city, that had conquered it? Or render the captive town of Veii, more considerable after its fall, than ever it had been before it? In fine, that their fellow-citizens might leave them in their native country, if they pleased, but that no compulsion should oblige them to relinquish the place of their birth, and their fellow citizens, in order to follow T. Sicinius, (it was this tribune who had preferred the bill), the new founder to Veii, and forsake our god Romulus, the son of a god, and the father and founder of Rome.’

CHAP. XXV.

Disputes about Veii. Generosity of the Roman Ladies.

WHILST the disputes on this subject rose to a scandalous height, (for the fathers had brought over some of the college of tribunes to be of their side), nothing prevented the people from coming to blows, but that the moment a shout was set up as a signal to fall on, the principal senators first presented themselves to the mob, desiring them to proceed, to strike, and to put them to death. A respect to age, and to the honour and dig-

nity of these gentlemen, saved them from harm; and the people, ashamed of their resentment, behaved with more delicacy for the future. Camillus went from place to place, loudly declaiming; 'That he was not at all surprised to see the people seized with madness, seeing they had nothing less at heart, than the performance of their vows to the gods; he would say nothing of the contribution, which had more the appearance of an alms, than a tenth of the spoil. Each of the individuals had bound himself to the performance, so that the state was free. But he was obliged in conscience to tell them one thing, that the tenth of the moveable part of the spoils had only been set apart for the god, whilst the captive city and all the territory belonging to it, were comprehended in his vow.'

The senate, pretending to be perplexed about this scruple, referred the whole to the pontiffs, who in concert with Camillus, declared, as the opinion of their college, that a tenth of whatever had belonged to the Veientes, before the dictator made his vow, and had, after he had made the vow, fallen into the hands of the Romans, ought to be sacred to Apollo. In consequence of this judgment, the city and territory were valued, and a tenth of the estimate given out of the treasury to the military tribunes, to be given in exchange for gold. But as there was not enough of this metal to be had in Rome, the Ladies having had several meetings to deliberate on that affair, with one consent made offer of their service to the military tribunes, and in consequence thereof, brought their gold and all their ornaments to the treasury.

Never were the fathers better pleased with any thing, than with this instance of complaisance in the ladies; in return for which generosity, it is said, they conferred the honour on them, of riding in covered chariots to the sacrifices and public games, and in open phaetons on festival and other days. The gold from each was weighed*, and valued, so as the equivalent might be returned them in money, and they fixed on a massy cup to be

* Plutarch makes that gold amount to eight talents, an enormous sum for those times, amounting nearly in value to £ 12,000 Sterling.

made of it, which was to be carried to Delphi, as a present to Apollo.

No sooner was the business of the vow settled, than the tribunes of the commons began to stir again. The multitude were enraged at the whole body of the nobility, but especially at Camillus. In their absence they exclaimed prodigiously, that by their sequestrations and their consecrations, they had reduced the spoils of Veii to nothing. In their presence, they behaved with more delicacy, as they never seemed to avoid, but rather throw themselves in their way, when they were disposed to be in a passion. Finding the matter was not like to be determined for this year, they chose again to the Plebeian tribuneship, the same men who had preferred the bill; and the senators used all their influence to do the same by those who had opposed it; so that there was little change in the college.

CHAP. XXVI.

Camillus marches against the Falisci. Drives them into their city, which he besieges.

BY an extraordinary exertion of their interest, the fathers prevailed in the Comitia for electing military tribunes, to have Camillus chosen to be one of them. They pretended, that they wanted an able general for the war, but their real aim was, to provide themselves in a champion fit to enter the lists with the tribunes of the commons, who were violently bent on the partition of the lands of Veii contended for.

With Camillus, were chosen for military tribunes, L. Furius Medullinus, a sixth, C. Æmilius, L. Valerius Poplicola, Sp. Posthumius, and P. Cornelius, a second time. In the beginning of the year, the tribunes of the people made no stir, till M. Furius Camillus, who was charged with the war against the Falisci, should take the field, and even then they made but little progress, owing to their delays: whilst Camillus, their most formidable adversary, acquired new glory by his conduct in the war with the Falisci.

The enemy for some time kept themselves shut up in Falisci, till the devastations made by the Romans, in the

territory about it, provoked them at length to come out. Their fear, however, did not suffer them to advance far. They encamped about a mile from the town. The only security, and that not a slight one, upon which they depended, was the difficulty of approaching them, through rough and craggy ways, through narrow defiles, and over steep rocks. Camillus pressed a peasant for a guide, and decamping in the dead of night, shewed himself by the morning's dawn, on a ground that overlooked them. The Romans intrenched themselves in three divisions; the remainder of the army standing under arms, ready to engage: whilst the enemy attempted to obstruct the works, they were routed and put to flight. Such was the consternation of the Falisci, that they ran past their camp, which was in their way, with great precipitation, to the town.

The list of the killed and wounded, before the fugitives could get within their gates, was numerous. The camp was taken, and the whole spoil given up to the quæstors, much to the dissatisfaction of the soldiers, but they were kept in order by strict discipline. The same virtue for which they hated him, they could not help admiring. After this victory, he invested the town and surrounded it with lines. The townsmen sometimes, as they found an opportunity, sallied out, and had slight skirmishes with the Roman guards, spinning out the time, with little difference as to their hopes on either side. For the town was better supplied with corn and other provisions than the besiegers, having taken care to fill their magazines before hand: and, in all probability, the siege of Falerii would have cost them as much time and trouble as that of Veii had done, had not the fortune of the Roman general, and a new instance which he exhibited of his well known abilities in military affairs, hastened on the victory.

CHAP. XXVII.

Villainy of a Schoolmaster. Generosity of Camillus. Its effects on the Falisci.

IT was a custom among the Falisci, to make the same person both tutor and companion to their children, and

to put many boys at the same time under the care of one master; a practice among the Greeks at this day. The master who had the greatest character for erudition, as is generally the case, had the charge of the youth of greatest distinction. This man, in time of peace, usually carried his pupils out before the city, to play and exercise themselves. Nor during this war did he discontinue it, sometimes carrying them a little, and sometimes a greater way from the city. But, at last, having found his opportunity, he decoyed them by play and entertaining tales, farther from the gates than usual; first to the Roman out-posts, then to the camp, till at last he landed them quite at Camillus' tent. There he crowned his villainous action with as villainous a speech, viz. that he now delivered Falerii into the hands of the Romans, putting these young gentlemen under his power, whose fathers had the principal sway in the city.

When Camillus had heard the scoundrel to an end, he replied, ' Execrable wretch, thou dost not approach either a general, or a people, with thy impious present, like thyself. With the Falisci, we have indeed no express and formal alliance; but that which nature hath established between all men, both does and shall subsist between us. War has its rights, and so has peace, and we have learned to make it with no less justice than valour. We are in arms, it is true, but not against that age, which is spared even in cities taken by storm, but against men, armed like ourselves; and these too, who without any injury or provocation from us, attacked the Roman camp at Veii: them, to the utmost of thy power, thou hast exceeded, by a crime of an extraordinary nature. But, as for me, I shall conquer, as at Veii, by Roman arts, by valour, works, and arms.'

The traitor was then stripped, his hands tied behind his back, and then delivered up to his pupils, who were furnished with rods, to whip him all the way to the city. This spectacle brought prodigious crowds of people, when the magistrates convened the senate, to deliberate about an affair that seemed so extraordinary. So great a revolution in their sentiments did this circumstance effect, that they who before had been so inflamed with hatred and resentment, that they would have preferred

annihilation with the Vējentes, to an accommodation with the Capenates, were unanimously determined to sue for peace. Nothing was talked of in the forum, or senate-house, but the virtue of the Romans, and the probity of their general; and accordingly, with one consent, ambassadors were dispatched to the camp to Camillus, and by his permission, to the senate at Rome, to surrender Falerii.

When they had leave of audience, it is said, they addressed the senate in the following terms: Illustrious fathers, conquered by you, and your general, in a manner that can give no offence to gods, nor men, we are come to surrender ourselves to you, convinced that we shall live more happy under your government, than under our own laws, a circumstance that reflects a peculiar honour on the conqueror. The event of this war furnishes mankind with two excellent examples. You, fathers, have preferred justice in war, to immediate conquest: and we, excited by that justice, do voluntarily present you the victory. We are now entirely yours. Send commissioners to receive our arms, our hostages, our city, the gates of which stand open to you: You will have no reason to complain of our fidelity, nor we to regret our present submission.' Camillus had both the thanks of the enemy and of his country. To exempt the people from taxes, a year's pay to the army was exacted from the Falisci; and peace being granted them on these terms, the army returned home.

CHAP. XXVIII.

War with the Æqui: various successes.

THE applauses now given to Camillus upon his return to Rome, and the conquest he had made over the enemy by his justice and integrity, were far more sincere, than those he had formerly received, when the white horses drew his triumphal chariot through the city. The senate made honourable mention of his modesty, and in order to discharge his vow with all possible dispatch, L. Valerius, L. Sergius, and A. Manlius, were deputed to carry a golden cup to Delphos, as a present

to Apollo. The long galley, in which these deputies embarked, was intercepted by some pirates from the isle of Liparæ, not far from the straits of Messina, and by them carried into Liparæ. It was their custom to divide all their captures among the citizens.

Their principal magistrate this year was one Timasitheus, a man, who resembled the Romans more in his manners, than he did his countrymen. This magistrate, full of veneration for the god, and the present sent him, and out of respect to the character of the ambassadors, and the embassy on which they were sent, inspired the multitude, who generally follow the sentiments of their leaders, with the same regard for justice and religion. And having not only entertained them with great hospitality, but in person, with a squadron of ships, convoyed them to Delphi, and from thence safe back to Rome, the right of hospitality was conferred on him by a decree of the senate, and great presents were made him at the public expence.

Throughout this year, the war with the Æqui took such various turns, that it remained a question both at Rome and in the camp, which side had the better. The generals in the war, were C. Æmilius, and Sp. Posthumius. At first they acted in conjunction, and when they had defeated the enemy in a pitched battle, Æmilius thought proper to go to garrison Verrugo, and Posthumius to lay waste the enemy's borders. The latter marching with his troops with too little precaution, after his late success, was surprised and driven to the adjacent hills in great consternation by the Æqui. Their fright communicated itself to the other garrison at Verrugo.

Posthumius having rallied his men, and got them into a place of safety, reproached them severely with their panic and flight, telling them that they had suffered themselves to be beat by a most cowardly enemy, who always shewed their backs. The whole army acknowledged that there was too much truth in what they had heard, and confessed the fault of which they had been guilty, but promised that they would make amends, and give the enemy but short time to rejoice over them. They begged with earnestness to be instantly led to the attack of the enemy's camp, which was within sight, in

a plain below, declaring at the same time, that they would submit to any punishment, if they did not force it before night. He commended their ardour, bid them refresh themselves, and be ready at the fourth watch.

As the enemy, to hinder the Romans from escaping from the hill to Verrugo, in the night-time, were guarding the road that led thither, the two armies met there. The action began before day-light, but the moon shone bright all the night over, and they could see what they were about, as well as by day. The shouts of the combatants reaching Verrugo, it was believed there that Posthumius' camp was assaulted, which occasioned such a fright, that notwithstanding all that Æmilius could urge to prevent them, the troops dispersed and fled for refuge to Tusculum. Thence flew a report to Rome, that Posthumius and his army were cut to pieces. But Posthumius, as soon as it was light, and safe to make a hot pursuit without danger of falling into an ambush, rode through the ranks, reminding them of their promise, which inspired them with such ardour, that the Æqui could no longer stand before them. The slaughter that ensued of the fugitives, was rather the effects of resentment than bravery, and ended in the destruction of the enemy. Posthumius' letter crowned with laurel soon undeceived them with respect to the melancholy news from Tusculum, bearing that the Romans had gained a complete victory, and that the army of the Æqui had been quite destroyed.

CHAP. XXIX.

Motions of the Æqui. Trial and condemnation of two Tribunes.

AS the tribunes of the people had made no progress in their bill, the commons laboured hard to keep those in office who had proposed it, as did the fathers, on the other hand, to get those re-elected, who had opposed it. The commons prevailed however in the comitia. The fathers, in revenge of this disappointment, procured a decree of the senate for electing consuls, magistrates that were odious to the people. After an interval of fifteen years, L. Lucretius Flavius, and Servilius Sulpicius Came-

rinus were chosen consuls. In the beginning of this year, whilst the tribunes renewed their intrigues with all imaginable zeal, to get their bill passed, as they had not one opponent in all the college, the consuls for that very reason, were equally active to prevent it; and whilst the whole city seemed to be intent upon that point alone, the Æqui made themselves masters of the Veteleian colony which had been planted in their country. The greatest part of the planters escaped unhurt, by the back gates of the city, through which, favoured by the darkness of the night, when the city was taken by treachery, they had a free passage, and fled to Rome.

L. Lucretius got that province by lot. He marched with an army, chastised the enemy, and returned victorious to Rome, where a more obstinate engagement awaited him. A day was appointed for the trial of Aulus Virginus, and Q. Pomponius, both tribunes of the people for the two preceding years; in whose defence, by consent of the fathers, the honour of the senate was engaged. They could be charged with no crime, either with respect to their morals, or the discharge of their office, but that they had, to gratify the Patricians, opposed the bill brought in by their colleagues. The people's resentment prevailed over the interest of the fathers, and innocent men, in this shocking instance, were condemned in a fine of 10,000 asses of brass.* A sentence which gave great offence to the fathers.

Camillus openly accused the people of the most scandalous partiality. 'Their rage, (said he,) is now turned
 * against their own party; not perceiving, that by their
 * iniquitous sentence, they had given a mortal blow to
 * their tribunitian power, by depriving their tribunes of
 * the privilege of intercession: for if they imagined,
 * that the senate would endure an unbridled licentious-
 * ness in any of these magistrates, they were dreadfully
 * mistaken. For if the violence of some of the tribunes
 * could not be checked by the opposition of some of the
 * college, they might be assured the senate would find
 * another method of restraining it.' He likewise re-
 * proved the consuls, for tamely standing by, and suffering
 the two tribunes to be oppressed, who had acted entirely

by the advice of the senate, trusting to their promised protection.

CHAP. XXX.

Disputes about settling at Veii. The Fathers prevail.

BY haranguing openly to this purpose, he daily incensed the people against him more and more. As to the law in question, he never ceased to spirit up the fathers against it: telling them, ' That they ought not to go down to the forum upon the day when the law was to be proposed, but as to a field of battle, where they should remember, they were to fight for their altars, their fire-sides, the temples of their gods, and the place which had given them birth. That with regard to himself, considered in a private capacity, could he allow himself to think of his own glory, when that of his country came in competition, nothing could flatter his ambition more, than to see a city, which he had reduced, filled with inhabitants, who could be so many living witnesses of his glory, and constantly present to him the monuments of his victory, where nobody could move a step but on the traces of his achievements. But it was impious to conceive thoughts of inhabiting a city, forsaken and abandoned by the immortal gods, and shameful to propose, that the Roman people should reside on a captive soil, and prefer to their own country, a country conquered by it.'

The senators old and young, roused with these exhortations of their champion, when the law was to be proposed, went all in a body to the forum, and dispersing themselves among the tribes, each addressed himself to their fellow citizens of his own tribe, and began to beg, with tears in their eyes, that they would not abandon that country, for which they and their fathers had fought with so much valour and success; pointing, at the same time to the capitol, the temple of Vesta, and other temples around them, conjuring them not to drive the Roman people, like felons and exiles, from their native country and their guardian gods, to inhabit a city but lately peopled by their enemies, and bring matters to that pass,

that it had been better Veii had never been taken, than Rome be thus deserted.

As the Patricians abstained from all violence, and only employed prayers and entreaties upon this occasion, which they mingled with frequent mention of the gods, it became a point of religion with most of the tribes, so that the law was rejected, though it was only by a majority of one of the tribes. The senate were so overjoyed at this victory, that the next day, upon a motion made by the consuls, the senate enacted, that seven acres of the lands of Veii should be assigned to each commoner; not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free condition in his family, as an inducement to them to marry and bring up children.

CHAP. XXXI.

New enemies start up against Rome. A. R. 360.

THE people were so sensible of this obligation, that they suffered the comitia to be held for electing consuls, without the least opposition. The fasces were accordingly transferred to L. Valerius Potitus, and M. Manlius, who afterwards got the surname of Capitolinus. These consuls celebrated the great games which M. Furius had vowed, when dictator in the Veientian war.

This year also, the temple of queen Juno, vowed by the same dictator, during the same war, was dedicated; when, by all accounts, the zeal of the Roman ladies rendered the ceremony particularly splendid. With the Æqui there was an action at the Algidus, but of no great consideration, as the enemy were routed almost before they had struck a stroke: Valerius had a triumph decreed him, because he pursued the enemy farther, and did more execution than Manlius, who was only honoured with an ovation.

In this same year, a new war broke out with the Volsinienses, against whom no new army could be led, because a famine and pestilence, occasioned by an excessive hot and dry season, then raged in the Roman territory. This gave the Volsinienses so much assurance, that in

conjunction with the Salpenates,* they made an incursion upon the Roman lands, without the least provocation. War was then declared against both nations. In the mean time, C. Julius, one of the censors, was carried off, and L. Cornelius substituted in his place; a thing afterwards deemed inauspicious, because Rome was taken in that lustrum. Nor after this time did the Romans ever substitute, in the place of a censor who died in his office, another person to be colleague to the survivor. The consuls too falling sick, the senate decreed that they should abdicate, and an inter-regnum ensue. The consuls having therefore demitted in terms of the senate's decree, M. Furius Camillus was created inter-rex, and succeeded by Cornelius Scipio, and he again by Valerius Potitus, who held the comitia, for the election of six military tribunes with consular power, that in case any of them should be seized with the distemper, the Republic might never want magistrates.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Volsinienses chastised. A prodigy. Camillus banished.
A. R. 361.

ON the first of July, L. Lucretius, Servius Sulpicius, M. Æmilius, L. Furius Medullinus, a seventh, Agrippa Furius, and C. Æmilius, a second time, entered upon that magistracy. The war with the Volsinienses fell by lot to L. Lucretius and C. Æmilius; and with the Salpenates to Agrippa Furius, and Servius Sulpicius. The first engagement they had was with the Volsinienses, who were more formidable for their numbers than their prowess. For they were routed and put to flight at the first onset, and 8000 men in arms being surrounded by the Roman cavalry, laid down their arms and surrendered at discretion. The news of this battle cooled the ardour of the Salpenates, so that they durst not appear in the field, but shut themselves up, armed as they were, within their walls.

The Romans pillaged both the Volsinian and Salpina-

* The Volsinienses and Salpenates were both nations of Etruria. The former inhabited a considerable city, Volsinium, the capital of one of the twelve Lucumonies, situated near the modern Bologna. Of Salpinum nothing certain can be affirmed.

tian lands, every where, without meeting with the least opposition; till at length, the Volsinians, who were heartily tired of the war, obtained a truce for twenty years, on condition of replacing whatever they had taken from the people of Rome, and of being at the expence of one year's pay to the army.

This year too, one Cædicius, a man of low rank, told the tribunes, that he heard a miraculous voice in the New Street, above the temple of Vesta, where there is now a chapel, which pronounced distinctly, 'Go, tell the magistrates, the Gauls draw near.' The man's meanness, as it is the way of the world, brought the warning into contempt. Moreover, that nation was remote, and consequently little known. But not only were the warnings from the gods despised on this occasion, but Rome, pushed headlong by the fates to destruction, had also deprived herself, in the banishment of Camillus, of every human aid. This great man having had a day appointed, by L. Apuleius, tribune of the people, to answer to an accusation, in relation to the spoils of Veii, when he was in deep affliction for the loss of his son, a promising youth, he called a meeting in his house, of his kindred and clients, which comprehended a great part of the commons; and when he had sounded them with respect to the charge laid against him, and found by their answers that they could not acquit him, though they would most cheerfully contribute to his fine, he rather chose to banish himself from Rome; praying the immortal gods, 'That if he had suffered this injury without reason, his ungrateful country might soon have reason to regret his absence.' He was condemned in absence, in 15,000 asses of brass.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

Digression relative to the Gauls. A. R. 362.

THUS was one citizen driven into exile, who, had he remained at Rome, would in all probability, have saved the city from being taken. As the fatal stroke was fast approaching, ambassadors came from Clusium to solicit

aid against the Gauls. The tradition is, that the Gauls, charmed with the excellent fruits, and especially with the delicious wines of Italy, which they had never tasted before, crossed the Alps, and seized upon lands which had formerly been in possession of the Etrurians; and that Arunx, a Clusian, had imported wine into Gaul, to entice that nation to make the invasion, out of resentment that Lucumo had debauched his wife, in return for his attention as his tutor, and from whom he could get no satisfaction, his interest being very considerable, unless he was supported by foreign aid: in consequence of which, that he conducted the Gauls over the Alps, and advised them to the siege of Clusium.

I will not pretend to say, that the Gauls might have been brought to Clusium by this Arunx, or some other inhabitant of the place; but it is very certain, that those who laid siege to Clusium were not the first who had crossed the Alps: for the Gauls had found the way to Italy, two hundred years before the siege of Clusium, or the capture of Rome. Nor was it these Etrurians whom the Gaulic troops first encountered, but long before, who inhabit the country between the Appenines and the Alps, with whom they were frequently at war.

The Tuscan dominions were of considerable extent, both by sea and land, before the Roman empire existed. From the upper to the lower sea, by which Italy is surrounded in the form of an island, their very names ascertain the mighty power of this people, the nations of Italy calling the one the Tuscan, from the general name of the people, and the other the Adriatic sea, from *Adria*, a Tuscan colony. The Greeks call them the *Tyrrhenian* and *Adriatic* seas. This people, in twelve cities, inhabited the countries along the coasts of both seas, and by sending out colonies equal in number to their mother cities, first on this side of the Appenines towards the lower sea, and afterwards as many on the other side, possessed all the country beyond the *Po*, excepting a corner belonging to the Venetians, who dwelt round a bay of the sea, as far as the Alps. Nor can it be doubted, but this too was the origin of the Alpine nations, especially the *Rhetæ*, whom the situation of their country hath rendered so wild, that they retain nothing of their

original, but a little of their language, and that too corrupted.

CHAP. XXXIV.

In continuation.

THE history which I have been able to collect of the descent of the Gauls into Italy. is as follows: During the reign of Tarquinius Priscus at Rome, the Bituriges had the supreme authority among the Celtæ, who inhabited a third part of Gaul,* and gave them a king called Ambigatus, a very powerful prince, both on account of his personal bravery, and fortune, public and private; who finding that the part of Gaul of which he was sovereign, was so overstocked with produce as well as inhabitants, that it was next to impossible to manage them, signified to Bellovisus and Sigovisus, his sister's sons, two active young fellows, as he was now an old man, and wished to get clear of a troublesome crowd, that he resolved to send them into whatever settlements the gods by augury should direct. They might raise what number of men they pleased, that no nation, wherever they came, might be able to repel them.

The Hernician forest (a) fell by lot to Sigovisus, but the gods pointed out to Bellovisus a more agreeable road to Italy. He assembled the Bituriges (b), Averni (c), Senones (d), Æqui (e), Ambarri (f), Carnutes (g), and Aulerci (h), because these cantons were overstocked with people.

* Gaul was divided into three parts, and inhabited by three distinct sorts of people, the Belgæ, the Gauls or Celtæ, and the Aquitani. Belgic Gaul was bounded by the Seine, the Marne, the mountains of Vague, the Rhine, and the ocean. Celtic Gaul, by the ocean, the Seine, the Marne, the Soane, the Rhone, and the Garonne; and Aquitanic Gaul, by the ocean, the Garonne, and the Pyrenees. Modern Gaul has a fourth, namely Provence, where the Massilians landed and founded the city Marseilles.

(a) This forest covered a great part of the ancient Germany, commencing at the banks of the Rhine, and in Suabia, where it is called at this day the Black Forest, and extending beyond Bohemia.

(b) People who inhabited Bourges.

(c) Auvergne.

(d) Senonois.

(e) Autonsis.

(f) Charlois.

(g) Chartres.

(h) Evreux.

Setting out with a numerous train of horse and foot, he came first to the country of Tricastini (*a*). They were soon after opposed by the Alps, which seemed to them impassable; and no wonder, since there is no certain evidence that ever they had been crossed by mortal, unless we are inclined to give credit to the stories concerning Hercules.

Whilst the Gauls were confined by the height of these mountains, and were looking about them for a way leading to another world, over the tops of these mountains, which reached to heaven, they were detained by a religious scruple; they were informed that a strange people were out in quest of a settlement, and were opposed by the Salves (*b*); it was the Massilians, who had sailed from Phocæa, in Asia Minor. The Gauls considering this as an omen of their own fortune, assisted them in fortifying a place where they first landed, which was naturally defended by surrounding woods. The Gauls pursued their route over the pathless Alps, by the Taurinian forest (*c*); and having defeated an army of Tuscans, near the river Ticin, they were informed that the country where they were encamped was called Insubria, (now the Milanese;) a name given also to a canton of Autun. There, pursuing their good fortune, they built a city which they called Mediolanum (now Milan.)

CHAP. XXXV.

In continuation.

AFTER that, another body of Cænomani (*d*) under the conduct of Elitovius, following the paths of the former, passed the Alps by the same forest, with the assistance of Bellovisus, and settled in those places, which the Libjci then possessed, where now we find the cities Brixia (*e*) and Verona (*f*). These again were followed by the Saluvii, who dwelt near the ancient nation of the Lævi (*g*), and the Ligures (*h*), and settled upon the banks

(*a*) St. Pol Trois-Chatteaux, in Dauphiny. (*b*) The coast of Provence. (*c*) It stood at the foot the Alps Cottiae.

(*d*) A people about Brescia. (*e*) Now Brescia. (*f*) Or, Cremona. (*g*) Inhabitants of Pavia and Novarra. (*h*) Inhabitants on the banks of the Loire.

of the Tecin. Then the Boii (a), and Lingones (b) crossed the Pennine Alps, and having possessed themselves of all the countries between the Alps and the Po, passed that river in boats, and not only drove the Etrurians, but even the Umbrians (c) out of the country. They confined themselves, however, within the Appenines. Then the Senones (d), the last of all the new comers, possessed themselves of the countries lying between the rivers Montone and Fiumesmo.

This was the nation, I find, that came first to Clusium, and thence to Rome; but I cannot say whether they came alone, or assisted by all the other Cisalpine emigrants. The Clusians, terrified at this new war, when they saw the number and extraordinary size of the enemy, and withal the kind of arms they used, at the same time having often heard that the Etrurians had been often defeated by them, both on this and the other side of the Po: although they had no alliance with Rome, nor any claim to her friendship, if it were not, that they had not appeared in defence of the Veientes, their kinsmen, against the Romans, sent ambassadors to Rome to solicit assistance from the senate. In this, however, they did not succeed; but the three sons of Ambustius Fabius were sent ambassadors to treat with the Gauls in name of the senate and people of Rome, and to represent, that they ought not to attack the friends and allies of the people of Rome, who never had injured them, and in whose defence, should it prove necessary, they would be obliged to arm. But the most eligible alternative was, if possible, to prevent it; and it would add more to the character of the Gauls, whose settlement there had been but of a short standing, to make themselves known by the arts of peace, than their prowess in war.

(a) Who inhabited the Bourbounois. (b) Who inhabited Langress.
 (c) Who possessed part of the dutchy of Urbin, of the territory of Perugia, the county of Citta Castellana, and most of the dutchy of Spoleto. (d) From Sens and Auxerre.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Fatal error of the Fabii.

THE embassy in itself had nothing irritating, but it was delivered in a tone, and with an air which breathed more of the Gaulic fierceness, than of Roman politeness. Having delivered their commission in a council of the Gauls they had the following return: 'That the name of the Romans was but little known to them, though they had no doubt of their bravery, since the Clusians had thought proper to apply to them in their danger. That as they had chose rather to employ the methods of pacification, than their arms, in defence of their allies, they, on their side, should not reject the offered peace, provided the Clusians, who had more land than they could well manage, would give up a part of it to the Gauls, who needed it. Without this condition, all proposals for peace were inadmissible. That they would be glad to receive their answer in presence of the Roman ambassadors; and in case of a refusal, they would give them battle in presence of the same Romans, that they might be able to say, upon their return, how much the Gauls are superior to all mankind in bravery.'

Upon this, the ambassadors demanded to know, 'By what right they could insist on having land from its possessors, and if not granted, to threaten them with war? Besides, what business had they in Tuscany? We carry our right,' replied they fiercely, 'in the points of our swords; the brave are lords of the world.' Both sides were now highly exasperated, and flew to their arms, and began the action. There, the ambassadors, the fates now pushing on the destruction of Rome, in direct contradiction to the law of nations, took up arms. Nor could this remain a secret, when three warriors of the greatest distinction and valour of all the Roman youth, fought at the head of the Etrurians: so conspicuously did the bravery of these strangers distinguish them from the Clusians. Moreover, Q. Fabius, riding up before the first line, and meeting one of the Gaulic commanders, who was rushing furiously upon the van of the Etrurians, ran him through the side with his lance, and killed him

on the spot. Whilst he was stripping off his spoils, he was known by the enemy, and the report immediately spread through the whole army, that it was one of the Roman ambassadors. From that moment, all hostilities ceased against the Clusians. A retreat was sounded, and nothing was heard but threats of vengeance against Rome.

Some were of opinion, that they should instantly march thither; but the advice of the elder in the council prevailed, who were of opinion, that they ought to begin by sending deputies to Rome, to complain of what had happened, and to require that the Fabii should be delivered into their hands, for having violated their character, and with it, the law of nations.

After the Gaulic deputies had thus delivered their commission, and made their demand, the senate were much dissatisfied with the conduct of the Fabii, and made no objection to the justice of what the Barbarians insisted on. But a vicious complaisance for young persons of their distinction, prevented the senators from determining what they thought no more than reasonable, on this occasion. Wherefore, that they might not be chargeable with the consequences, with which a rupture with the Gauls might be attended, they referred the affair to the decision of the people. There the power and influence of the delinquents prevailed so much, that far from punishing them, the people named them to the military tribuneship for the following year. The deputies, full of that indignation which may be easily conceived, returned, breathing only war and revenge. With the three Fabii, Q. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Servilius, a fourth time, and Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, were created military tribunes.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Gauls march to Rome.

WHEN Rome was threatened with such an inundation of misery, she did not, as was usual, in the wars against the Fidenates, Veientes, and other neighbouring states, apply the last and most vigorous measure, in appointing a dictator; so much does fortune insatiate men,

when she is unwilling they should avert her impending purposes, that in the present conjuncture, when an unknown and terrible enemy from the ocean and utmost verges of the earth, were advancing by rapid marches to attack her, Rome made no extraordinary effort, by appointing a supreme magistrate, or suing for foreign aid. The tribunes, whose rashness had involved Rome in this war, presided in every thing, speaking lightly of the war, they made the levies with no more care than was usual upon the most ordinary occasions.

In the mean time, the Gauls, when they were informed that the violators of the law of nations had been raised to the first dignities of the state, and their embassy slighted, gave full vent to their passion, to which the nation is much addicted, immediately pulled up their ensigns, and began their march with all expedition. When during their march, they observed the confusion and terror of the cities through which they passed, as they ran to their arms, and the peasants flying before them, they called out aloud, that they were marching to Rome. Wherever they went they made a very formidable appearance, as their numbers, both in horse and foot, covered a vast tract of ground. The rapidity of their march, the news whereof, came and couriers from Clusium, and other states, had brought to Rome before them, occasioned a terrible consternation there.

Troops were levied in haste and without choice, and led out in great confusion, which with difficulty came up with the enemy eleven miles from the city, where the river Allia rising out of the river Crustumium, and running in a very deep channel, falls into the Tiber, a little below the Salarian high-way. The whole plain, both before and round them, was covered with enemies, and the Gauls, of whom a mighty bluster is characteristical, by their barbarous songs and hideous howlings, made all about them resound with a horrible noise.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A battle. The Romans defeated.

THERE the military tribunes took no care, either to make choice of an advantageous post for their camp, or

to fortify it with an entrenchment, to which they might retreat in case of a defeat: and equally regardless of the gods, as they had been deficient in human precaution, without auspices, without sacrifices, they drew up their army, extending the wings, that they might not be surrounded by their enemies numbers. But, although by extending their wings in that manner, they had thinned and weakened their centre to a great degree, yet still their front fell short of that of the enemy's. Upon their right was a small eminence, where they thought proper to post a corps-de-reserve; that circumstance occasioned their first fear and flight, and was the only means of securing their retreat.

Brennus, the Gaulic general, having a strong apprehension, that some design lay concealed in the smallness of the enemy's numbers; and imagining that they had taken possession of the height, with a view to attack him with this body of reserve, both in rear and flank, the moment the front lines were engaged, thought it necessary to begin with charging the reserved troops; convinced, if they were once dislodged, with so great a superiority in point of numbers, that he could easily obtain the victory in the open plain. Thus the Barbarians not only had fortune on their side, but the prudent conduct of an able commander.

In the other army, neither generals nor soldiers showed any thing of the Roman character. A sudden panic, and the thoughts of escaping, had arrested all their faculties: nay, so much were they lost to all reflection whatever, that by far the greater part fled to Veii, an enemy's capital, with the Tiber in their way, rather than straight to Rome, to their wives and children. The situation of the place, for some little time, contributed to the defence of the corps-de-reserve. But, whenever the rest of the army heard the shouts of the Gauls, which seemed to those who stood next, to have been raised from the flank, and, to the most remote, from their rear, they fled in a body without striking a stroke, or even returning the enemy's shout, and so far were they from feeling, that they had but barely seen this strange enemy. None of them fell in battle; but in the rout, where the crowd and hurry of the fugitives incumbered the flight, those in the rear were cut to pieces. A great slaughter was

made too on the banks of the Tiber, whither the whole left wing had retreated, after they had thrown down their arms: many who knew not how to swim, or could not, being weighed down by their coats of mail and other accoutrements, were swallowed up by the waves. The greatest part, however, got safe to Veii, from whence, they were so far from sending relief to Rome, that they never once thought of dispatching a courier with the news of their misfortune. The right wing, which was posted nearer the hill, and at a great distance from the river, marched all to Rome, and took refuge in the citadel, without staying to shut the gates of the city behind them.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Gauls enter Rome. The flower of the Romans fly to the Citadel and Capitol.

A VICTORY so suddenly obtained, astonished the Gauls so much, that they considered it as something miraculous. At first, awed by fear, they stood motionless, as if they had known nothing of what had happened. They still dreaded some ambuscade, but at last began to strip the slain, and pile up the arms, according to their custom. After all, when they saw nothing like an enemy appear, they set out for Rome, which they reached a little before sun-set. When the horse that were detached before them, brought back word that the gates were open, no guards posted before them, nor any soldiers on the walls, they considered it as a continuation of the same miracle; and not knowing what the night might bring forth, at the same time that they were utter strangers to the situation of the city, they encamped between the Anio and the city, and sent out scouts round the walls and the gates of the city, to bring intelligence of the enemy's designs, now that their situation was extremely critical.

At Rome, as the greatest part of the army had fled to Veii, nobody imagining that one of them had escaped but those who had made good their retreat to Rome, and the whole city lamenting the loss of the living, as well as the dead, there was nothing to be seen but tears and

sorrow; but when they were advised of the enemy's approach, public fear soon suppressed all public concern. It was not long before they heard the barbarians roaring out their howlings and discordant notes, as they strolled in troops round the city walls. During all the time after, till next morning, they were in the utmost suspense, every moment expecting an attack would be made upon the city, after the first approach of the enemy to it: as it was highly probable, they would not have stirred from Allia, but with that intention. At sun-set, as little light then remained, they were fully persuaded, that they would take the advantage of the little they had before the night came on, and when all was quiet during the evening, that they had deferred their design to strike the greater terror during the darkness of the night. At last the approach of day doubled their panic, which kept pace in progression with the evil itself, till they saw the enemy's ensigns enter their gates. However, during that night, and the day following, the citizens acted with much greater propriety than the army had done at Allia. For, when they found that to defend the city, with so small a force as had been left in it, would be quite impracticable, they resolved, that all the youth, fit to bear arms, and the flower of the senate, with their wives and children, should retire into the citadel and capitol; and having carried arms and provisions thither, defend their gods, their fellow-citizens, and the Roman name, from these strong-holds; whilst the priests of Romulus and the vestals carried off the sacred things, and placed them out of the reach of fire and sword, being firmly resolved never to give over the worship of the gods, whilst a single soul remained to perform it. For they thought, that if the citadel and capitol, the august body of the gods, the senate that formed the public council of the state, and the youth of age to bear arms, survived the ruin that impended the city, the loss of the old men, an useless number left in the city, and who in course of nature would die at any rate, was not much to be regretted. To encourage those of inferior rank to acquiesce in this resolution, without murmuring, the superannuated consuls and triumphant generals declared publicly, that they would die with them; for, since their bodies were too weak to support the weight of arms, for the defence of

their country, they ought not to be a burthen upon those who were armed for its preservation and might soon be in want of provisions.

CHAP. XL.

The deep distress which ensued from this battle.

IN this manner did these old men, destined to death, encourage and console each other. Then addressing themselves to the young men, and following them all the way to the citadel and capitol, pathetically recommended 'To their bravery, and youthful vigour, the fortune of what yet remained of a city, that in all its wars had been victorious, for three hundred and sixty years.' But when the moment came that was to separate the champions of the captive city from those who were determined not to survive its ruin, deep was the distress which that scene exhibited; and it was rendered still more affecting by the weeping and lamentations of the women, distractedly running they knew not whither, from their husbands to their sons, and from their sons to their husbands, asking now these, now those, 'whose fate they should share.' In short, never was human misery represented in more lively colours. A great part of the women, however, followed their friends into the citadel, who, though they were not invited, met with no opposition; because, of whatever consequence it might have been to the besieged, to have been freed from an useless multitude, it was quite inconsistent with humanity to shut them out. The remaining multitude, consisting chiefly of the populace, too numerous to be lodged in a fortress that stood on so small a hill, or to be maintained there in so great a scarcity, left the city in crowds, and took their way in a body towards the Janiculum. From thence, they dispersed themselves partly about the country, and partly among the neighbouring cities, having neither leader to conduct them, nor any concerted scheme to follow, each of them following his own hopes and particular views, the public interest being now given up for lost.

In the mean time, the priests of Romulus, and the vestals, dropping all concern about their private affairs, con-

sulted together, what sacred things they should carry away, and as they could not take the whole, what they should leave behind, and where these precious deposits might be most safely lodged. At last, they concluded it would be best to pack them in small casks, and bury them in a chapel, next to the house of the priest of Romulus, where now it is reckoned unlawful to spit. What was to be carried away, they divided among them, and each with his burden, took the road by the bridge, Sulpicius leading to the Janiculum.

As L. Albinus, a Plebeian, was drawing his wife and children in a waggon, among the rest of the crowd, who could have been of no use in the defence of the city, he observing the vestals on the side of a hill, notwithstanding the necessity of the times, forgot not the respect due to things divine; for thinking it most preposterous [that he should be seen in a carriage with his family, whilst the public priests of the Roman people were on foot, carrying the sacred things, he ordered out his wife and children, and placing the vestals with their sacred burdens in the waggon, drove them to Cære, the place of their destination.

CHAP. XLI.

Resolution and massacre of the aged Senators.

IN the mean time, every thing for the defence of the citadel being disposed at Rome, in the best manner possible, considering the present exigency, the venerable company of superannuated patriots returned to their houses, there to wait, with steady resolution, the coming of the enemy, and death. Such of them as had borne curule magistracies, that they might die adorned with the ensigus of their former dignity, honours, and gallantry, dressed themselves in their most magnificent robes, which they used to wear in the procession of their gods, and in their triumphs, seating themselves in their ivory chairs in the middle of their halls. We find in some authors, that these ancients first devoted themselves for their country, and the Roman people, by a vow which M. Fabius, the high priest, administered in form.

The Gauls, as the intervention of a whole night had

given time to the fury with which they were agitated in the late action, to subside, and as they had met with little or no resistance from the Romans, nor even now put to the necessity of an assault to take the city, entered it next day, without any signs of violent passion and resentment, by the gate Collina, moving on to the forum, and casting their eyes on all sides, to the temples of the gods, and the citadel, where alone they could observe the least appearance of resistance. Then posting a small guard, to prevent any sally from the citadel or capitol, when they might be dispersed through the city, they went about in plundering parties, and finding the streets quite empty, and not meeting a single soul, they rushed in bodies into the adjoining houses, whilst others flew to the most remote, imagining they had never been touched, and consequently full of booty. Struck with terror at the general desolation, they returned in a body to the forum, and the adjoining places, fearing they might, when dispersed, fall into some ambuscade. Here finding the houses of the Plebeians shut, but the halls of the nobility open, they hesitated more upon entering the last than the first, keeping at an awful distance from those venerable sages, sitting in the porches of their houses in dress and attitude appearing with an air of greatness above human, and in the awful majesty of their looks, and gravity of their deportment, perfectly resembling the gods. When they had stood some time gazing at so many statues, one of these ancients, M. Papirius is said to have provoked a Gaul, by breaking his head with a smart blow of his ivory truncheon, for using the freedom of stroking his beard, which was then permitted to grow to a great length. He was the first victim, and the rest were all killed where they sat. The Gauls, after this massacre, gave no quarter; and having cleared the houses of their contents, immediately set them on fire.

CHAP. XLII.

Rome set on fire. Melancholy scene.

THE first day, the devastation among the houses by the fire, was not so general as might have been expected

in a city taken by the enemy : either the Gauls had no intention to destroy the city entirely *, or by letting the Romans see part of the city in flames, the Gaulic chiefs meant to terrify them, and so engage them to surrender out of regard to their houses, and not to set the whole in flames, that the hopes of saving the remainder, might bend the proud hearts of the enemy. The Romans observing from the citadel, how the city swarmed with enemies, and following all their motions with their eyes, as they ran dispersed all over the streets, were every moment struck with new matter of regret, and unable to stand the shock of what they saw and heard, were quite distracted.

Wherever the shouts of the enemy, shrieks of women and children, the glare of the flames, or the crash of falling-houses, denounced some new disaster, thither they turned their eyes, their faces, and attention, as if fortune had placed them on the top of an eminence, expressly to be the sad spectators of the ruin of their country; having nothing left them now of all that belonged to them, but their bodies to defend. Their case was more deplorable than that of any other besieged, for they were shut up from the relief of their country, whilst, at the same time, they saw every thing they could have called their own, in the hands of the enemy.

The first day, so full of trouble, was followed by a night no less terrible. And when this restless night gave place to a new day, some new tragical scene was every moment exhibited before them. However, overwhelmed and oppressed as they were, with such a complication of miseries, they still continued inflexible; and although they saw the whole city in flames and levelled with the ground, they were determined to defend to their latest breath, the poor little hill, which they yet could call their own, being the only spot that was reserved for liberty. The continual view of so dreadful a scene, which was every day repeated before their eyes, had inured them, in a manner, to their calamities, so that they became insensible of their poignancy; regarding only their arms, and the swords in their right hands, as the only hope and resource, on which, from thenceforth, they were to depend.

* Read, *Omnis delendæ urbis, &c.*

CHAP. XLIII.

*The Gauls disappointed. Turn the siege into a blockade.
Camillus at Ardea.*

THE Gauls, on their side, who for some days had carried on an ineffectual war against the houses, and seeing nothing now remaining of the captive city, after the flames and ruins, but the enemy still in arms, neither terrified with so many calamities, nor in the least disposed to surrender, unless compelled, resolved to make the last experiment, and attack the citadel in form. Having, therefore, given the signal, by the morning's dawn, they drew up their whole army in the forum; after which, they advanced to the hill with great cries, covering their heads with their shields, in the form of tortoises. The Romans, without trouble or confusion, having posted guards on all the avenues, and disposed their best troops against the attack, suffered the enemy to ascend, concluding that the higher they advanced, the more easy it would be to drive them down the steep declivity. Accordingly, they stopped short in the middle of the descent, and having the advantage of an eminence, which seemed to be calculated by nature for annoying the enemy, they fell upon the Gauls with great impetuosity, and drove them back tumbling one above another, with such slaughter, as prevented them from making a second attempt, either with detachments, or the whole of their army.

Wherefore, finding it impracticable to carry the city by assault, they turned their siege into a blockade. This had never come into their heads before, for all the corn in the city had perished in the general conflagration, and the Romans took care to carry all that could be found in the country into Veii. Wherefore, the Gauls having divided their army, employed part of them to forage in the neighbourhood, whilst the rest remained to continue the blockade, trusting for provisions to their foraging parties.

In their excursions, they found an opportunity of putting the Roman bravery to the test. For, chance led

them to Ardea, whither Camillus had retired. This great man, more affected with the calamities of his country, than its ingratitude to himself, after he had exhausted himself, accusing gods and men, wondering with indignation what had become of these men, who under his command had taken Veii and Falerii, and who, in other wars, had never been deficient in point of bravery, however unsuccessful, was surprised with the news, that an army of the Gauls were on their way thither, about which the Ardeates, in the utmost consternation, were deliberating upon the measures proper to be taken. Hitherto he had not appeared in their public councils, but upon this occasion, excited, as it were, by a divine impulse, he presented himself in the heart of their assembly, and spoke to the following purpose :

CHAP. XLIV.

Camillus addresses the Ardeans.

‘**P** EOPLE of Ardea, my old friends, though but of late my fellow-citizens; to your kindness I owe the first; to my fate I owe the last; I hope none of you will think that I forget my condition, when I appear thus in your assembly: but the present occurrence and the common danger, calls upon every one to do his utmost to provide against it. And, indeed, when will it be in my power to evidence my gratitude, for the important favours you have conferred on me, if not at present? It is in war alone I can be of use to you. It was by that I supported my credit in my own country. When in war I was invincible, I was banished by my ungrateful countrymen in time of peace. As for you, my friends of Ardea, fortune presents you with a fair opportunity of making a suitable return to the people of Rome, for the obligations you lie under to them, which, as you remember them well, it would be using you ill to recapitulate; at the same time that you will acquire immortal glory, by giving a check to the common enemy. On that people, who are advancing this way in straggling parties, nature has bestowed enormity of size, and impetuosity of courage, rather than firmness of body, or constancy of mind; and in con-

sequence, they carry with them more terror than force to the battle. Can there be a stronger proof than their victory over the Romans? The city was open to them when they took it. From the citadel and capitol they have been repelled by a handful of men. Now wearied out with the length of the blockade, they abandon it, and disperse themselves all over the country; glutted with meat and drink, which they greedily devour, as soon as night comes on, they ly down like beasts along the sides of rivers, without intrenchments, guards, or sentinels; and their late success serves only to augment their usual negligence. If, therefore, you would defend your walls, and prevent this whole country from falling into the hands of these barbarians, arm by midnight, and follow me, not to a battle, but to a certain slaughter. If I deliver them not into your hands, fast asleep, to be butchered at your pleasure, like so many beasts, I consent to be treated at Ardea, as I have been at Rome.'

CHAP. XLV.

A party of the Gauls surprised by Camillus. The Soldiers at Veii surprise the Tuscans.

EVERY body, whether well or ill affected to Camillus, was fully convinced that he was the greatest captain of his time; so that after the assembly broke up, they took the necessary refreshment, and set themselves to watch where the signal should be given, when Camillus, after all was dark and silent, found them ready at the gates, and put himself at their head. When they had gone a little out of town they found the camp of the Gauls open and unguarded on all sides, just as he had told them would be the case; and attacked it with prodigious shouts. There was no fighting, but a terrible slaughter everywhere. Naked as they were born, and fast asleep, they were all butchered without resistance. Those that lay at the greatest distance started up in a fright, and being totally ignorant whence or by whom they were attacked, some took to their heels, whilst others threw themselves inadvertently into the enemy's way. A great part of them

escaped into the country of Antium, where they were set upon by the inhabitants and cut to pieces.

The Tuscans were served in the same manner, in the territory of Veii. This people far from commiserating the misfortune of a city, settled almost four hundred years in their neighbourhood, oppressed by a strange and unheard-of enemy, made incursions at that very time upon the Roman territories, and loaded with booty, had laid a plan for attacking Veii, the only asylum, and last resource of the Roman name. The Roman soldiers had observed how they were ranging through the country, and driving the booty before their main body, at the same time that they had their camp not far from Veii. At first, the melancholy state of their own affairs threw a damp on their spirits: but it soon gave way to indignation, which immediately kindled in their minds the highest resentment. 'What!' said they, 'do the Etrurians too, from whom we turned the arms of the Gauls upon ourselves, insult us in our adversity?' Nothing could have given them greater pleasure than to have attacked them that moment; but by the advice of Cœdicus, a centurion, whom they had chosen for their leader, they suspended the business till night. The name and authority of Camillus were all that were wanting on this occasion; all the rest was conducted with great propriety and good success. The prisoners, who had survived that night's slaughter, conducted them to another body of Etrurians, encamped at the salt-pits, of whom, before they dreamed of their danger, they made a still greater slaughter the next night. With this double victory they returned exulting and triumphant to Veii.

CHAP. XLVI.

Resolution of a young Roman. Camillus recalled, and created Dictator, heads the army at Veii.

IN the mean time, the siege of Rome went on but slowly, both sides remaining inactive. Whilst the Gauls were solely intent upon preventing any one of the enemy to quit the place by passing their guards, a young Roman all of a sudden drew on himself the admiration, as well of the enemy as of his fellow-citizens. There was a

sacrifice peculiar to the Fabian family, which could be performed nowhere, but on the Quirinal hill. For this purpose, C. Fabius Dorso came down from the capitol, having his gown tucked up, and the sacred things in his hands; passed through the enemy's guards; and without regard to their threats or noise, got safe to the Quirinal hill. Having performed there all the necessary ceremonies, he returned the same way, with the same gravity of air and gesture, to the capitol, in full confidence of the protection of those gods, whose worship he had preserved even at the risk of his life. The Gauls were either astonished at his surprising boldness, or moved with a sense of religion, which they by no means neglect.

In the mean time, the army at Veii not only gained fresh spirits, but were every day considerably reinforced, not only by many Romans, who had been dispersed up and down the country, after the defeat of Allia, and the capture of Rome, but also by crowds of Latin volunteers, who joined them, that they might come in for their share of the spoil. Now, they concluded, was the time to save their country, and deliver it out of the hands of the enemy: but though they were a formidable party, they had none among them able to take the command.

The place itself reminded them of Camillus; besides that, a great part of that very army had fought successfully under the command and auspices of that great captain. Cædicius protested, 'That he would do nothing to provoke either gods or men to put an end to his command; but not forgetful of his rank, he would himself demand a general.' It was unanimously agreed to send for Camillus from Ardea, but not before they had consulted the senate at Rome; such was their regard to propriety, and to the order prescribed by law, in all things, even at a time when the Republic was on the brink of ruin. To pass through the enemy's guards to the citadel, was a dangerous attempt. Pontius Comminius, however, a sprightly young fellow, promised to do his best in the business; and laying himself on the bark of a tree, was carried safely down the current of the Tiber to the city. By a steep rock, on the side next the river, which the enemy thought unnecessary to guard, he got up with difficulty to the capitol.

He was brought before the magistrates, and delivered

his commission from the army. Having then got the senate's decree, ordaining, ' That Camillus should, by an act of the comitia assembled by curiæ, be recalled from banishment; and by authority of the people be immediately appointed dictator, at the same time, that the army should have the general they desired.' Returning the same way, he posted to Veii with the news; whence the commissioners were sent Camillus at Ardea, who conducted him to Veii: or rather an act repealing his banishment, was passed in the comitia assembled by curiæ, and he declared dictator in his absence; for it is more likely that he did not move from Ardea, till he had certain advices of the act passed by the senate; because he could not change the place of his retreat, without the voices of the people, nor take the auspices regularly in the army, in order to their entering upon action, till he was appointed dictator.

CHAP. XLVII.

An attempt of the Gauls frustrated by the gallantry of Manlius.

DURING these transactions at Veii, the citadel and capitol of Rome were in extreme danger. The Gauls, whether they had observed the impressions of a man's feet, in that place where the messenger from Veii had climbed the rock, or of themselves had discovered that it was accessible by the rock Carmentalis, it is certain, that one night, when it was pretty clear, they first sent a man before to examine the way, without his arms, which they afterwards handed up to him; and where it was steep, they supported, lifted and lent each other a hand, as the difficulty of the place required, till they had reached the top. This they did with so much silence, that neither the centinels, nor even the dogs, animals that are apt to stir at the least noise in the night-time, were in the least alarmed. But they did not escape unnoticed by the geese, which being sacred to Juno, the Romans, in all their scarcity of provisions, had preserved alive. This saved the capitol. For by their gagling and beating their wings, they raised M. Manlius, a great soldier, who had been consul three years before; he snatching

up his arms, and spreading the alarm, flew to the rampart, and whilst the rest were in a mighty consternation, with the boss of his buckler he beat back a Gaul, who had by that time reached the top of the battlement, and he, in his fall, tumbled down those who were next him, whilst Manlius killed others, who throwing down their arms in the utmost terror, hung by their hands on the rocks. By this time too, others had crowded to the place, and with stones and darts precipitated the rest, so that the whole of these adventurers tumbled headlong from the top to the bottom of the rock.

When the confusion was over, the rest of the night was devoted to repose, as far as could be enjoyed after such an alarm, and solicitude for the danger that was past. Early next morning, the military tribunes assembled the troops by sound of trumpet, in order to dispense rewards and punishments, as merit, or demerit should appear. First of all, Manlius was praised for his noble exertions; and had presents, not only from the military tribunes, but from all the soldiers; for each of them carried to his house, which stood in the citadel, half a pound of meal, and a measure of wine containing five ounces. A reward, considerable only as it was a singular proof of their affection, when in the extreme scarcity of provisions, they could part with their very living, to do honour to the merit of one man.

The centinels on that post, where the enemy had escaped their vigilance and climbed up the rock, were called upon next; and though Sulpicius, the military tribune, sentenced them all to die according to the laws of military discipline, yet as all the soldiers laid the blame upon one centinel, he was afraid of a mutiny, and so respited the rest. With the approbation of the whole, he who was undeniably in the wrong, was thrown over the rock. From thenceforth, the guards were kept on both sides with more attention. On the part of the Gauls, because it was commonly talked, that a correspondence was kept up between Rome and Veii; and on that of the Romans, from a retrospect of the danger they had escaped in the night.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Pestilence. Famine. A Compromise.

BUT now famine began to distress both parties, more than all the calamities consequent on the siege of the war. Add to this, that a pestilential distemper raged among the Gauls, who were encamped in a valley between two hills, rendered excessively hot by the flames of the houses, and smoke issuing from them, at the same time, that the least blast of wind made not only the dust, but the ashes insupportable. The Gauls, who had been accustomed to a moist and cold climate, could not support under these inconveniences, but oppressed with the excessive heat, and a lowness of spirits, they died like rotten sheep; in-somuch, that they could no longer be troubled with burying them one by one, but piled them up in heaps promiscuously, and set fire to them at once; rendering the place famous, by the name of the Gaul's burying-place.

After this, a suspension of arms was agreed on by both parties, during which, by permission of the generals, the troops had frequent intercourse together; and whilst the Gauls insisted principally on the short allowance to which the besieged were reduced, and advised them to surrender on that account; to remove such thoughts, it is said, they threw loaves from the capitol, at different places, into the posts of the enemy.

But, by this time, the famine had risen to such an height, that it could neither be concealed, nor endured any longer. Therefore, while the dictator was levying troops in person at Ardea, having dispatched L. Valerius, general of the horse, to march the troops from Veii, and was making every preparation to act on the offensive with the enemy; the army in the capitol, quite exhausted with hard duty and watching, though they had bravely surmounted all other human obstacles, against the cravings of nature their courage could furnish them with no antidote, and being every moment on the watch for assistance from the dictator, at length their hopes failed them with the provisions, whilst their enfeebled bodies sunk under the pressure of their arms as they mounted guard, insisted absolutely to surrender,

or to ransom themselves as they best could; more especially as the Gauls gave strong hints in their discourse, that they would raise the siege for an inconsiderable ransom.

The senate met, and empowered the military tribunes to negotiate an accommodation; which was concluded between Q. Sulpicius, the military tribune, and Brennus, general of the Gauls, and the ransom of a people, destined one day to command the universe, was fixed at one thousand pound weight of gold.* This capitulation was too disgraceful to require any addition, but the Gauls improved upon the indignity. They brought false weights, and when the tribune objected to them, the king insultingly added his sword, which he threw into the scale, expressing himself in these words, 'Wo to the conquered,' a phrase of all others the most shocking to a Roman ear.

CHAP. XLIX.

Camillus changes the face of affairs.

BUT neither gods nor men would permit the Romans to live on the terms of a ransomed people. For fortune had so ordered it, that before this infamous ransom was all paid down, their wrangling having taken up some time, the dictator made his appearance, and ordered the money to be taken away, and the Gauls to be gone. When they objected, pleading the capitulation signed between them, he replied, that no treaty concluded with a magistrate of inferior authority, without his participation, from the moment he was declared dictator, could be valid, and then told them, they might prepare for battle.

His own troops he ordered to throw their baggage in a heap, and stand to their arms, for with steel, and not with gold, were they now to redeem their country, fighting in view of the temples of their gods, in sight of their wives and children, and in their native soil, disfigured as it was by the calamities of war, and in the midst of all that ought to be defended, recovered, or

* Forty-five thousand pounds sterling.

revenged. He then drew up his army in the best order of battle possible, amidst the ruins of the city, and on uneven ground, and took all the precautions that military skill could suggest to insure success.

The Gauls, confounded at this revolution, ran to their arms, and rushed against the Romans with more fury than prudence. Affairs now wore quite a different aspect, for the protection of the gods and human wisdom united in favour of the Romans. For which reason the Gauls were defeated at the first charge, with the same ease they had conquered at the battle of Allia.

They were a second time routed still more completely under the conduct and auspices of the same Camillus, eight miles from Rome, on the Gabinian way, whither they had fled. There the slaughter was total, their camp taken, and not a man escaped to carry home the melancholy news of their disaster.

Thus the dictator having recovered his country from the enemy, returned in triumph to Rome, and the soldiers in their rough jollity, recognized him a second Romulus the founder of a new Rome, eulogiums which he most certainly deserved. But this was not all. His country, which he rescued from the enemy, he a second time saved from its friends. For he prevented the people from removing to Veii, though the tribunes made greater efforts to promote that emigration, after the city was burnt, and the people themselves more devoted to the project, than ever they had been before. For this reason, he did not abdicate the dictatorship after his triumph, but at the importunity of the senate, deserted not the republic, whilst its unsettled state required his superintendence.

CHAP. L.

Regulations after the expulsion of the Gauls.

FIRST of all, as he was exceedingly strict in whatever regarded religion, he took under consideration, what related to the worship of the gods, and obtained a decree of the senate; ' That all the temples, as they had been ' in the enemy's possession, should be re-established, ' bounded, and purified; and that the duumvirs, who had

‘ charge of the Sybilline books, should be consulted
‘ about the proper mode of purification. That by public
‘ authority, a league of hospitality should be made with
‘ the people of Cære *, who had given a safe retreat to
‘ the Roman priests and sacred things, and by whose
‘ favour, the worship of the immortal gods had suffered
‘ no interruption. That the Capitoline games should be
‘ celebrated in honour of Jupiter, the best and greatest,
‘ who in all the misfortunes that had happened, had pre-
‘ served his august abode, and the citadel of Rome ; and
‘ that the dictator Camillus should constitute a college of
‘ persons, chosen from among the inhabitants of the ca-
‘ pitol and citadel, to superintend that affair.’

It was also moved, that expiation should likewise be made for the neglect of the miraculous voice heard in the night, which gave warning of the impending calamity, before any war with the Gauls was thought of, and a temple ordered to be erected to *Aius Locutius* †, in the New Street. It was likewise ordered, that the gold, which had been rescued from the Gauls, and that which in their greatest danger had been taken out of the other temples, and conveyed to the chapel of Jupiter, should be deemed sacred, and deposited at his shrine, because in their confusion, they could not recollect the places to which it ought to be returned.

The religion of the Romans had before been conspicuous, in the behaviour of the ladies, when the public was at a loss to make up the stipulated ransom to the Gauls, in supplying that deficiency, that the sacred treasure might not be touched ; for which act of generosity, they had thanks returned them, and moreover the honour decreed them, of having funeral orations pronounced over them after their death, as well as the men. After the duties of religion, and such things as could be transacted by means of the senate, had been performed, the tribunes began, in their daily harangues, to resume the old plea, and urge the people to abandon Rome in ruins, and remove to Veii, a city ready built and furnished, when Camillus appeared in the assembly of the people, attended by the whole body of the senate, and spoke to the following effect.

* Hence, Cæremonia, from *Cære* and *Manere*.

† The speaking god.

CHAP. LI.

Speech of Camillus.

DISPUTES with the tribunes, gentlemen, are so unsupportable to me, that the only consolation I had, whilst I lived a miserable exile at Ardea, was to consider myself out of the reach of these cavils: for which express reason, I was resolved never more to set a foot in this city had I not been recalled by a decree of the senate, and your suffrages. Neither is it owing to any change in my opinion, that I am now returned; the situation of your affairs obliged me to it. The question was not to replace myself in Rome, but to reinstate Rome itself upon the seat of its empire. And at this instant, nothing would give me greater pleasure, than to remain quiet, and be silent, were not this too a struggle in behalf of my country, to abandon which, would be shameful in any other, but in Camillus, criminal to the last degree, while any spark of life remains. For what occasion had we to recover, or wrest this our city when besieged, out of the hands of the Barbarians, if after all our exertions, we ourselves should abandon it? When the gods and the Roman people held, by actual possession, the capitol and citadel, whilst all the rest of the city together fell a sacrifice to the victorious Gauls; shall we now, when conquerors, after all we have done to recover this city, abandon also the capitol and citadel, and our prosperity be the cause of a greater desolation in Rome, than even our adversity? If indeed these religious rites, which were instituted and handed down to us from the foundation of the city, were to be totally disregarded by us, yet the protection of the gods, hath been so strongly marked to us in the present instance, that for men to neglect the worship of the gods, were in my opinion, absolutely impossible. Only look back upon what has happened to us, good or bad, for some years past, and you will see evidently, that every thing has succeeded with us, when submissive and dutiful to the gods, and every thing unfortunate, when we despised them.

First of all, let us take a review of the war with Veii, which continued for so many years, with incredible

fatigue, and was never brought to a conclusion, till by advice of the gods, the water was drawn off from the Alban Lake. And what, after all, shall I say of the fatal blow which Rome lately received? That did not happen, till we had been forwarned by a miraculous voice, that the Gauls were coming, which we slighted; nor till the law of nations had been violated by our ambassadors, and we, regardless of our duty to the gods, shewed an unpardonable remissness in punishing them. This, therefore, is the source of all we have suffered from gods and men: we have been conquered, enslaved, and ransomed, as examples to all the world. Our misfortunes, at that time, put us in mind of the duties of religion. We fled to the capitol, to throw ourselves upon the protection of the gods: we sat down in the august abode of Jupiter the greatest and the best. Amidst the general devastation, some of our sacred things we concealed under ground, and others we carried to the neighbouring cities, where our enemies could not come at them. Though thus abandoned by heaven and earth, we never omitted the worship of the gods; and what is the consequence? Why, they have restored us our country, victory, the Roman name, and military glory, which we had forfeited. And, as for the enemy, who blinded with their avarice, had broke their faith and capitulation in weighing the gold, they struck them with terror, put them to flight, and delivered them to certain slaughter.

CHAP. LII.

In Continuation.

NOW having before our eyes, so many monuments of the good and evil occasioned by our respect or contempt of the gods, do you perceive, gentlemen, into what an abyss of crimes, scarce escaped, as we are, from the wreck of our faults and misfortunes, we are now going to plunge ourselves? We inhabit a city, built in consequence of auspices and auguries. There is not a single spot in it, where you will not perceive legible traces of the gods and religion. Nay, the very places for performing our most solemn sacrifices, are as fixed as the days for their celebration. Would you

‘ then, my fellow-citizens, abandon all these gods, both
‘ public and private? How very different does this
‘ scheme of yours appear, from what was acted by the
‘ noble youth, C. Fabius, to the admiration of the ene-
‘ my as well as yours, who came down from the citadel,
‘ amidst the darts of the enemy, and performed a reli-
‘ gious ceremony upon the Quirinal hill, peculiar to
‘ the Fabian family? Is it criminal in a private family
‘ to neglect the performance of religious duties in time
‘ of war; and do you think it can be lawful for a whole
‘ community to abandon their public sacred rites, and
‘ their gods in time of peace? For the priest and fla-
‘ mens to be less strict in the performance of the public
‘ ceremonies of religion, than for a private person, of
‘ those peculiar to his family?

‘ But, perhaps it may be alledged, that these cere-
‘ monies may be performed at Veii, or priests sent from
‘ thence to perform them. But neither of these can be
‘ done, without a violation of our ceremonies. For, not
‘ to mention all the sacred ceremonies, or the gods, spe-
‘ cifically: in the festival of Jupiter, can the bed be
‘ spread any where else, but in the capitol? Need I men-
‘ tion the eternal fire of Vesta, and the statue safely pre-
‘ served in her temple, as a pledge of empire? Need I
‘ mention your Ancilia, or Mars Gradivus, and father
‘ Romulus? And would you, have all these sacred things,
‘ which were coëval with the city and some of them of
‘ a date much more ancient, to be abandoned in a pro-
‘ fane place? Only mark the difference between our an-
‘ cestors and us. They transmitted to us a tradition,
‘ that some of our solemnities should be performed upon
‘ Mount Alba and Lavinium.

‘ Now, was it an act of devotion to bring religious
‘ ceremonies from hostile cities to ourselves at Rome,
‘ and shall we, without involving ourselves in the guilt
‘ of sacrilege, carry them hence to Veii, a hostile city?
‘ Will you only call to mind, how often our sacred ce-
‘ remonies have been performed a-new, because some
‘ ancient regulation, either through carelessness or ac-
‘ cident, had been omitted. What other circumstance,
‘ was it of late, after the prodigy of the Alban lake, but
‘ the renewal of the sacred auspices, that relieved the
‘ commonwealth, oppressed as it was with the war with

‘ Veii? Add to all this, mindful as it were, of our ancient
‘ religious institutions, we have both brought foreign
‘ gods to Rome, and also established new ones. Juno,
‘ queen of the gods, was lately brought from Veii; and
‘ how conspicuous was the day of her dedication render-
‘ ed, by the meritorious zeal of the ladies? We have
‘ ordered a temple to be erected to Aius Locutius, on ac-
‘ count of the miraculous voice heard in the New Street.
‘ To other solemnities, we have added the Capitoline
‘ games: and by authority of the senate have establish-
‘ ed a new college for that purpose: What occasion had
‘ we for all this work, if we had been determined to
‘ leave the city at the same time with the Gauls? if our
‘ stay in the capitol, during a siege of so many months,
‘ was not voluntary? If it was not fear that kept us
‘ back from the enemy?

‘ But do I only mention rites and temples, and leave
‘ the priests entirely out of the question? Do you not
‘ perceive how much we shall have to account for with
‘ respect to them! The vestals are fixed to one parti-
‘ cular residence, from which, no consideration but the
‘ capture of the city, ever moved them. The priest of
‘ Jupiter, without the grossest criminality, dare not sleep
‘ one night out of the city. Would you make them
‘ Veientian, instead of Roman priests? And, O Vesta,
‘ shall any vestals forsake thee now? And will the priest
‘ of Jupiter, by residing among strangers, involve in so
‘ much guilt, himself and his country every night?
‘ Need I mention other things, which are performed by
‘ auspices, generally within the pomerium; must they
‘ too be forgotten or neglected? The comitia by curiæ,
‘ who have the cognizance of military affairs; the co-
‘ mitia by centuries, by whom our consuls and military
‘ tribunes are elected, can they be held any where un-
‘ der proper auspices, but in the usual place? Shall we
‘ transfer them to Veii? Or, shall the people, under a
‘ thousand inconveniences, meet in a city abandoned
‘ by gods and men?

CHAP. LIII.

In Continuation.

6 **BUT** it may be said, that necessity obliges us to quit
a city in ruins, and reduced to ashes, and to take re-
fuge in Veii, where we shall find all conveniencies,
without harassing the poor people with rebuilding
Rome. Were I not to tell you this is a vain pretext,
a mere allegation, I am certain, you must see it: For
some of you, gentlemen, must remember, that before
the arrival of the Gauls, when all the buildings, pub-
lic and private, were whole and entire, and Rome in
absolute safety, this same affair of removing to Veii
was in agitation. But to show you, tribunes, in what
different points of view this matter appears to you and
to me. You think, though great objections might have
been made at that time, that now there can be none.
On the contrary, it is my opinion, nor need you be
surprised till you have heard me out, although we
might have left the city before it had suffered from the
rude touches of the Gauls, that in honour we cannot
leave these ruins now. For, at that time, our victory
furnished us with some pretence for removing to a city
we had just conquered, as it was cause of boasting to
ourselves and posterity; but to remove thither now,
would be for us mean and shameful in the extreme,
but to the Gauls it would do singular credit. For it
would by no means appear, that we had left our coun-
try when victorious, but that we had lost it when con-
quered. To the defeat at Allia, the capture of Rome,
and the blockade of the Capitol, may be justly ascrib-
ed the sad alternative of abandoning our tutelary gods,
of flying and banishing ourselves from a place we
could not defend. Have the Gauls been able to de-
molish Rome, and shall it be thought that the Romans,
are not able to rebuild it! What then remains, but that
you tamely suffer these very Gauls, whose numbers are
incredible, to return if they please, with a new army,
and take possession of this city, which they have taken
and you abandoned?

But if the Gauls have no such intention, what if the

' Æqui and Volsci, your former enemies, should remove
 ' to Rome? Would you wish them to become Romans,
 ' whilst you were only burghers of Veii? Whether
 ' would you choose, that Rome should be a desert in
 ' your own possession, or to be inhabited by your ene-
 ' mies? Of two alternatives so unaccountable, it is hard
 ' to say which is the more criminal. Would you really
 ' involve yourselves in so much guilt, and expose your-
 ' selves to such infamy, only to save you the trouble of
 ' rebuilding the city? If in all the city, a house larger or
 ' more handsome could not be raised, than the cottage
 ' which served our Founder for a palace of old, would it
 ' not be more honourable to dwell in huts like shepherds
 ' and herdsmen, amidst your household gods, and the
 ' temples still existing, than to condemn yourselves to a
 ' public and universal banishment? Did our ancestors,
 ' who were strangers and shepherds, so quickly rear up
 ' a new city, when there was nothing here but woods
 ' and marshes; and shall we, when the capitol, citadel,
 ' and temples of the gods are still standing and safe, shall
 ' we, I say, think it a mighty matter, to rebuild a city
 ' that has been consumed by fire? Is it not surprising,
 ' that as a community we should hesitate on doing, when
 ' the calamity is general, what every individual would
 ' do, were it his particular case?

CHAP. LIV.

In Continuation.

' BUT in the name of the gods, should a fire, either
 ' by accident or design, happen at Veii, and the wind,
 ' as might naturally be supposed, spread the flames so as
 ' to consume the best part of that city, must we then
 ' shift about from thence to Fidenæ, Gabii, or some other
 ' town? Has your native soil no charms to attract your
 ' regard? Has this, our mother country, none at all:
 ' Does our love for our country extend only to roofs and
 ' rafters? Upon honour, I will frankly acknowledge,
 ' though it gives me more pain to call your injustice
 ' than my own misfortune to remembrance, that during
 ' my exile, as often as I thought of my country, these
 ' hills, those fields, the Tiber, the country I was accus-

‘tomed to survey, and yonder sky, under which I was
‘born and bred, came crowding into my mind. Let
‘these my fellow-citizens, by their attractive charms,
‘rather engage you to remain in your own place of
‘abode, than after you have abandoned them, to regret
‘your loss, when it will be too late.

‘It was not without reason, that gods and men se-
‘lected this spot for the purpose of building a city,
‘where we have most wholesome hills, and a conve-
‘nient river for conveying the corns from the inland
‘countries, and merchandize from the sea, which, by
‘the bye, is near enough for all good purposes, and at
‘the same time so remote, as to secure us against any
‘attack from foreign fleets. It lies in the centre of all
‘the provinces of Italy, the only situation capable of
‘promoting the increase of a city. Can we have any
‘stronger proof of this, than the rapidity of its progress?
‘This, my friends, is only the three hundred and sixty-
‘fifth year of our city; so long have you been waging
‘war with many nations of a long standing, and after all,
‘neither the Volsci, in conjunction with the Æqui, in
‘possession of so many strong cities, nay not even all
‘Etruria, so powerful both by sea and land, and extend-
‘ing the whole breadth of Italy, between two seas, have
‘been a match for you in war. What reason have you
‘then, or rather, what dæmon possesses you, who, know
‘how you have been here, for trying new experiments?
‘You may indeed carry your bravery elsewhere, but
‘can you carry thither that fortune, which is unalter-
‘ably annexed to this particular spot? Here is the Capi-
‘tol, where a human head was found long ago, and it
‘was declared concerning it, that the place where it was
‘found, should be the seat of universal empire, the capi-
‘tal of the world. It was here too, when the Capitol
‘was cleared of all other divinities, that Youth and Ter-
‘minus refused to be removed. Here are the fires of
‘Vesta; here are the celestial bucklers; in one word,
‘it is to your continuance here, that the gods have an-
‘nexed your prosperity, power, and glory.’

CHAP. LV.

Camillus prevails.

CAMILLUS's arguments, in general, but especially those drawn from religion, are allowed to have left a very strong impression with the people; but a chance word, seasonably spoken, determined them entirely. For some moments after, when the senate had met in the Curia Hostilia, to deliberate on these things, the cohorts, as they were returning from guard, passed in a body through the forum, and a centurion called out in the comitium, '*Ensign, plant your colours, we shall be very well here:*' upon which, the senators ran out of the temple, crying, *We accept the omen.* The multitude standing around, unanimously approved the motion.

The law being afterwards rejected, they began to build the city, without forming a plan, or regarding property. The public supplied them with tiles, and permitted them to take stones or other materials, wherever they found it convenient; exacting security, however, from every one, that his house should be finished in twelve months. The hurry they were in prevented them from paying the least regard to regularity in the streets: For every man, without minding property, laid the foundation of his house in the first empty place that occurred; for which reason, the old sewers, which had originally run through the streets, now ran everywhere under the houses; and the city had more the appearance of being populous, than of being regularly disposed.

FINIS.

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