THE WORKS OF TACITUS.

IN

FOUR VOLUMES.

To which are prefixed,

Political Discourses

Upon That

AUTHOR.

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V.1.

TO

The Right Honourable

Sir ROBERT WALPOLE,

First Commissioner of the Treasury, Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, one of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

SIR,

AS You were the first who promoted the following Work in a public manner, I take liberty to present it to the Public under your name, and to do an act of acknowledg-

ment for one of generoſity. Be pleaſed to be the Patron of a Book which under your Patronage was compoſed. It is natural and common for men who profeſs Letters, to ſeek the countenance and protection of Men of Power; and from ſuch of them as to greatneſs of fortune were happy enough to join greatneſs of mind, they have not ſought in vain.

POWER without Politeneſs and Complacency, is at beſt diſtaſteful, often hated; amiable when it knows how to condeſcend. It is thus that men in high ſtations avoid envy from ſuch as ſtand below them. He who cannot riſe to their height, finds a ſort of retaliation and amends in their coming down to him. No Man is pleaſed with a behaviour which repreſents him as contemptible. To make us think well of ourſelves, by another's ſhewing us that we are well thought of by him, is a gene-

rous

rous and artful civility: a lesson which stately and rebuking men want to learn. A mean man of great quality and figure (for such incongruities we often meet) teaches others to scorn him, by his shewing that he scorns them. Affability therefore, accompanied with good sense, which will always guard it from exceeding, is the art of keeping great Splendor from growing offensive to the rest of the world.

IT must be owned, that no Affability, even the most flowing; no Genius, even the most elevated, can escape particular distastes; and from the dislike of Persons to that of Actions the transition is easy and too common. Men do not easily discern good qualities and intentions in one, to whom they do not wish well. All men, even those of the most unexceptionable Characters, are apt to form their judgment over-hastily,

when their paſſions are warmed: and from this cauſe it has often proceeded, that the inevitable misfortunes of times and accidents have been charged upon ſuch, whoſe intereſt and ſtudy it was to prevent them. This is one of the evils and uneaſineſſes inſeparably attending every Adminiſtration. When a State is under heavy burdens and difficulties, the means to relieve and ſupport it will be, almoſt always, proportionably heavy: and as whatever proves heavy, however neceſſary, is eaſily called Oppreſſion; ſo the hand, which adminiſters a remedy, may, merely becauſe it is felt, be eaſily ſtyled oppreſſive.

BESIDES the reaſon which I have already given for this Addreſs, I have another; one taken from the Character of my Author. As he was a Man of Affairs, a great Miniſter, I chuſe to preſent him to another; to one who having been

been long engaged in public Life, having had long experience of men, ſeen far into their bent and foibles, and been converſant with the myſteries and primary operations of Government; can thence readily judge whether TACITUS has refined too much in his Politics, or been over-ſevere in his Cenſures upon mankind: or whether this charge has not been chiefly raiſed by men of ſpeculation, who, however furniſhed with Learning, were yet unacquainted with the tranſactions of States, and ignorant of human nature; or perhaps willing to do honour to it, or to themſelves, at the expence of Truth. Men are to be known, not by Theories taken up in cloſets, but by Commerce with men; and beſt of all in thoſe great ſcenes of public Life, where You, SIR, have ſuſtained, for ſo many years, a high and important part, and gained eminent ex-

perience as well as the juſt opinion of great ſufficiency.

I could here, agreeably to the uſual ſtyle and purpoſe of Dedications, ſay a great many advantageous things, without riſquing the uſual cenſure incurred by Dedicators. But ſuch things I would much rather ſay of you, than to you. In this place, I ſhall only profeſs to be, what I intirely am, with perfect truth, and high regard,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged, and moſt

obedient humble Servant,

T. GORDON.

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DISCOURSES UPON TACITUS.

DISCOURSE I.

Upon the former English Translations of TACITUS.

Sect. I. *Of the Translation by* GREENWAY *and Sir* H. SAVILL.

I AM going to offer to the publick the Translation of a Work, which for wisdom and force, is in higher fame and consideration, than almost any other that has yet appeared amongst men; a Work often translated into many Languages, seldom well into any, into ours worst of all. The first was done in Queen ELIZABETH's reign, the Annals by one GREENWAY, and four Books of the History by Sir HENRY SAVILL, a man exceeding learned, and esteemed for his critical notes upon TACITUS, as well as for those upon St. CHRYSOSTOM, of whose works he has published an elaborate edition. But though he was an able Grammarian, and understood the Antiquities in TACITUS, and his words, his Translation is a

mean performance; his ſtile is ſtiff, ſpiritleſs, and obſcure; he drops many of his Author's ideas, preſerves none of his turns, and ſtarves his meaning even where he beſt conveys it. 'Tis a mere Tranſlation, that rather of one word into another, than that of a dead tongue into a living, or of ſenſe into ſenſe. The Roman idiom is forced and wire-drawn into the Engliſh, a taſk altogether impoſſible; and not adopted and naturalized, a thing poſſible enough; and out of a Book profuſe in eloquence, fine ſpirit and images, he has drawn a work harſh, halting and barren. OGILBY is not more unlike VIRGIL. GREENWAY is ſtill worſe than SAVILL; he had none of his learning, he had all his faults and more: The former has at leaſt performed like a ſchool-maſter, the latter like a ſchool-boy.

Sect. II. *Of the Engliſh Tranſlation by ſeveral hands.*

ABOUT a hundred years after them another Engliſh Tranſlation was undertaken by ſeveral hands, Mr. DRYDEN and others. DRYDEN has tranſlated the firſt Book; but done it almoſt literally from Mr. AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE, with ſo much haſte and little exactneſs, that beſides his many miſtakes, he has introduced ſeveral Gallicifms: he follows the French author ſervilely, and writes French Engliſh, rather than truſt him out of his eye. It is true, LA HOUSSAYE is an honeſt Tranſlator, and one of the foremoſt: He has gone as far as the thirteenth Annal incluſive; but his phraſes are often weak and trifling, and he is ſubject to all that faintneſs and circumlocution for which the French tongue is noted. DRYDEN copies his manner as well as his meaning. It was pure hurry and want of application; for he was a fine writer, had a copious imagination, a good ear, and a flow-

a flowing ſtile. Strike away all that is bad in his works, enough will remain to ſhew him a great Poet, a man of parts and a maſter of language. Even his many enemies and oppoſers ſhew the conſiderableneſs of the man; but his excellencies in many things excuſe not his faults in others; his Tranſlation of TACITUS is poor and languid, no where derived from the original, generally full of miſtakes; at beſt it is only the French Tranſlator ill tranſlated, or ill imitated.

Sect. III. *Of the laſt Tranſlation of the firſt Annal.*

TACITUS talking of the latter end of AUGUSTUS his reign, ſays, *domi res tranquillæ. Eadem magiſtratuum vocabula.* Theſe are two ſentences independent of each other; yet Mr. DRYDEN tranſlates, "all things at Rome being "in a ſettled peace, the Magiſtrates ſtill retained "their former names;" as if the one was all the cauſe of the other. This blunder is owing to LA HOUSSAYE ill underſtood: *tout étoit tranquille à Rome, les Magiſtrats avoient les mêmes noms:* if inſtead of *avoient*, he had ſaid *ayant*, the tranſlation would have come pretty near the French. But the Engliſh Tranſlator does not ſeem to underſtand French, though he has no other guide, elſe how could he ſo miſerably miſtake, *pars multo maxima imminentis dominos variis rumoribus diſſerebant*; as to render it, "the greater part employed their time in "various diſcourſes of future matters?" From this it is plain he never looked into the original, or underſtood it not. He was miſled by the French which he appears here to have as little underſtood; *la plus part ſe plaiſoient à faire divers jugemens de ceux qui aloient devenir leurs Maitres.*

BUT more wretched ſtill is what follows: TACITUS repreſents the Romans diſcourſing, during the decline of AUGUSTUS, concerning the next ſucceſſors in view, AGRIPPA Poſthumus and TIBERIUS, and makes them ſay of LIVIA the Empreſs; *accedere matrem muliebri impotentia: ſerviendum feminæ, &c.* "His mother of a vio-"lent and imperious nature, according to the ſex "themſelves, ſubjected to the ſlavery of a woman." This is jargon and nonſenſe, tho' the author ſeems to have followed the French; *qui (Tibere) a une mere imperieuſe & violente, ſelon la coutume du ſexe, à laquelle il faudra obéir en eſclaves.* Well may he be ſaid to follow the French Tranſlator blindly; and leſs is the wonder that he adopts his Gallicifms where he happens to underſtand him.

When DRUSUS, the ſon of TIBERIUS, entred the camp of the ſeditious Legions in Pannonia, and the mutinous ſoldiery were gathered round him; TACITUS makes a charming and ſtrong deſcription of their behaviour, with the ſeveral viciſſitudes of their paſſions, which ſhifted ſtrangely according as they dreaded his perſon and authority, or recalled their grievances, and ſurveyed their own numbers and ſtrength; and he concludes the whole, according to his cuſtom, with a fine reflection: *Illi, quotiens oculos ad multitudinem retulerant, vocibus truculentis ſtrepere; rurſum, viſo Cæſare, trepidare. Murmur incertum, atrox clamor, & repente quies; diverſis animorum motibus, pavebant, terrebantque.* This is all pretty well tranſlated by LA HOUSSAYE. I ſhall only quote the laſt clauſe or reflection: *par des mouvemens tout differens, ils prenoient l'epouvante, & la donnoient*; and this I quote only to ſhew how impotently the Engliſh Tranſlator hangs by the French phraſe and takes it literally: "by their "different motions, ſays he, they gave and took "terror in their turns."

Is not this pithy and ſounding? There are numbers of ſuch inſtances both as to language and ſtrength; inſomuch that I have been ſometimes tempted to think it not to be DRYDEN's: but I have many aſſurances of its being his. I take it for granted it was a jobb for the Bookſellers, careleſsly performed by one, who wanted no capacity, but only pains or encouragement to have done it much better, perhaps very well.

Sect. IV. *Of the laſt Tranſlation of the ſecond Annal.*

THE next Annal is tranſlated by another hand, leſs negligently, but with ſmall taſte and vigour; no reſemblance of the original, where in every ſentence almoſt there occur ſurprizing images and turns, which no where appear in the Tranſlation. 'Tis not the fire of TACITUS, but his embers quenched with Engliſh words cold and Gothick. Let any one read particularly the two ſpeeches of ARMINIUS and MAROBODUUS to their different armies juſt before they engaged, cap. 45. and 46. and he will find that between TACITUS and his Tranſlator, there is juſt as much difference as between a living ſoul and a cold carcaſe. Yet the lifeleſs Tranſlation of this Annal compared with that of the third by a different hand, is an able performance.

Sect. V. *Of the laſt Tranſlation of the third Annal.*

THIS tranſlation is in truth wretched beyond belief; 'tis below drollery, and a ſort of a middle between bad ſenſe and good nonſenſe. TACITUS ſays of the arrival of the fleet, which brought AGRIPPINA from Aſia with her huſ-

band's funeral urn, and her children now fatherless; *classis paulatim successit, non alacri, ut adsolet, remigio, sed cunctis ad tristitiam compositis, An.* 3. *c.* 1. "The fleet (says the Translator) came in, not "rowing briskly, as they used to do, but slowly, "and with sorrow in their countenances;" a translation worthy of one who could make TACITUS say elsewhere, "DRUSUS left the City "to enquire his fortune:" Would not one think that he went to some remote country to consult a cunning man? Or meant the Translator to joke upon the religion and solemnities of the Romans? The words of TACITUS which he thus perverts, or rather quite drops, are, *Drusus urbe egressus repetendis auspiciis:* "DRUSUS went without the "gates, to repeat the formality of the auspices."

TACITUS at the end of his discourse upon laws, says, *Cæsar Augustus, potentiæ securus, quæ Triumviratu jusserat, abolevit, deditque jura, quis pace & Principe uteremur: acriora ex eo vincla, inditi custodes, & lege Papia Poppæa præmiis inducti, ut si &c. sed altius penetrabant, (custodes,* scil.*) Urbemque & Italiam, & quod usquam civium, corripuerant, multorumque excisi status; & terror omnibus intentabatur, nisi Tiberius statuendo remedio, &c.* Now observe the force, and elegance, and truth, with which this is rendered by the Translator; "AUGUSTUS CESAR being settled in his authority, "he abolished those things he commanded in the "Triumvirate, and gave new laws to be observed "in time of peace, and under a Monarch. And "that they might be the better kept, he appointed "some to look after them:" [as if the laws had been a flock of sheep] "The law PAPIA POPPEA "provided, *&c.* But the informers went farther, "not only in the City, but thro' all Italy, where "any citizens were, ruined many families and "frightened all. To remedy which TIBERIUS,"

&c.

&c. A little farther TACITUS says, *adversis animis acceptum, quod filio Claudii socer Sejanus destinaretur: polluisse nobilitatem familiæ videbantur, suspectumque jam nimiæ spei Sejanum ultro extulisse.* "There were (says the Translator) great discontents "upon CLAUDIUS's son's being to marry SEJANUS's daughter as a disparagement to him, [to what him? SEJANUS was the last named.] "But SEJANUS, whose ambition was suspected, "was much exalted upon it."

TACITUS discoursing of the revolt of FLORUS and SACROVIR, and representing the sentiments of the people upon that and other alarms, says, *increpabant Tiberium, quod in tanto rerum motu, libellis accusatorum insumeret operam. An Julium Sacrovirum majestatis crimine reum in Senatu fore? Extitisse tandem viros, qui cruentas epistolas armis cohiberent: miseram pacem vel bello bene mutari. Tanto impensius in securitatem compositus, neque loco, neque vultu mutato, sed ut solitum per illos dies egit: altitudine animi, an compererat modica esse & vulgatis leviora.* Hear how this is translated. Blaming "TIBERIUS "for employing himself in reading informers accu-"sations where there was so great commotions. "What, said they, have the Senate found JULIUS "SACROVIR guilty of treason? Some have had "the courage to suppress by arms the bloody libels "of a Tyrant; war is a good change for a miser-"able peace. But he neither changed place nor "countenance; affecting to shew he was not afraid, "either through courage, or that he knew things to "be less than they were reported." Was ever good sense so vilely burlesqued? were one to study to ridicule TACITUS, what more miserable stuff, void of all sense and sound, could one make him utter? It puts me in mind of a notable compliment in an address from a learned Society to the late King; "We perceive that you are one that is not

" afraid that posterity should make mention of " you;" or words of the like force and beauty. Neither have I picked out these passages invidiously, as the worst: I have read the whole Annal, and I know no part of it better done.

Sect. VI. *Of the last Translation of the fourth, fifth, and sixth Annal.*

THE fourth, fifth, and sixth Annals are done by another hand, and poorly done. In him you find little of the true meaning of TACITUS; of his spirit and manner nothing at all; but frequent deviations from his sense, and even from all sense. TACITUS in the Character of SEJANUS, says; *intus summa apiscendi libido, ejusque causa modo largitio & luxus, sæpius industria ac vigilantia, haud minus noxiæ, quotiens parando regno finguntur.* Who but the Translator would have discovered, that by these words TACITUS meant to declare, that " virtues are as dangerous as vices, when they " meet with a turbulent spirit aspiring to Empire?" Yet the Translation of this passage is as just as that of many others. Sometimes he drops whole phrases and passages, such as he knows not what to make of, and oftner loses out of sight the meaning of others however plain.

TACITUS says, *ut series futuri in Agrippinam exitii inciperet, Claudia Pulchra sobrina ejus postulatur, accusante Domitio Afro. Is recens prætura, modicus dignationis, & quoquo facinore properus clarescere, crimen impudicitiæ, adulterum Furnium, veneficia in Principem, & devotiones objectabat.* " To begin the " ruin of AGRIPPINA, [how insipid and defec- " tive!] DOMITIUS AFER lately Pretor [not a " word of *modicus dignationis*] and ready to engage " in any thing to gain himself credit [observe the " force!] accuses CLAUDIA PULCHRA of adul-

" tery

" tery with FURNIUS [the words *sobrina ejus*, which explain the rest, and the word *impudicitiæ*, one of the articles of the charge, are omitted] " and to have a design on the life of that Prince " with her charms and person:" What Prince? FURNIUS was none; TIBERIUS has not been mentioned in several pages: it is nonsense; and " a design on his life with her charms and " person," multiplies the nonsense.

WHAT follows fares not much better: *Agrippina semper atrox, tum & periculo propinquo accensa, pergit ad Tiberium.* " AGRIPPINA always of " a violent temper, but at present extremely enra- " ged, runs immediately to TIBERIUS, *&c.*" He drops *periculo propinquæ*, as useless words.

TACITUS says, that amongst other reasons assigned why TIBERIUS retired from Rome, some alledged the authority assumed by his mother; who having persuaded AUGUSTUS, contrary to his inclinations, to postpone GERMANICUS and adopt TIBERIUS, did afterwards upbraid TIBERIUS with so signal a service, and even challenged the Empire as her own: *idque Augusta exprobrabat, reposcebat.* " The Empress (says the Translator) " seemed to reproach him with that favour, and " requested it for her son." What gibberish! she had but one son, and he had it. She, forsooth, reproached her son TIBERIUS for having given him the Sovereignty, and from the same TIBERIUS claimed it for the same TIBERIUS. SEJANUS, once when a cave fell in upon TIBERIUS and his company, covered the Emperor with his own body: *major ex eo*, says TACITUS. " This " admirable and undoubted fidelity," says the Translator; which TACITUS never said nor meant. How miserably too does he translate, *ingentium bellorum cladem æquavit malum improvisum: ejus initium simul & finis exstitit.* " Happened a calamity

" in

"in which we ſuſtained as great a loſs as in the "greateſt defeats, though it was all done in an in-"ſtant." I will venture to ſay, that this is as well done as any other part of all the three Books.

Sect. VII. *Of the laſt Tranſlation of the eleventh Annal.*

THE eleventh Annal is tranſlated by another Gentleman; but not with another ſpirit: it is like the reſt, full of feebleneſs and miſtakes and low phraſes. I ſhall here give ſome inſtances. The Pleaders, in a ſpeech to the Emperor CLAUDIUS, in defence of taking fees, and in anſwer to SILIUS, who alledged againſt them the example of certain great Orators of the former age who had never taken any; ſay, *facile Aſinium & Meſſalam, inter Antonium & Auguſtum bellorum præmiis refertos, &c. c. 7.* "ASINIUS and MESSALA, who "feathered their neſts well in the Civil Wars 'twixt "ANTHONY," *&c.* This is the Language of a chairman, but of a piece with the reſt, ſuch as, a King's [a] *playing the good fellow*; [b] *trumping up* ARMINIUS'*s title*; [c] *being equipped with money*; [d] *his reputation began to exert itſelf far and near*; [e] *ſaw but one poor ſnake*; [f] *more bloody than he ought to be*; Senators [g] *ſquabling in the houſe*; A ſilver mine [h] *which bled but a little*; [i] *It was not come to that yet*; [k] *Advice hurts not the guiltleſs*; [l] *Men had recourſe*

[a] Vinolentiam & libidines uſurpans, c. 16.
[b] Fruſtra Arminium præſcribi, c. 16.
[c] Auctum pecunia, c. 16
[d] Jam longius clareſcere, c. 16.
[e] Unam omnino anguem viſam.
[f] Atrociorem quam novo regno conduceret, c. 9.
[g] Obſtrepentibus his, c. 6.
[h] Unde tenuis fructus, c. 20.
[i] Non eo ventum, c. 26.
[k] Inſontibus innoxia conſilia, ib.
[l] Flagitiis manifeſtis, ſubſidium ab audacia petendum, ib.

[m] Adeſſe

recourse to impudence when their ill actions came to be discovered: [m] *others were in the same predicament with them in that matter;* [n] *Claudius as he was easily angry, so he was easily pleased;* [o] *Matrimony the last comfort of those who give themselves to lewdness;* [p] *Affidavits of her lewdness;* [q] *The vast treasures given to Silius for his drudgery.* Such cant, jargon, and ill-favoured nonsense, is called the Translation of TACITUS.

Sect. VIII. *Of the last Translation of the twelfth and thirteenth Annals.*

THE two succeeding Annals are Englished by another hand, and miserably Englished they are; rather worse than the former. 'Tis all wretched tittle-tattle, unmeaning and ill-bred; nor could any number of words thrown together at random, without thought or idea, be more shallow or vulgar, more destitute of ornament or sound. To pass by his *top Orators; Knack of speaking; Staving off a war any ways.—He being recline.—The Emperor himself their worthy. Yea, Gentlemen and Senators do make no other original to themselves but from thence*; and the like gibberish which occurs in every sentence: I shall here transcribe a passage where he seems to aim at a meaning and to exceed himself: "[r] The power his mother had over him "(NERO)

[m] Adesse conscios, ib.

[n] Claudium, ut insidiis incautum, ita iræ properum, ib.

[o] Nomen matrimonii cupivit, ob magnitudinem infamiæ, cujus apud prodigos novissima voluptas est, ib.

[p] Codicillos libidinum indices, c. 34.

[q] Quicquid habitum Neronibus & Drusis in precium probri cessisse, c. 35.

[r] Cæterum infracta paulatim potentia matris, delapso Nerone in amorem libertæ, cui vocabulum Acte fuit: simul adsumptis in conscientiam Othone & Claudio Senecione adolescentulis decoris

" (NERO) dwindled away by degrees, and NERO " fell in love with ACTE, a freed-woman, and " made OTHO and CLAUDIUS SENECIO " the confidents of his new Amour, one of which " (to wit) OTHO, was of a consular family, but " SENECIO, a son of one of CESAR's freed-" men; who at first without the mother's know-" ledge, and since in spite of all she could do, " worked himself by degrees into the Prince's af-" fections, by luxury and secret ways, that no body " knew, which the best friends he had, indulged " him in, and were pleased to see him take up and " content himself with that woman, a thing which " did no body an injury: for he had the misfor-" tune to dislike his wife OCTAVIA (whether it " be that we naturally slight what we can have, " and eagerly pursue what is forbidden) of an illu-" strious family, and of an unspotted virtue, and " 'twas feared he might fall into a vein of debauch-" ing women of quality, if he was checked in " that intrigue: but AGRIPPINA could not bear " that a freed-woman should nose her," *&c.* That " a freed-woman should beard her," says the old Translation.

HOW clear, how strong, and how just! This is in the thirteenth Book: take one or two samples more out of the twelfth. " [s]'Twas *enacted* that " if

coris, quorum Otho familia Consulari, Senecio liberto Cæsaris patre genitus, ignara matre, dein frustra obnitente, penitus inrepserant per luxum & ambigua secreta. Ne severioribus quidem Principis amicis adversantibus, muliercula, nulla cujusquam injuriâ, cupidines principis explente: quando uxore ab Octavia, nobili quidem & probitatis spectatæ, fato quodam, an quia prævalent inlicita, abhorrebat: metuebaturque, ne in stupra feminarum inlustrium prorumperet, si illa libidine prohiberetur. Sed Agrippina libertam æmulam, &c. *An.* 13. *C.* 12. & 13.

[s] Inter quæ refertur ad patres, de pœna feminarum, quæ servis conjungerentur. Statuiturque, ut ignaro domino ad id prolapsa, in servitutem, sin consensisset, pro liberto haberetur. Pallanti, quem

" if they (women) married (to ſlaves) without their " maſter's conſent, they ſhould remain ſuch" [who ſhould, the women or the ſlaves? the former were none, and could not remain what they were not; and to ſay it of the latter, is nonſenſe.] " BAREA " SORANUS, Conſul elect, moved that PALLAS " (whom CESAR ſaid was the firſt that brought it " into the Houſe) ſhould have the Pretorial honours, " and fifteen millions of Seſterces, and, that SCI- " PIO CORNELIUS might have the Thanks of " the Houſe, for that being deſcended from the " Kings of Arcadia, he forgot his birth and qua- " lity to ſerve the publick, and was contented to " be one of the Prince's ſervants. CLAUDIUS " aſſured them, that PALLAS, ſatisfied with the " honour the Senate had done him, would live as " retiredly as he uſed to do. In ſhort an act was " made," *&c.*

THESE two paſſages are as brightly tranſlated as any in the two Books, indeed beyond moſt paſſages.

I ſhall quote one more; it is in the thirteenth Annal, cap. 26. It was importunately urged in the Senate that ſuch freedmen as by abuſing their Lords, had ſhewn themſelves unworthy of their liberty, ſhould remain at the mercy of the ſaid Lords, and be ſubject to their former chains, *nec deerant qui cenſerent*, ſays TACITUS, *ſed Conſules relationem incipere non auſi ignaro principe* (*i. e.*) " There were " Senators too ready to have voted for ſuch a " Decree;

quem repertorem ejus relationis ediderat Cæſar, prætoria inſignia, & centies quinquageſies ſeſtercium cenſuit conſul deſignatus Barea Soranus: additum à Scipione Cornelio, grates publice agendas, quod regibus Arcadiæ ortus, veterrimam nobilitatem uſui publico poſtponeret, ſeque inter miniſtros Principis haberi ſineret. Aſſeveravit Claudius, contentum honore Pallantem, intra priorem paupertatem ſubſiſtere. Et fixum eſt ære publico Senatus Conſultum, &c. *An.* 12. C. 53.

"Decree; but the Consuls durst not propose it to "the vote without acquainting the Emperor." Of all this plain matter the Translator understood not one word. He says, "neither were there those "wanting who would censure them *(nec deerant "qui censerent)* but the Consuls durst not, with-"out the Emperor's knowledge, determine the "matter."

I cannot omit one polite phrase more out of this Book. *Suilius Senecam increpans*, says TACITUS. "He laid it in SENECA's dish," says the Translator, c. 42. "laying it in SENECA's dish," says the old Translation. He indeed has stolen all he knew of TACITUS from the old Translation, with all its blunders and stupidity, and improved both notably. Behold another specimen. "At Rome he "cheated men of their legacies, and wronged the "fatherless, who were deluded by him [t]." The words of TACITUS are, *Romæ testamenta & orbos, velut indagine ejus capi*, c. 42.

Sect. IX. *Of the last Translation of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth Annals.*

A Fresh hand has undertaken the three following Annals, and by good fortune such a hand as has preserved an eminent uniformity with the foregoing; only he is somewhat more gross. TACITUS says, it was reported that when AGRIPPINA studied to draw NERO her son into an incestuous commerce with herself, *Senecam contra muliebres inlecebras subsidium a femina petivisse: immissamque Actien libertam.* "SENECA (says the Translator) "soon

[t] The old Translation has it, *At Rome he cosened men of their legacies such as died without children, as if he had laid a snare to entrap them.* This is foolish, but wiser than the other.

" ſoon brought in ACTE, NERO's beloved wo-
" man, to expel one whore with another."

When AGRIPPINA had eſcaped the firſt attempt upon her life, ſhe diſſembled, and ſeemed not to think it deſigned, nor to entertain any future apprehenſions: *ſimulata ſecuritate:* " Under the " appearance of ſecurity," (ſays the Tranſlator.) But as ACERRONIA one of her maids had periſhed in that attempt, ſhe ordered her Will to be found, and all her effects to be ſealed up. This ſhe did, ſays TACITUS, without any diſſimulation; *id tantum non per ſimulationem, c. 6.* " She " takes all neceſſary care (ſays the Tranſlator) for " the cure of her wound; the Teſtament of " ACERRONIA to be looked out, her coffers to " be ſealed up, and all things neceſſary to be done " without the leaſt diſſimulation:" How nicely he underſtands the original, and how grammatical is his Engliſh! Here however there ſeems to be ſome meaning aimed at; in what follows, even that is wanting: " The image of the villains who were " ſtained with the guilt of this parricide, ſtill haunt- " ed him." The words of the original are *obſervabanturque maris illius & litorum gravis adſpectus, c. 10.*

IN truth, to expoſe the inſipidneſs and nonſenſe of theſe Annals, were to tranſcribe them. In ſome places he is ſo groſs, that his words will not bear repeating; as particularly where one of OCTAVIA's maids tells TIGELLINUS, *caſtiora eſſe muliebria Octaviæ quam os ejus.* His Tranſlation of this is abominable, as well as ridiculous and falſe; and many ſuch like inſtances there are in him. I beg leave to quote one ſhort paſſage more out of this Annal. When that Lady was by the Tyrant divorced, and baniſhed into Campania under a guard; *inde crebri queſtus,* ſays TACITUS, *nec occulti per vulgum, cui minor ſapientia, & ex mediocritate fortunæ,*

pauciora

pauciora pericula sunt, c. 60. This is a fine reflection; observe how execrably it is rendred: "Upon the "clamour of the people (who having nothing to "lose, are commonly fearless, not out of any love "or relenting at his severity) this was remitted."

THE fifteenth Annal is done just like the fourteenth, wretchedly. Here follows a specimen: CORBULO and CESENNIUS PETUS commanded in the East: *sed neque Corbulo æmuli patiens* (says TACITUS); *& Pætus, cui satis ad gloriam erat, si proximus haberetur, despiciebat gesta, nihil cædis aut prædæ, usurpatas nomine tenus urbium expugnationes, dictitans: se tributa ac leges, & pro umbra Regis Romanum jus victis impositurum*, c. 6. The misfortune was, (says the Translator) "the one was "impatient of a rival, and the other could not en-"dure a superior; and PETUS, who ought to "have contented himself in being second to COR-"BULO, ever took pleasure to diminish the glory "of his actions, upbraiding him that his victory "in taking of towns was imaginary, without con-"quest or plunder. That he would impose laws "and demand contributions, introduce the Roman "power in the place of their Knights, and render "them a meer shadow."

HE often seems to be without the least glimmering of TACITUS's meaning, or any meaning, and puts down a parcel of words at random. How clearly does he English, *provisis exemplis Caudinæ ac Numantinæ cladis*; "resolving to follow the "example of Numantian, and the Caudine defeat, "which practice they thought they might justify, "since the Parthians were at this time more power-"ful than the Carthaginians or Samnites:" [were they in truth? what a discovery is here?] *neque eandem vim Samnitibus Italico populo, aut Pœnis Romani imperii æmulis.* He goes on: *They were now beginning to talk that the Antients were always commended*

mended for their addreſs in ſuiting all things to the times, and ſecuring a ſafe retreat when fortune ſhould frown upon them. This is another diſcovery which he has made from theſe words: *validam quoque & laudatam antiquitatem, quotiens fortuna contra daret, ſaluti conſuluiſſe, c.* 13; that is, "theſe ſame venerable Antients, ſo very ſtubborn and invincible, and ſo much adored, always conſulted ſelf-preſervation, as often as preſſed by the aſſaults of a calamitous fortune."

When PETUS had ſubmitted to ſuch ſhameful conditions from the Parthians, he, amongſt the reſt, made a bridge over the river Arſanias, and to hide his diſgrace, pretended it was to ſhorten his own march; when in truth, it was done in obedience to the commands of the Parthians, as a monument of their ſuperiority and conqueſt: *namque iis uſui fuit; noſtri per diverſum iere, c.* 15. "It being commodious to them, (quoth the Tranſlator) and not in any manner to moleſt us." Were ever two meanings more remote? He often adds words of his own to thoſe of TACITUS, and often drops many more of the original, ſometimes whole ſentences. TACITUS ſays, there prevailed then a peſtilent cuſtom of making fraudulent Adoptions, by ſuch Candidates for Offices as had no children of their own; and as ſoon as the Election was over, they inſtantly diſmiſſed ſuch as they had occaſionally adopted. This abuſe raiſed a ſtorm from ſuch as were real parents; who, having applied to the Senate with warm repreſentations againſt ſuch fallacious dealings in others, and ſuch injury done to themſelves, add, *ſibi promiſſa legum diu expectata, in ludibrium verti, quando quis ſine ſolicitudine parens, ſine luctu orbus, longa patrum vota repente adæquaret, c.* 19. All this is dropped by the Tranſlator, and the following jargon of his own inſerted: "They took children to quit them at

" their fancy in contempt of those laws, while
" they had a great many privileges, for care or
" sorrow, the other with ease enjoyed the same."

I am afraid I have tired my reader, as I have done my self, with such a dull deduction of stupidities. I did not at first intend to say any thing of the former Translations: I took it for granted that every man who had seen them, must have condemned them, and found them as pitiful and bad as they really are. But when upon publishing my Proposals, I found that some, who by their titles and profession should be learned, others who by their high quality, ought to have taste and elegance, had commended the former Translation, and uttered their despair of seeing a better; I found it necessary to give some account of that performance, which I think to be as low, defective, and wretched as any thing in print; neither language, nor sense, nor decency, and as much unlike TACITUS the Historian, as the meanest slave of TACITUS the Consul, was unlike his master. It is much worse than the old Translation, which is exceeding bad. It is in my own defence, as well as in defence of TACITUS, that I have censured it, and against my inclination. It looks indeed as if the Translators themselves had no opinion of it, since they have not, as is usual, said one word about it by way of Preface. This is what Mr. DRYDEN particularly never used to omit doing; why did he omit it now in the Translation of a work of such name and weight? As far as the sixth Annal there is a Translation too of LA HOUSSAYE's Notes, but done with great ignorance and errors.

DIS-

DISCOURSE II.

Upon TACITUS and his Writings.

Sect. I. *The Character of* TACITUS.

AS to the Character of TACITUS and his writings; he was the greateſt Orator, Stateſman, and Hiſtorian of his time; he had long frequented the Bar; he had paſſed through all the high offices of State: he was Edile, Pretor, Conſul; and after long acquaintance with buſineſs and men, he applied himſelf to collect obſervations, and to convey the fruits of his knowledge to poſterity, under the agreeable dreſs of a Hiſtory. For this taſk he was excellently qualified: No man had ſeen more, ſcarce any man had ever thought ſo much, or conveyed his thoughts with greater force and vivacity; a mighty genius, for which no conception or deſign was too vaſt; a powerful Orator, who abounds in great ſentiments and deſcription: yet a man of conſummate integrity, who, though he frequently agitates the paſſions, never miſleads them: a maſterly Hiſtorian, who draws events from their firſt ſources; and explains them with a redundancy of images, and a frugality of words: a profound Politician who takes off every diſguiſe, and penetrates every artifice: an upright Patriot, zealous for publick Liberty and the welfare of his Country, and a delared enemy to Tyrants and to the inſtruments of Tyranny; a lover of human-kind; a man of virtue, who adores Liberty and Truth, and every where adorns and recommends them; who abhors falſhood and iniquity, de-

ſpiſes little arts, expoſes bad ones; and ſhews, upon all occaſions, by the fate and fall of great wicked men, by the anxiety of their ſouls, by the precarioufneſs of their power, by the uncertainty or ſuddenneſs of their fate, what a poor price greatneſs obtained is for goodneſs loſt; and how infinitely, perſecuted virtue is preferable to ſmiling and triumphant wickedneſs. GERMANICUS under all his hardſhips and disfavour, is a happier man than TIBERIUS with all his power and Empire; happier in peace of mind, happier in his fame and memory. TIGELLINUS is a great favourite with NERO, but deteſted by all the reſt of the world and fearful of all men. SENECA is diſliked by the Emperor, but univerſally beloved and regretted. TACITUS is a fine Gentleman, who ſuffers nothing pedantick or low, nothing that is trifling or indecent to fall from his pen. He is alſo a man of wit; not ſuch a one as is fond of conceits and the quaintneſs of words, but a wit that is grave, majeſtick, and ſublime; one that blends the ſolemnity of truth with the fire of imagination, and touches the heart rather than the fancy; yet for the better reception of truth, pleaſes and awakens the fancy.

THE telling of truth is dry and unaffecting; but to enliven it with imagery, is deſcribing it: and every one knows the advantages that Deſcription has over bare Narration. Hence the force of fine painting; though, in my opinion, the Orator has the advantage of the Painter, as words can multiply ideas better than the pencil, throw them thicker together, and inflame them more. What piece of APELLES could have animated the Athenians againſt PHLIP of Macedon, like one of DEMOSTHENES's Orations? What picture of Love can equal the deſcription of that paſſion by LUCRETIUS, the nobleſt wit of all the Latin Poets? It

is hardly, I believe, possible for colours to carry images higher than they are by MICHAEL ANGELO carried, in his piece of the Last Day: yet I believe it not only possible, but easy to make a description of that day more affecting than the sight of that celebrated piece.

Sect. II. *How much he excells in Description and Force.*

PAINTING in words is the strongest painting; and in that art TACITUS excells to amazement. His images are many, but close and thick; his words are few, but pointed and glowing; and even his silence is instructive and affecting.

How justly does he represent that noble sullenness and disdain of the wife of ARMINIUS, when brought with other captives before GERMANICUS? *Inerant & feminæ nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii, eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque victa in lacrymas, neque voce supplex, compressis intra sinum manibus gravidum uterum intuens, A. 1. c. 57.* A circumstance of distress more moving than this last, could not be devised; and what words, or exclamations, or tears could raise compassion so effectually, as the representation of a spirit too great to weep or complain; of a grief too mighty to be uttered?

THE March of GERMANICUS and his Army to the Forest of Teutburg, to bury the bones of VARUS and his Legions, there massacred by the Germans; the description of that Camp, with the revival of the circumstances of that tragical event; and the sympathy and resentments of the Soldiers, are all beautifully displayed with great force and brevity, with equal tenderness and horror.

PERMOTO *ad miserationem omni qui aderat exercitu, ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus bellorum,*

& sortem hominum. Incedunt mæstos locos, visuque ac memoria deformes. Prima Vari castra lato ambitu, & dimensis principiis, trium legionum manus ostentabant: dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa, accisæ jam reliquiæ consedisse intelligebantur: medio campi albentia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disjecta vel aggerata: adjacebant fragmina telorum, equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora; lucis propinquis barbaræ aræ, apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant. Cladis ejus superstites pugnam aut vincula elapsi, referebant, hic cecidisse legatos, illic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi infelici dextra, & suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali concionatus Arminius; quot patibula captivis, quæ scrobes; utque signis & aquilis per superbiam inluserit. Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus, sextum post cladis annum, trium Legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut conjunctos, ut consanguineos, auctâ in hostem irâ, mæsti simul & infensi condebant, An. 1. *c.* 61, 62.

HERE is eloquence and description! What can be added, what can be taken away? His stile is every where warm and pathetick, and he never informs the understanding, or entertains the imagination, but he kindles the affections. You are not only convinced by his sentiments, but governed by them, charmed with them, and grow zealous for them. This is a trial of the power and skill of a writer: this the drift and glory of persuasion and eloquence; and this the talent of TACITUS.

TO display Tyrants and Tyranny he chuses the strongest words and figures: *facinora ac flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant. Si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse adspici laniatus & ictus; quando ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libidine, malis consultis, animus dilaceretur: quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines, protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse pœnas fateretur, An.* 6. *c.* 6.

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IT was his buſineſs and deſign to lay open the iniquity and horrors of their miſ-rule; *ſæva juſſa, continuas accuſationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium.* You ſee the bloody hands of the executioners, Rome ſwimming in the blood of her own Citizens, and all the rage of unrelenting Tyranny; *undantem per domos ſanguinem, aut manus carnificum.* You ſee the bands of accuſers let looſe, nay hired to deſtroy, and breathing death and exile; *ſævitiam oratorum accuſationes minitantium: delatores per præmia eliciebantur.* You ſee the barbarous outrages of an inſolent and mercileſs ſoldiery; *cuncta ſanguine, ferro, flammiſque miſcent.* You ſee madmen bear rule, theſe mad rulers governed and made worſe by ſlaves, villains, and harlots; yet all theſe monſters adored, their perſons, wickedneſs, and even their fury ſanctified; iniquity exalted, virtue trod under foot, laws perverted, righteouſneſs and truth depreſſed and baniſhed; every worthy man doomed to ſcaffolds, rocks, and dungeons; the baſeſt of all men pronouncing that doom, and making a prey or a ſacrifice of the beſt; fear and diſtruſt and treachery prevailing; the deſtroyers themſelves haunted with the perpetual dread of deſtruction, at laſt overtaken by it, yet ſeldom leaving better in their room.

ALL theſe melancholy ſcenes you ſee expoſed in colours ſtrong and moving: the thoughts are great, the phraſe elevated, and the words chaſte and few. It is all a picture: whatever he ſays, you ſee, and all that you ſee affects you. It puzzles one to give inſtances, becauſe there are ſo many in every page. How many affecting images are there in theſe few words near the beginning of the firſt Annal; *Quotuſquiſque reliquus qui rempublicam vidiſſet?* How mournful too and expreſſive, yet how plain are theſe which immediately follow! *Igitur verſo civitatis*

ſtatu, nihil uſquam priſci & integri moris; as well as thoſe a little before; *rebus novis aucti tuta & præſentia, quam vetera & periculoſa mallent.*

WITH what thunder and vehemence does ARMINIUS rouſe the Cheruſcans, his country-men, to arms, when his wife became a captive to the Romans, and his child a ſlave though yet unborn? *Egregium patrem! magnanimum imperatorem! fortem exercitum! quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint: ſibi tres Legiones, totidem legatos procubuiſſe: non enim ſe proditione, neque adverſus feminas gravidas, ſed palam adverſus armatos bellum tractare. Cerni adhuc Germanorum in lucis ſigna Romana. Coleret Segeſtes victam ripam, redderet filio ſacerdotium, &c.* In how few words does he compriſe a long and perplexed debate in the council held by GERMANICUS, how to proceed with the mutinous Legions! *Augebat metum gnarus (ſuperior exercitus) Romanæ ſeditionis, & ſi omitteretur ripa, invaſurus hoſtis; ac ſi auxilia & ſocii adverſum abſcedentes Legiones armarentur, civile bellum ſuſcipi: periculoſa ſeveritas, flagitioſa largitio: ſeu nihil militi, ſeu omnia concederentur, in ancipiti Reſpublica. Igitur, &c. An.* 1.

Sect. III. *Further inſtances of the juſtneſs of his Genius, and of his great Thoughts.*

HIS account of the perſecutions of GERMANICUS, with his laſt words and amiable Character, makes a fine Tragedy; ſo does the Death of SENECA; ſo does that of the Conſpirators againſt NERO. With what magnanimity and calmneſs does SULPITIUS ASPER the Centurion anſwer the brutal Tyrant, when aſked, why he had conſpired againſt his life? *non aliter tot flagitiis ejus ſubveniri potuiſſe.* With what ſilence and firmneſs did the Conſul VESTINUS die? though he was NERO's

old

old companion and friend, and unconcerned in the conspiracy, and no crime nor accuser against him: *vigens adhuc balneo infertur, calida aqua mersatur, nulla edita voce qua se miseraretur.* How beautiful, how deep, and just are his observations upon human nature! *Molles in calamitate humani animi: mobiles ad superstitionem perculsæ semel mentes: cupidine ingenii humani lubentius obscura credi: neque morum spernendus, nisi quod paupertatem præcipuum malorum credebat. Vivorum ut magna admiratio, ita censura difficilis: eandem virtutem admirantibus cui irascebantur: manebat admiratio viri & fama, sed oderant. Beneficia eo usque læta sunt dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antecessere, pro gratia odium redditur. Exacto per scelera die, novissimum malorum fuit lætitia. Rumore populi, qui neminem sine æmulo finit: minore spe veniæ, crescit vinculum sceleris: populus novarum rerum cupiens pavidusque: vulgus eadem pravitate interfectum insectatur, qua viventem foverat.*

How masterly and profound are those upon Government! *Primas dominandi spes in arduo: ubi sis ingressus adesse studia & ministros. Arduum eodem loci potentiam & concordiam esse. Potentia cautis consiliis tutius habetur. Major e longinquo reverentia. Principibus præcipua rerum ad famam dirigendo. Insociabile regnum: cupido regni fratre & filia potior. Scaurum cui implacabilius irascebatur (Tiberius) silentio tramisit. Intelligebantur artes, sed pars obsequii in eo, ne deprehenderentur. In summa fortuna æquius quod validius.* These I do not quote as the finest Thoughts in TACITUS, but only such as occur to me.

HE paints Thoughts and Faculties, Men and Passions, Tyranny and Slaves. His imagination is boundless, yet never out-runs his judgment; his wisdom is solid and vast, yet always enlivened by his imagination. His designing is great, his drawing just, his colouring beautiful. See the descrip-

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tion of a Peſtilence at Rome, *An.* 16. *c.* 13. *Domus corporibus exanimis, itinera funeribus complebantur. Non ſexus, non ætas periculo vacua. Servilia perinde ac ingenua plebes raptim extingui, inter conjugum & liberorum lamenta, qui dum aſſident, dum deflent, ſæpe eodem rogo cremabantur. Equitum Senatorumque interitus quamvis promiſcui, minus flebiles erant, tanquam communi mortalitate ſævitiam Principis præverirent.* Under a Tyrant, a Plague was a bleſſing.

WHO but TACITUS could have ſaid as he does of the antient Germans: *Argentum & aurum propitii an irati Dii negaverint, dubito?* or that afterwards of the ſame people: *mira diverſitate naturæ, cum iidem homines ſic ament inertiam, quietem oderint?* or that of the Sitones, a particular Clan of Germans, who were under the Government of a Woman; *in tantum non modo a libertate, ſed etiam a ſervitute degenerant?* Theſe are ſuch inſtances of diſcernment, ſagacity and happy expreſſion, as few Writings can ſhew. By them and a thouſand more, it is manifeſt that TACITUS ſaw every thing in a true and uncommon light: and his reflections are like mirrours where human nature and government are exhibited in their proper ſize and colours.

I cannot help thinking That to be a bold and gallant Saying of BOIOCALUS to the Roman General, who refuſed him a manſion for himſelf and his people in the vacant lands of Frizia; and thence provoked him to implore the Sun and Stars: *quaſi coram interrogabat, vellentne contueri inane ſolum? potius mare ſuperfunderent adverſus terrarum ereptores. Deeſſe nobis terram in qua vivamus; in qua moriamur non poteſt.* What a ſublime thought is that of his concerning the Fennians? The moſt ſavage and wretched race this of all the wild Germans; their cloathing, ſkins; their bed, the earth; their food, the graſs; deſtitute of horſes, houſes, and arms; the

the thick branches of trees their only ſhelter againſt tempeſts and the ravening beaſts: Here they find cradles and protection for their babes; here live the old men, and hither reſort the young. Yet this miſerable life they prefer to that of ſweating at the plough, and to the pains of rearing houſes: they thirſt not after the fortunes of others; they have no anxiety about preſerving their own; ſo that they hoped for nothing that was not theirs, and having nothing of their own, could fear to loſe nothing; *ſecuri* (ſays TACITUS) *adverſus homines, ſecuri adverſus deos, rem difficillimam adſecuti ſunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus ſit.*

Sect. IV. *The Morality of* TACITUS, *and his ſpirit virtuous and humane.*

AS obvious too as his other great qualities, is his love of Mankind, of Civil Liberty, and of private and publick Virtue. His Book is a great tablature of the uglineſs and horrors of Tyranny; of the ſcandal and infamy of ſervitude and debaſement; of the lovelineſs of virtue and a free ſpirit; of the odiouſneſs of vice and ſycophancy. Such was his ſympathy for the ſufferings and ſevere lot of the Romans under TIBERIUS, that he is glad of a digreſſion from home, and keeps thence as long as he can, to relieve his ſoul from attending to domeſtick evils; *duabus æſtatibus geſta conjunxi, quo requieſceret animus a domeſticis malis.* He grieves for the ſlaviſh ſpirit, for the ſtupid tameneſs of the Romans under the Tyranny of the deteſtable NERO. So much Roman blood wantonly ſhed by that monſter, is a load upon his ſoul, and oppreſſes it with ſorrow. *Patientia ſervilis, tantumque ſanguinis domi perditum, fatigant animum, & mæſtitia reſtringunt.*

HE delights in good times, in publick Liberty and virtuous Reigns, and delights to praiſe them; ſuch

ſuch as thoſe of NERVA and TRAJAN; *rara temporum felicitate, ubi ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias dicere licet.* In what a different ſtrain does he ſpeak of the foregoing Emperors? *Nobilitas, opes, omiſſi geſtique honores pro crimine, & ob virtutes certiſſimum exitium.* He glories however that the worſt and moſt faithleſs times produced many inſtances of friendſhip and generous fidelity; *non tamen adeo virtutum ſterile ſeculum, ut non & bona exempla prodiderit.*

HE is fond of a virtuous Character; as that of LABEO: *Labeo incorrupta libertate & ob id fama celebratior:* ſuch as that of LEPIDUS; *hunc ego Lepidum temporibus illis, gravem & ſapientem virum fuiſſe comperio: nam plæraque ab ſævis adulationibus aliorum, in melius flexit:* and that of L. PISO chief Pontiff; *nulliu· ſervilis ſententiæ ſponte auctor.* How amiable are the Death and laſt words of L. ARRUNTIUS, like thoſe of a Patriot, and a Prophet! But how vile every where, and even miſerable and inſecure, are Tyrants, Flatterers and the Miniſters of Iniquity? What he ſays of the firſt I have quoted above: and againſt the other hear his honeſt indignation: *tempora infecta, & adulatione ſordida fuere. Fædaque & nimia cenſerent. Adulatio perinde anceps ſi nulla, & ubi nimia eſt. Delatores genus hominum in exitium publicum repertum, perniciem aliis, ac poſtremo ſibi invenere.* What an odious inſect is VATINIUS; what a horrible villain TIGELLINUS; what infamous ſycophants are CAPITO and VITELLIUS; and what a ſhocking paricide is SERENUS, the accuſer of his father and a general accuſer?

Sect.

Sect. V. *The Stile of* TACITUS, *how pertinent and happy: his Obscurity, a charge of the moderns only.*

BESIDES the grandeur and dignity of his phrase, he is remarkable for a surprising brevity: but let his words be ever so few, his thought and matter are always abundant. His expression is like the dress of POPPÆA SABINA, described by himself; *velata parte oris ne satiaret aspectum, vel quia sic decebat.* He starts the Idea, and leaves the Imagination to pursue it. The sample he gives you is so fine, that you are presently curious to see the whole piece, and then you have your share in the merit of the discovery; a compliment which some able Writers have forgot to pay to their Readers. I cannot help thinking Mr. LOCKE a great deal too wordy, and that the plainness of his propositions, as well as their strength, suffers often by an explanation over-diffuse. Dr. TILLOTSON's stile is much better, indeed very fine, but takes up too much room; it is likely he chose it as fit for popular discourses; since it is plain from the vivacity of his Parts, and the many fine turns found in his Writings, that he could have been very sententious. These two great names are by no man reverenced more than I reverence them, and without malignity I mention them, as I do that of the worthy Lord CLARENDON, whose language is weighty, and grave, but encumbred and even darkened, I might say flattened, with a multiplication of words.

STILE is a part of Genius, and TACITUS had one peculiar to himself, a sort of a language of his own, one fit to express the amazing vigour of his spirit, and that redundancy of reflections which for force and frequency are to be equalled by no Writer before or since. Besides, the course and fluency

fluency of his Narration, is almoſt every where broken by perſons whom he introduces ſpeaking and debating; inſomuch that a great part of his Hiſtory comes out of the mouths of other people, and in expreſſions ſuitable to their ſeveral Characters. It is plain too that the older he grew, the more he pruned and curtailed his Stile; for his Hiſtories are much more copious and flowing than his Annals: and thus what has been by others reckoned a fault, was in him the effect of his judgment. Neither were his Works intended for the populace; but for ſuch as governed States, or ſuch as attended to the conduct of Governors; nor, were the Stile and Latin ever ſo plain, would they ever be underſtood by ſuch as do not. As PLUTARCH came to underſtand the Roman Tongue by underſtanding their Affairs; TACITUS is to be known by knowing human nature, and the elements and mechaniſm of Government.

IT is madneſs to wiſh for the manner and redundancy of LIVY in the Writings of TACITUS. They wrote at different times, and of Governments differently formed. TACITUS had tranſactions of another ſort to deſcribe, and other ſorts of men; (for by Government men are changed); the crooked arts of policy, the falſe ſmiles of power, the jealouſy, fury and wantonneſs of Princes uncontrolled; the flattery of the grandees; the havock made by the accuſers, and univerſal debaſement of all men: matter chiefly for reflection, complaints and rebuke! *Nobis in arto, & inglorius labor: mæſtæ urbis res, &c.* LIVY had another field and more ſcope; the Hiſtory of a Commonwealth riſing, forming and conquering; perpetual victories and matter of panegyrick; and his pen flowed like the proſperity of the State. *Ingentia bello, expugnationes urbium, fuſos captoſque reges, diſcordias Conſulum adverſus Tribunos, agrarias frumentariaſque leges, plebis*

plebis & optimatium certamina, libero egressu memorabat, *An.* 4. 32. Doubtless he could have adopted another Stile if he would, perhaps the stile of LIVY, as I think this very quotation shews; but TACITUS had another view and different topicks; nor would another stile, the easy and numerous stile of LIVY, have answered his purpose. I fancy too that no body who knows TACITUS, would wish him to have written in a strain different from what he has done. There are charms in his manner and words, as well as in his thoughts, and he wears the only dress that would become him.

IT is amazing that this obscurity of his should never be mentioned by any of the Antients who mention him. It is a fault discovered by the Moderns, though, in my opinion, common to him with other Classical Writers; nor has he puzzled the Commentators more than HORACE, CICERO, PLINY, SALLUST, *&c.* His Latin is truly pure and classical; he has few or no words which had not been used by approved writers, nor does he often give new ideas to old words. If his Works were no wise obscure to men of sense when he composed them, as we have no reason to think; it is insolence and folly in us to reckon his obscurity a fault. It is a dead language which he writes in, and he wrote seventeen hundred years ago. When TACITUS the Emperor directed copies of his Books to be placed in all the Libraries, and for their better preservation, to be transcribed ten times every year, he ordered no Grammarian to explain his abstruse places; though the Historian had been then dead near two hundred years. Great Writers are in their manner and phrase a Law and Authority to themselves; and not confined to the Rules that fill the heads or grammars of small wits and pedants. MILTON has a stile of his own, and rules for writing of his own; and who that tastes his genius would

would wiſh him more faſhionable and exact, or to have written otherwiſe. I am even pleaſed with the jarrings of MILTON's phraſes. But here I chiefly mean his poetical ſtyle. Of his proſe I ſhall make mention hereafter.

WHEN the ſubject varies, ſo ſhould the ſtile: that of TACITUS is marvelloufly ſuited to his ſubject and deſign; had it been more familiar, it had neither been ſo juſt nor ſo beautiful. To me nothing is more ſo than the manner of TACITUS; his words and phraſes are admirably adapted to his matter and conceptions, and make impreſſions ſudden and wonderful upon the mind of man. The doleful condition of the Emperor VITELLIUS, when deſerted by his fortune and all men, is ſtrong and tragical as imagination and words can make it. *Terret ſolitudo & tacentes loci; tentat clauſa; inhorreſcit vacuis; feſſuſque miſero errore, & pudenda latebra ſemet occultans, à Tribuno protrahitur. Vinctæ pone tergum manus; laniata veſte, fædum ſpectaculum ducebatur, multis increpantibus*, he adds, *nullo inlachrymante*; and the reaſon he gives for this, is judicious and fine; *deformitas exitus miſericordiam abſtulerat.* What follows is in the ſame affecting ſtrain; as are the firſt ſenſible approaches of his calamity. *Vitellius, capta urbe, Aventinum in domum uxoris cellula defertur, ut ſi diem latebra vitaviſſet Terracinam—perfugeret: dein mobilitate ingenii, & quæ natura pavoris eſt, cum omnia metuenti, præſentia maxime diſplicerent, in palatium regreditur, vaſtum deſertumque; dilapſis etiam infimis ſervorum, aut occurſum ejus declinantibus.*

WHO would blame TACITUS for a paucity of words, when he conveys ſo many images in ſo few? *Is habitus animorum fuit, ut peſſimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur?* Where can there be a happier expreſſion than that concerning GALBA, when the Empire was already rent from

him, and he knew it not? *Ignarus interim Galba & sacris intentus, fatigabat alieni jam imperii deos.* When OTHO, proclaimed Emperor by no more than three and twenty Soldiers, was advancing to the Camp, *& paucitate salutantium trepidus*; the behaviour and acquiescence of those he met in his way are accounted for with surprising brevity and justness; *alii conscientia, plerique miraculo; pars clamore & gladiis, pars silentio, animum ex eventu sumpturi.* There is infinite pathos in what he says of the Omens and Phænomena, which were observed during the Civil Wars, and the strife of Princes; *cœlo terraque prodigia, & fulminum monitus, & futurorum præsagia læta, tristia, ambigua, manifesta.* What can be more solemn, sounding and sublime, even in LUCRETIUS? When NERO was disgracing himself and the Roman State, by debasing his person to that of a player upon the publick Stage; how pathetically is the behaviour and spirit of BURRUS described in a few words; *adstabat Burrus mærens & laudans!*

Sect. VI. *A general Character of his Works.*

THERE is no end of specimens and examples; it is all over a wonderful Book, full of wisdom, full of virtue; of astonishing strokes of genius and superior sense. Yet he seems not to value himself upon his great thoughts; the finest things fall from him like common things; he says them naturally, and never dwells upon one, because he has always more to utter. When he has struck your imagination, and you want to stand still and ruminate, you have no time; he draws, or rather forces you forward, and the next thought strikes you as much; so does the third, and all of them; and you go on reading and wondering, yet wishing for leisure to ponder and recollect. But he gives you

none; for, from first to last the present reflection is always the best.

'Tis all of it eternal good sense, and will bear an eternity of time and censure. It is no wise akin to your pretty trifles of humour and fancy, that just tickle the imagination, but go no deeper, and please for a day. His beauties are solid, and upon the strictest examination discover no paint or tinsel; his wisdom and instruction are inexhaustible, and his works consequently an everlasting feast. I have seen several performances of tolerable length and notable reputation, all derived from so many short sentences of TACITUS, well wiredrawn and paraphrased. He is indeed a fund for Writers who have discretion and stile, but want depth.

There is a fine short Character of TACITUS in OWEN's Epigrams;

Veracem fecit probitas, natura sagacem,
Obscurum brevitas te, gravitasque brevem. Ep. 157.

Sect. VII. TACITUS *vindicated from the imputation of deriving events from counsels too subtle and malevolent.*

HE is accused too of over-much subtilty and refining, and of deriving the actions of his Princes, even the most innocent and plausible, from crooked designs, and a base heart; and of imputing to craft and politicks what was often no more than the effect of inclination and passion: A charge in my opinion intirely groundless. TACITUS describes things and men as they are, shews particulars acting agreeably to their characters, their situation and views; and represents counsels flowing from such sources only as were likely to produce them. Let us examine his reign of TIBERIUS for which he is chiefly censured.

THE

THE first feat of this reign, was the murder of AGRIPPA, the grandson of AUGUSTUS. TIBERIUS ordered it, and denied it, and threatned the Centurion who was the executioner, that he should answer for it to the Senate. This is the account given by TACITUS, and the same is given by SUETONIUS; the former adds, that it was done from jealousy of State, and for the removal of a Rival; and what other reason is to be given? for he had shewn how improbable it was that the same had been ordained by AUGUSTUS, though this was pretended, as SUETONIUS too testifies. Nor was any thing more natural than his apprehensions of GERMANICUS, a young Prince popular above all men, and at the head of a great army, who wanted him for their Emperor in the room of TIBERIUS. This is matter of fact, and well attested. Now where is the extreme refining, to represent TIBERIUS as contriving to remove such a dangerous man, one of such good pretences and powerful interest, first from his faithful Legions, and then from home, for ever; though at the same time he flattered him, extolled him, and heaped honours upon him? All this is but the common road of such Courts, when they have the same designs and fears. Is it not usual in Turkey to load a Bashaw with Imperial Presents, to bestow upon him some great Government, and to murder him before he arrive at it?

IS not power a jealous and artificial thing, full of fears and wiles; and is not TIBERIUS allowed by all men to have been a Prince of infinite distrust, craft, and cruelty? What meant he by making great men Governors of Provinces, and yet never suffering them to go thither for a course of years, nor even out of Rome, though they still held the name? What meant he by continuing others in the actual possession of Provinces for a long tract of years, nay

frequently to the end of their life? Was it not his diſtruſt of the former; and that as to the latter, he could not make a ſafer choice, and therefore was afraid to chooſe any? Yet TACITUS, far from diving into his Politicks in this matter, or being ſubtle and dogmatical about it, gives you the ſentiments of others; *alii tædio novæ curæ, ſemel placita pro æternis ſervaviſſe. Quidam, invidia, ne plures fruerentur. Sunt qui exiſtimant, ut callidum ejus ingenium, ita anxium judicium; neque enim eminentis virtutes ſectabatur, & rurſum vitia oderat: ex optimis periculum ſibi; a peſſimis dedecus publicum metuebat.* Never was any thing ſaid more impartial, never any thing more juſt and ſolid. From the doubles and even contradictions that poſſeſs the heart of man, the conduct of men will be perplexed and contradictory. It is allowed that *alieni appetens, ſui profuſus*, was a juſt branch in the Character of CATILINE, and is reckoned one of the beauties and ſtrong places in SALLUST. Without peradventure, as beautiful, and ſtrong, and juſt, is this of TACITUS; *neque eminentis virtutis ſectabatur, & rurſum vitia oderat*; the reaſon too aſſigned for it, is equally juſt and fine; *ex optimis periculum ſibi; a peſſimis dedecus publicum metuebat.* Is not this accounting, from the principles of nature and ſelf-preſervation, for the conduct and politicks of TIBERIUS? Many of his actions and meaſures, recounted by TACITUS, are ſupported by collateral evidence, by SUETONIUS, PLINY, DION CASSIUS, and others; many by them omitted are by him related, with ſuch probability, and ſo perfectly reſemble the reſt of his conduct, that we muſt deny TIBERIUS to have been ſuch a Prince as all men agree he was, or believe the account of him given by TACITUS.

HIS diſſimulation was conſtant and notorious. In the very beginning, while he confidently acted

as

as Emperor, with all the pomp and might of Majesty, he openly refused the Empire; *Principatum* (says SUETONIUS) *quamvis neque occupare confestim, neque agere dubitasset, vi & specie dominationis assumpta, diu tamen recusavit impudentissimo animo*; Such severe language as this is not given him by TACITUS.

DOES TACITUS represent him as hating and fearing the great Romans, and illustrious Senators? And do not other Historians; do not the facts themselves prove it? Was he not continually destroying them, till they were almost all destroyed? Of the twenty Grandees particularly *(principum Civitatis)* whom he desired of the Senate, for his Confidents and Counsellors, he left not above two or three alive; all the rest were by treachery and feigned crimes cut off by him: *Horum omnium vix duos aut tres incolumes præstitit; cæteros, alium alia de causa perculit*, says SUETONIUS. Is TACITUS therefore too refined, in discovering what facts demonstrate? Is it not SUETONIUS too who says, *Multa specie gravitatis, ac morum corrigendorum, sed magis naturæ obtemperans, sæve & atrociter factitavit?* "It was "usual with him, to do actions exceeding barba-"rous and mercileſs, yet all under shew of Justice, "and the reforming of Manners; but in reality "from the instigation of his own cruel spirit." Is SUETONIUS also over subtle, the Historian in the world the most plain, and seldom aiming at a reflection? For what reason did he suffer the boundaries of the Empire to be invaded, and Provinces to be seized by the Barbarians, but from fear of trusting any great Officer with the conduct of the War?

THAT he affected to derive all power from the Senate, yet left them but the shadow of authority, and was even jealous of that shadow, is sacredly true. It was even natural; and wanted no refining, to discover it. Did not CROMWEL do the same?

And are not all men willing to have their power, however lawless, legitimated, and the odium of their acts of violence transferred upon others? Will any one say, that the Senate liked his acts of Sovereignty, his frequent impeachments of their Members, often the best and most innocent, and his obliging them to condemn, (for he that dares not refuse is forced to consent) and his leaving every particular in continual dread of being the next; which was a farther motive in each to hatred and complaisance? He knew he had earned their hate, *reputante sibi publicum odium.* Is it likely now that he loved them, or that there was or could be sincerity or confidence on either side? What did his retirement in the Isle of Capreæ, with his perpetual absence from Rome, infer, but continual distrust of the Senate and People? Just before he expired, he was hastening from a ramble upon the Continent, back to his Den, *non temere quidquam nisi ex tuto ausurus*; to take measures of vengeance against the Senate, for that he had read in their acts, that they had discharged certain persons accused, though he had writ to the Senate, that they were only named by the informer; *pro contempto se habitum fremens, repetere Capreas quoque modo destinavit, non temere, &c.* This too is related by SUETONIUS. It is certain the Senate were to all these Tyrants a constant mark of jealousy and hate; and some of them, particularly CALIGULA and NERO, had proposed to extirpate that venerable Assembly, by murdering the whole Body.

Sect. VIII. *More Proofs of the Candour and Veracity of* TACITUS.

TACITUS makes TIBERIUS no worse than he was, hardly so bad. That he doomed almost his whole family to exile, famine, or the execu-

executioner; that his cruel ſuſpicion and diſtruſt extended even to women, even to his mother, nay to children, relations and ſtrangers, to names, nobility, and all men, is undeniable. Nor does TACITUS relate any part of the conduct or politicks of TIBERIUS, but what evidently reſults either from the nature of the man, or the nature of his power. He frequently ſpeaks well of that Prince; and ill he could not avoid ſpeaking, if he ſpoke of him at all. Nay the whole ſixth chapter of the fourth Annal, is a fine panegyrick upon the moderation and wiſdom of his Government for eight years before: *publica negotia, & privatorum maxima, apud patres tractabantur; dabaturque primoribus diſſerere, & in adulationem lapſos cohibebat ipſe; mandabatque honores, nobilitatem majorum, claritudinem militiæ, inluſtres domi artes ſpectando: ut ſatis conſtaret non alios potiores fuiſſe. Sua conſulibus, ſua prætoribus ſpecies; minorum quoque magiſtratuum exercita poteſtas; legeſque, ſi majeſtatis quæſtio eximeretur, bono in uſu, &c.*

WHAT can be fairer than this? and do not other Hiſtorians agree that he grew worſe and worſe: that he had long ſmothered his vices, and was, firſt and laſt, a complete diſſembler? And is it juſt upon TACITUS, to accuſe him of diſplaying the ſubtleties and craft of a Prince, who was all craft and ſubtlety? Does he not give us the good and bad of his character, and frequently defend it? Does he not ſay of him, in oppoſition to popular opinion and report, *non crediderim ad oſtentandam ſævitiam, movendaſque populi offenſiones conceſſam filio materiam; quanquam id quoque dictum eſt? An.* 1. *c.* 76.

DOES he not repreſent TIBERIUS elſewhere as mollifying a rigorous ſentence of the Senate, for baniſhing a criminal to a barren and deſolate Iſland, and arguing that to whomſoever they granted life, they ought to grant the conveniences of life; *dandos*

vitæ usus, cui vita concederetur? Does he not represent him in another place absolutely refusing a new accession of power, and arguing against it, like a Republican; yet charges him there with no dissimulation?

IN TACITUS you have no false colouring, no true worth blemished, no bad qualities disguised; but fair representations and equal justice. TIBERIUS is a dangerous Prince, extremely false, extremely cruel; but he has many abilities, and some good qualities. He is prudent in moderating the excesses of others, where he was not instigated by his own personal anger; *prudens moderandi, ubi propriâ irâ non impelleretur.* He loved power without bounds; yet was constant and resolute in rejecting pompous honours; *spernendis honoribus validus:* a great Tyrant, but a Prince observing the rules of primitive parcimony; *antiquæ parcimoniæ princeps:* furiously jealous of prerogative; yet the laws, where processes of treason interfered not, were in proper force; *leges, si majestatis quæstio eximeretur, bono in usu.* He is inflexible in his vengeance, and where-ever his jealousy or anger centers, there terrible tragedies are sure to follow; yet the popular imputation of his poisoning his son, is by TACITUS exposed as incredible and fabulous; with many the like instances of eminent impartiality. He gives fair quarter to the Man, but none to the Tyrant.

TO CLAUDIUS, a stupid Prince, and almost a changeling, who had no judgment, no aversion of his own, but only such as were infused and managed by others, he allows a share of sense at intervals; allows that he did some reasonable things, gave good advice to the Prince of Parthia; and wanted not elegance in his speeches, when his speeches were premeditated. He owns the spirit of Sovereignty to be jealous and unsociable; but as an exception from this rule, mentions the amiable friendship and union

union between GERMANICUS and DRUSUS, in the Court of TIBERIUS, though their different interests had rent the whole Court into factions. He owns the friendship of DRUSUS, for the children of GERMANICUS; though the participation of power, and the union of hearts, are seldom compatible.

The same fair temper and truth he observes in the Conduct and Character of GALBA, OTHO, and even of NERO and VITELLIUS; and it was his business and design to lay open the iniquity and horrors of their misrule.

THESE are some of the objections made to the Writings of TACITUS, and I think with extreme injustice. His Critics are more subtle than he; they are false refiners, who for the reputation of sagacity, make singular remarks, and serve him as they say he did TIBERIUS; they pervert and blacken his designs, and are too curious to be equitable. TACITUS, with a masterly discernment, unravels the mysterious conduct of TIBERIUS; it is from awe of his Mother, it is from fear of GERMANICUS, it is from jealousy of the Grandees, and with design to amuse and humour, or to deceive them all, that he rules and acts with such temper and moderation, against the bent and pride of his nature always imperious and tyrannical. But when he had well established himself; when GERMANICUS was dead; when his Mother too was gone; when he had crushed some of the Grandees, and terrified all; and especially when he was far from the eyes of Rome, is it not most true, that he then gave a loose to all the excesses of vileness and cruelty? *cuncta simul vitia, male diu dissimulata, tandem profudit.* It is not TACITUS who says this.

WAS he not continually mocking and deluding the Senate? First he would by no means accept the

Empire,

Empire, at a time when he was actually in possession; sometimes he was weary of it, and would needs resign at every turn. Before he quitted the City, he was for visiting the Provinces, and for this purpose many preparations were made, and high expectation raised; then, when he had retired to Capreæ, he was continually amusing them with his immediate return to Rome, nay begged one of the Consuls to guard him. He carried the deceit so far, that he often visited the Continent, and the very Walls and Gardens about Rome; but never once returned to Rome, nor visited the Provinces, nor had a thought of resigning. The Commonwealth was always in his mouth, even when he was acting the Tyrant most; he professed eminent moderation while he was meditating acts of cruelty; and in instances of injustice and rigour, pleaded law and mercy.

HIS malice in leaving so wicked a Successor appears more from SUETONIUS than from TACITUS, who allows him to have had some thoughts of appointing another; but the former testifies expresly, that TIBERIUS was wont to foretel what a devouring Dragon he reared for the Roman people, and what a PHAETON or incendiary to the whole earth. TACITUS is vouched by SUETONIUS in what he says was reported for the motive which determined AUGUSTUS to adopt TIBERIUS; *ambitione tractum, ut tali successore considerabilior ipse quandoque fieret. Suet. in Tiber. c.* 21. The same too is testified by DION CASSIUS.

Sect.

Sect. IX. *Mr.* BAYLE'*s unjust censure of* TACITUS; *and how well the latter knew and observed the Laws of History.*

MR. BAYLE in his *Dictionary* in the Article of *Tacitus*, quotes some passages out of a Book entitled *Anonymiana*, (a very foolish book) where TACITUS is criticized as above, and approves those passages. This is the less matter of wonder to me, for that Mr. BAYLE, with all his immense learning, acuteness, and candour, had a strange and unnatural biass to absolute Monarchy, though he had fled from the fury of it, and taken refuge in a free State. A proof this that great weakness cleaves to the greatest minds; and who can boast an exemption from prejudices, when a spirit so signally disinterested and philosophical as that of BAYLE was not exempted? He himself says of TACITUS, *qu'il y a bien à reprendre dans l'affectation de son langage, & dans celle de rechercher les motifs secrets des actions, & de les tourner vers le criminel.* That this charge is groundless I have already proved. Much less to be regarded is the authority of Mr. St. EVREMOND in his censure upon TACITUS: his observations are without depth, to say no worse; nor have I found in his Works any political observations remarkable for solidity and force. What he has said of the Romans, is superficial, and often wrong.

TACITUS knew perfectly the Laws of History, and blames the passionate and partial accounts given by those who described the same reigns; since those of them which were written during the lives of the Princes, were falsified through dread of their Tyranny, and when dead, through detestation of their late cruelties. He had no motive to be partial;

partial; free as he was from affection, free from resentment. He knew that truth uncorrupted was the Business of an Historian, and that personal affection and hate should have no share in the work; *nec amore quisquam, & sine odio dicendus est.* Of GALBA, OTHO, and VITELLIUS he says, that to him they were known by no mark either of favour or diskindness. The same is true of AUGUSTUS, TIBERIUS, CALIGULA, CLAUDIUS, and NERO. He shews how the truth was corrupted, first by flattery, then by resentment; and professes to be far from either. I think he is as good as his word.

Sect. X. *An Apology for the wrong account by* TACITUS *given of the Jews and Christians, and for his disregard of the Religion then received.*

THERE are other accusations against TACITUS: he has misrepresented the Jews and Christians, and wanted Religion.

CONCERNING the Jews, he followed the tradition and accounts current amongst the Romans. He tells you what different relations there were, and neither adds any thing, nor misrepresents things maliciously. It was an obscure State, generally enslaved to some greater power; to the Assyrians, Ægyptians, Grecians, and then to the Romans; and contemned by all, as much as they themselves hated all. They had not common mercy or charity toward the Gentiles and uncircumcised; and being persuaded that the Almighty loved only themselves, they fancied that he abhorred, and therefore they abhorred, the whole human race besides: so that it was said by TACITUS too truly, *adversus omnes alios hostile odium.* They were likewise ever solicitous to hide their mysteries from the

eyes

eyes of the Heathens, and could not blame them for not knowing what was not to be known. Yet he was not ill informed in ſome inſtances, eſpecially in their ſpiritual notions of the Deity, with their averſion to Images, and to the adoration of the Emperors: *nulla ſimulacra urbibus ſuis; non regibus hæc adulatio, non Cæſaribus honor.*

OF the Goſpel it is manifeſt he knew nothing; he could not elſe have made ſo ugly a picture of thoſe who profeſſed it; for it is not likely that the Chriſtians were yet ſo degenerated as to diſgrace the Chriſtian Religion. TACITUS wanted an opportunity to be better informed. That Religion, as it began among the lower ſort of people, had not probably hitherto gained many proſelytes of name and quality, to countenance and recommend it to men of figure. TACITUS conſidered it like a Stateſman, as a new Sect inconſiſtent with the Laws of Rome, and threatning civil tumults and innovations. It is probable too he had heard and credited the calumnies then uſually thrown upon the manners and meetings of that people. Nor after the beſt inſtruction could he have become a Believer without the illumination of the Spirit; which, it is plain, was withheld from him: and, without a change of heart, it was impoſſible for him to conceive the Reſurrection of the dead, and the Crucifixion of the Son of God. Yet he does them the juſtice to vindicate them from the obloquy of NERO, and expoſes the barbarity of their treatment by that Tyrant.

FOR his diſregarding the Religion then received, when I conſider what ſorts of abſurdities the Pagans held for Religion, I cannot ſo much blame him. It was a worſhip paid to Deities altogether frantick and impure, by ſacrifices and follies ridiculous and vain; and both their Worſhip and their Gods were invented by the cunning or deluſion of men. It

conſiſted

consisted in no purification of heart, nor amendment of morals; the things which men and societies require; but in sounds, gesticulation, and the blood of beasts; not in truth and sense, in benevolence and rectitude of mind; but in lying oracles, unaccountable mysteries, and a raving imagination; sometimes in professed acts of lewdness; often in those of fury and madness; always in such as were foreign from real virtue, and the restraining of the passions. Public calamities were never thought to be brought down by public depravity and vice, nor to be averted or removed by public reformation. The Gods were not offended but by the omission, or wrong performance of some ceremony or grimace; and by grimace and ceremony they were to be appeased. And when the Deities were deemed to be endowed with the peevishness and caprices of children and apes, or the phrenzy of lunatics, what man of sense could reverence them, or believe in them? It would not have redounded to the reputation of his sense, if he had. Where Religion is pure Superstition, and the belief of it absolutely groundless and blind; where its Rites are fanciful, foolish, and unmanly, as the Religion, and Gods, and Worship of the Pagans were; it would have been a revolt from common Reason to have had any such Religion. We know how freely CICERO deals with their Gods.

IT is true that these great men of Rome, who either had no notion of Religion, or one quite opposite to that publicly received and practised, regarded it as far as it was interwoven with the constitution of the State, and subservient to the ends of Government: yet they suffered their Poets, especially the dramatic Poets, to treat their Gods with severe jests and satire. They seemed to be of TIBERIUS's mind, *Deorum injurias diis curæ*; that is, to leave to the Gods the avenging of indignities

dignities done to the Gods. Men were punished for their libelling particulars, people of condition, and especially Magistrates; but to ridicule and lampoon the Deities, JUPITER himself, even upon the Stage, was a matter of impunity and diversion.

THEIR Religion therefore consisting in Rituals, a man might be very religious with a very debauched and libertine Spirit. *Cultor deorum parcus & infrequens*, is a complaint made by HORACE of himself, but does not seem to infer much heavenly-mindedness, nor a departure from his impure pleasures. One might, on the contrary, be exactly good and just, nay the pattern of Virtue, and a public patriot, without any tincture of their Religion. Such was CATO the Censor, such EPICURUS, and such was TACITUS. He thought that either there was no Providence (for his mind wavered between the doctrine of necessity and that of chance) or such a Providence as he could have well spared; *non esse curæ Deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.* But this bold reproach upon the Deities, he uttered after his heart, zealous for the good of his Country, had been heated by a terrible detail of her Calamities.

NOR indeed, according to the ideas conceived of these odd Beings, so easily humoured and provoked, could one say much good of them, or expect it from them. In the reign of NERO he enumerates many presages, from which, as from signals divinely sent, great changes for the better were inferred; but all vanished into air and disappointment; *prodigia crebra & inrita intercessere, &c.* Hence he argues, that all these omens happened so apparently without any direction or interposition of the Gods, that, for many years after, NERO rioted in power and wickedness.

WHATEVER were the speculations of our Author about Religion, his Morality is strong and pure,

pure, full of benevolence to human ſociety, full of every generous paſſion, and every noble principle; a terrible rebuke to iniquity, vice and baſeneſs, in all ſtations and ſhapes; and one continued leſſon of wiſdom and virtue. Theſe are the excellencies which in civil life recommend Books and Men; theſe the excellencies which recommend TACITUS; excellencies which he has carried as high as the utmoſt efforts of human genius could carry them. Mr. BAYLE ſays, *Ses Annales & ſon Hiſtoire ſont quelque choſe d'admirable, & l'un des plus grands efforts de l'eſprit humain; ſoit que l'on y conſidere la ſingularité du ſtile, ſoit que l'on s'attache à la beauté des penſes, & à cet heureux pinceau avec lequel il a ſçu peindre les diſguiſemens & les fourberies des politiques, & le foible des paſſions.*

NOR does he ſhew more abilities than probity, as aſtoniſhing as his abilities were; and having ſo much, what more did he want for his deſign? or what more could we wiſh in him? Which is the better inſtructor, he who has ſtore of faith, but wants virtue, and abounds not in good ſenſe; or he who wants the firſt, but abounds in knowledge and the rules of righteouſneſs? It is for this we conſult TACITUS, not for his Theological Speculations. How do his metaphyſical notions impede his excellencies as an Hiſtorian and Politician; or his miſtakes in one thing, leſſen his diſcernment and veracity in another?

ACCORDING to the accounts of our beſt Travellers concerning China, the Mandarins who are the Nobility of the country, the Learned, and ſuch as hold the Magiſtracy, have no religion at all, their governing principle is publick ſpirit; their principal ſtudy the good of the State; and they are noted for politeneſs and virtue. The *Bonzes* or Prieſts, on the contrary, pretend to extraordinary devotion; but are vicious, ſordid, baſe, and void

of

of every virtue private or public. Here is an instance of a Monarchy the most thriving of any upon earth, or that ever was upon earth; an Empire that contains more people than half the rest of the globe, these people full of industry and arts; yet administred by men who are of no particular Religion, or Sect, but are guided by the natural lights of Reason and Morality; nor knows it a greater blot and disgrace than the vile lives of its *Priests* and *Religious*.

AGAINST this instance set another, that of the Pope's Dominions, the center of the Romish Religions; where holy men sway all things, and have engrossed all things; where tortures and flames keep out Infidels and Heretics, and every man who thinks awry; and where the champions for devotion, so called, protect the Church, and feed themselves. Now where but here should one look for the marks of opulence, ease, and plenty, and public happiness, if by an Administration of Priests and Devotees, public happiness were advanced? But behold a different and melancholy scene! Countries fertile, but desolate; the people ignorant, idle, and starving, and all the marks and weight of Misery!

DOES not this merit reflection, that a Church blended and debauched with excessive wealth and power, is worse, a thousand times worse than none; and that the mere light of nature and reason is many degrees more conducive to the temporal welfare of humankind, than a Religion or Church which is purely lucrative and selfish? Were the Romish Church, or any other Church that teaches pains and penalties; any that exalts Ecclesiastics into power, and leaves them the sword, or wields it for them, once established in China; there would in a little time be an end of their incredible numbers; and it would soon feel the cruel curse attending the change. In this sentiment I am vouched by that

polite Writer, and candid Prelate, Dr. TILLOTSON: "Better it were, ſays he, there were no revealed Religion, and that human nature were left to the conduct of its own principles and inclinations, which are much more mild and merciful, much more for the peace and happineſs of human ſociety; than to be acted by a Religion that inſpires men with ſo wild a fury, and prompts them to commit ſuch outrages." Serm. Vol. I. p. 206.

Make another compariſon between two particulars, a Heathen guided by reaſon, and a Chriſtian by paſſion and falſe zeal; between TACITUS and St. JEROM; behold the politeneſs, candour, eternal truth, and good ſenſe in the one; mark the raſhneſs and enthuſiaſm, the fierceneſs and falſhood of the other. So much ſtronger were the paſſions and inſincerity of this great Saint, than the impreſſions of the Chriſtian Religion, which is all meekneſs and candour; nay, he often makes it a ſtale for his fury, forgeries, and implacable vengeance. I meddle not with his ſtrange maxims, ſome fooliſh, ſome mad, many impracticable, and others turbulent and ſeditious. In TACITUS you have the good ſenſe and breeding of a Gentleman; in the Saint the rage and dreams of a Monk. Does the religion of the latter recommend his reveries and bitter ſpirit; or the want of it in TACITUS, weaken the ſhining truths that are in him?

WHEN a Writer relates facts, or reaſons from principles, his good ſenſe and veracity only are to be regarded; and we have no more to do with his ſpeculations or miſtakes in other matters, than with his perſon or complection. PLINY and ARISTOTLE are reckoned Atheiſts; but what is this to their fine parts and learning? With ſmall ſpirits and bigots every thing that is noble and free, is Atheiſm and Blaſphemy. The littleneſs and ſourneſs of

of their own hearts, is the measure of all things. NERVA, TRAJAN, and MARCUS AURELIUS were Heathen Princes; but they had virtue and benevolence, and their administration was righteous: what more did their subjects want from them? JUSTINIAN, CONSTANTIUS, JOHN BASILOWITZ, JOHN GALEAS, and LEWIS the eleventh were Christian Princes, and men pretending to high Devotion; some of them great contenders for Orthodoxy, and great builders of Churches; but all barbarous and consuming Tyrants. What were the people or themselves the better for their Religion, without good nature and probity? Nay, they made Religion one of the principal machines for Tyranny; as Religion in a Tyrant or Impostor is little else but an impious bargain and composition with God for abusing men.

SUCH in truth is the situation of things below, such the frame and foible of men, that it depends in a great measure upon Civil Government, whether Religion shall in this world do good or harm. Is a country filled with oppression, the happier for being filled too with Churches and Priests, as were Greece and Italy by JUSTINIAN? Or can a country that abounds in virtue, and happiness, and good Laws, want any more to all the purposes of social life; like Lacedæmon and Rome in their best ages? Let us praise all who have true Religion, full of mercy, and void of bigotry; but let us not condemn such as, for want of the same lights and revelation which we have been blessed with, are, without any forms of Religion, virtuous and wise. Certainly worse, much worse than none, is that Religion which inspires pride, bigotry, and fierceness, and hath not charity for all men.

To conclude this head, I shall here subjoin what I have said elsewhere to the like purpose; "That "black is not white, and that two and two make four,

" is as true out of the mouth of an Atheiſt, as out of " the mouth of an Apoſtle. A penny given by an " Atheiſt to a beggar, is better alms than a half- " penny given by a Believer; and the good ſenſe " of an Atheiſt is preferable to the miſtakes of a " good Chriſtian. In ſhort, whatever reputed " Atheiſts do well, or ſpeak truly, is more to be " imitated and credited, than what the greateſt " Believers do wickedly, or ſay falſely. Even in " the buſineſs of bearing teſtimony, or making a " report, in which caſes the credit or reputation " of the witneſs gives ſome weight, or none, to " what he ſays; more regard is to be had to the " word of an Unbeliever, who has no intereſt on " either ſide, than to the word of a Believer, who " has; neither are the good or bad actions of an " Atheiſt worſe, with reſpect to the world at leaſt, " for his being one; though the ſin of a Saint is " more ſinful than that of a Pagan. It is the " greateſt folly to think that any man's crimes are " the leſs for him who commits them; or that " truth is leſs or more truth, for the ill or good " name of him who ſpeaks it."

Sect. XI. *The fooliſh cenſure of* BOCCALINI *and others upon* TACITUS.

THE cenſure paſſed upon TACITUS by BOCCALINI and ſome of the other Commentators, as if he maliciouſly taught leſſons of Tyranny; is ſo ſenſeleſs and abſurd, that it merits no notice, much leſs confutation. As well may they ſay that LUTHER and father PAUL diſplay the encroachments and frauds of the Church of Rome, on purpoſe to teach that or other Churches how to oppreſs and deceive; or that LIVY, as great a Republican as ever lived, expoſed the uſurpations and Tyranny of TARQUIN, in order to inſtruct

Uſurpers

Usurpers to support themselves and extinguish public liberty. TACITUS represents Tyrants as odious to all men, and even to themselves. But what answer could one give to a man who should advance that GROTIUS wrote his Book of the Truth of Christianity, with a view to promote and confirm Paganism?

Sect. XII. *Of the several Commentators and Translators of* TACITUS.

IT were almost endless to mention all who have written upon TACITUS, and their success; numbers have done it, many as Critics, some politically; and several of the former with sufficiency and applause, such as LIPSIUS, FREINSHEMIUS, old GRONOVIUS, and RYCKIUS. From the edition published by this last I have made my Translation; the text is very correct, and his notes are judicious and good. Of all those who have commented upon his Politics, I can commend but very few; I mean such as I have seen; many of them are worse than indifferent; tedious compilations of common places, or heavy paraphrases upon the original, where its vigour is lost in superfluous explications; and the lively thoughts of TACITUS converted into lifeless maxims; frequently wrong converted; frequently trifling and affected; often such discoveries as are obvious to every peasant or child; or puffy declamations, tedious, laboured and uninstructive. Of one or the other sort are the Commentaries of BOCCALINI, ANNIBAL SCOTI, FORSTNERUS, SCHILDUS, and divers others.

Mr. AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE has made a large collection of political observations upon TACITUS, as far as the thirteenth Annal inclusive; some of them pertinent and useful; but many

of them insipid, and little worth. The very first which he makes, is flat and poor; *dès que la Roïauté commence a degénérer en tyrannie, le peuple aspire à la liberté.* Little better is this; *quand un Prince commence à devenir infirme, ou cassé, tout le monde tourne les yeux vers le soleil levant, c'est à dire, vers son successeur*; or this; *les refus du Prince doivent être assaisonnez de douceur & de courtoisie*; or this; *ceux même qui ont renoncé à leur honneur, & qui font gloire de leur scelerateſſe, s'offensent d'etre appellez traitres*; or this; *un bon General ne doit jamais hazarder une bataille, qu'il n'ait mis bon ordre par tout*; this too; *il n'y a rien dont un Favori, ou un premier Ministre, doive se mettre plus en peine, que de bien connoitre l'humeur de son Prince*; this too; *un Prince dépoüillé de ses Etats ne reste pas volontiers entre les mains de celui qui en est emparé.* All this is trite, void of force and instruction.

THE Spanish Translation by DON ALAMOS DE BARRIENTOS, is accompanied with numerous Annotations, by him stiled *Aforismos*, which are as indifferent and impotent as the Translation it self is good and strong. His observation upon, *cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa, nomine principis sub imperium accepit*, is, *Quando alguno se viniere a hazer Senor de una grande, y poderosa cividad libre, lo mas ordinario serà despues de una larga guerra civil*; "the opportunity for any one to become master of a great "and powerful free City, is most commonly at the "end of a great civil war." TACITUS says that AUGUSTUS left the first Lords of the Senate his heirs in the third degree, though most of them were hated by him; *plerosque invisos sibi, sed jactantia gloriaque ad posteros.* DON ALAMOS observes upon this; *El principe muchas vezes haze honra a las personas que aborrece, para gagnar fama de modestia y sufrimiento*; "a Prince often confers honours on those "he hates, purely for the reputation of moderation

"and temper." TACITUS says of GERMANICUS, *auxius occultis in se patrui aviæque odiis, quorum caussæ acriores, quia iniquæ*; *El hombre inocente y bueno*, (says DON ALAMOS by way of Annotation) *de ninguna cosa recibe tanta congoxa, como de los secretos aborrecimientos que sabe le tienen sus parientos, sin merecerlo*; "a worthy and innocent man feels "so much anguish from nothing as from the secret "hate which he knows his parents bear him, without deserving it."

OF small value are such reflections, and small thought they cost to produce them; the less is the wonder that DON ALAMOS has vented such a myriad. CANINI, an Italian, has however translated them into his own language, with high encomiums, and published them with the Italian Translation of POLITI, a Translation which reads well, but hampers the thoughts of TACITUS, and from an affectation to be as concise as the original, loses much of its weight and spirit. DON ALAMOS, on the contrary, opens the sentiments of TACITUS fully, often over-fully, by supplemental parentheses, that are sometimes perfectly needless, and always mar and embarrass the reading.

THESE are the only Spanish and Italian Versions which I have seen of TACITUS. There are two more of the former, by SUEYRO and COLOMA, both well esteemed; and as many more Italian by DATI and DAVANZATI, not at all commended. Of French Translations there are five or six, all, except two, good for little, some of them good for nothing. These two are by Mr. D'HARLAY DE CHANVALLON, who has done the whole, Mr. AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE, who has only gone as far as the thirteenth Annal. The former is vigorous and just, like that of a man of sense and observation; nor has the latter any advantage over him, save that his French is more

modern, if that be any. ABLANCOURT is likewise one of the French Translators of TACITUS, a man of name and of a flowing stile; but if he has abused other Authors as he has abused and transformed TACITUS, it is fit they were all done over again. There is some life in him, and harmony, but no justness nor strength. All the force and fine ideas of TACITUS are lost in ABLANCOURT.

Sect. XIII. *A Conjecture concerning the modern Languages, more largely concerning the English.*

OF the French Tongue itself I may venture to say, after better judges than my self, that from a laxness and effeminacy essential to it, it cannot naturalize the strong expressions of the Ancients, without spreading and weakening them considerably. It has a number of relatives, particles and monosyllables that return incessantly, and flatten the sense, and tire the ear. The English Language has indeed many words more harsh than the French; but it has likewise many more spirituous and sounding; and though it be also loaded with relatives, particles and words of one syllable, yet I think not to the same degree, nor do those we have return so often; and we can frequently drop the particles, and leave them to be understood, as well as the relatives.

IN this respect the Latins had an advantage over the Greeks; as those two Languages have over every other that is now in the world, or perhaps ever was. We are infinitely behind them in significancy and sound, and, with all our adventitious words and refinements, are still crude and gothick to them. Nearest in Language to the Ancients come the Spaniards and Italians, though still far behind; yet they stand over the heads of the English

gliſh and French, and walk while we creep. The Spaniſh is the more ſonorous and lofty; the Italian the more ſweet and gliding; and both excel in harmony, numeroſity, and the pomp of words. The Italians ſeem to have ſpoiled their Tongue, by wild hyperboles, and phraſes of mere ſound and compliment; whether it be from the turn of the nation to Love and Muſic; whether it be from the Legends of their Saints, and their extravagant Panegyrics upon them, or from their Slavery to Churchmen, or the Severity of their Government, or from what other cauſe, I do not pretend to determine.

THE French profeſs to have greatly refined their Tongue; and it is indeed brought to be exceeding glib and perſpicuous; but whether the refiners have not pared away its ſtrength to make it more ſhapely and regular, has been doubted. Some refinements we alſo have made in ours, perhaps by imitating the French; though I hope we have better preſerved its force. Eaſy writing has been ſtudied to affectation; a ſort of writing, which, where the thoughts are not cloſe, the ſenſe ſtrong, and the phraſe genteel, is of all others the moſt contemptible. Such were the productions of Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE, not fit to be read by any who have taſte or good breeding; they are full of technical terms, of phraſes picked up in the ſtreet from apprentices and porters, and nothing can be more low and nauſeous. His ſentences, beſides their groſsneſs, are lively nothings, which can never be tranſlated (a ſure way to try language) and will hardly bear repetition. *Between hawk and buzzard: clawed him with kindneſs: alert and friſky: guzzling down tipple: would not keep touch: a queer putt: lay curſed hard upon their gizzard: cram his gut: conceited noddy: old chuff:* and the like, are ſome of Sir ROGER's choice flowers. Yet this man was reckoned a Maſter, nay a Reformer of the Engliſh Language;

Language; a man who writ no Language; nor does it appear that he underſtood any; witneſs his miſerable Tranſlations of CICERO's Offices and JOSEPHUS. That of the latter is a Verſion full of miſtakes, wretched and low, from an eaſy and polite one of Monſieur D'ANDILLY.

SIR ROGER is one amongſt the ſeveral hands who attempted TACITUS, and the third Book of the *Hiſtory* is ſaid to be done by him. He knew not a word of it but what he has taken from Sir HENRY SAVILL, and him he has wretchedly perverted and mangled. Out of the wiſe and grave mouth of TACITUS he brings ſuch quaint ſtuff as this; *to caſt the point upon that iſſue:* —— *ſneaking departure of* VITELLIUS: —— *at the rate of a man at his wit's end:* —— *ſottiſh multitude never went beyond bawling:* —— *an Emperor lugg'd out of his hole:* —— *the ſexton of the Capitol:* —— *the Government dropt into* VESPASIAN'S *mouth:* —— *not cut out for a ſoldier:* —— *went not a ſneaking way to work:* —— VALENS *in the interim with his diſſolute train of capons:* [into this ſenſeleſs cant word Sir ROGER elegantly changes that of *Eunuchs* uſed by Sir H. SAVILL; for I dare ſay he neither ſaw nor knew the original, *agmine ſpadonum*]: *the Emperor guzzling and gormandizing like a beaſt.*

SUCH jargon is hardly good enough for a Puppet-ſhew. Sir ROGER had a genius for buffoonry and a rabble, and higher he never went; his ſtile and his thoughts are too vulgar for a ſenſible artificer. To put his Books into the hands of youth or boys, for whom chiefly ÆSOP, by him burleſqued, was deſigned, is to vitiate their taſte, and to give them a poor low turn of thinking; not to mention the vile and ſlaviſh principles of the man. He has not only turned ÆSOP's plain Beaſts, from the ſimplicity of nature, into Jeſters and Buffoons; but out of the mouths of animals inured to the boundleſs

boundless freedom of air and deserts, has drawn doctrines of servitude, and a defence of Tyranny.

THE taste and stile of the Court is always the standard of the public. At the Restoration, a time of great festivity and joy, the formal and forbidding gravity of the preceding times, became a fashionable topic of ridicule; a manner different and opposite was introduced; jest and waggery were encouraged; and the King himself delighted in drollery, and low humour. Hence the Language became replete with ludicrous phrases; archness and cant grew diverting; the writings of witlings passed for wit; and if they were severe upon the Sectaries, as the fashion was, they pleased the Court. By this means L'ESTRANGE got his character. It is very true that there appeared at the same time men of just wit, and polite stile; but it cannot be denied but that the other manner was prevalent; the greatest wits sometimes fell into it.

THIS humour ended not with that Reign, nor the next, but was continued after the Revolution by L'ESTRANGE, TOM BROWN, and other delighters in low jests, their imitators; and such witlings have contributed considerably to debauch our Tongue. If we go so high as Queen ELIZABETH's time, we shall find that a good stile began then to be used, agreeably to the good sense of that Princess, and her Court; and we have the Language of that age in Sir WALTER RALEIGH, whose genius was too just and strong to go into the miserable pedantry of the next reign. Many of the productions then, and particularly the Royal productions, are wretched beyond measure; (I wish the honour and politics of those days had been better) nor could so considerable a man as Sir FRANCIS BACON escape the infection.

THE next Prince affected a high and rigid gravity, and a pomp and solemnity of stile became common;

common; yet the Language began to recover, when the cant and enthusiasm ensuing, gave it a new turn extremely insipid and offensive. But between the reign of King JAMES and the Restoration, several Writers appeared eminently happy in their stile: such particularly was Mr. CHILLINGWORTH, whose language is flowing, and free as his own candid spirit. The same character is due to the excellent Lord FALKLAND, and Mr. HALES of Eaton. Mr. HOBBES's English is beautiful almost, if not altogether, beyond example; nothing can be finer than his way of expressing his thoughts; his stile is as singularly good, charming and clear, as many of his principles are dangerous and false. Under this character of his stile I do not comprize his Translation of THUCYDIDES; as it does not, however just it be, resemble his other Works. Hence I am inclinable to believe what I have heard, that it was done by some of his disciples, and by him revised; yet it far excels most of our Translations. MILTON's English Prose is harsh and uncouth, though vigorous and expressive. The stile of SELDEN and HAMMOND is rugged and perplexed.

Sect. XIV. *A Conjecture concerning the present state of the English Tongue, with an account of the present Work.*

OF the Character of Writing in our own time, were I to give my opinion, I should be apt to say, that in general it comes too near to talking; a method which will hardly make it delightful or lasting; no words upon paper will have the same effect as words accompanied with a voice, looks and action; hence the thoughts and language should be so far raised as to supply the want of those advantages; but indeed this is impossible, and therefore there is the greater

greater cause for heightening the stile; now because laboured periods are offensive, and flat ones are insipid, the excellency lies between pomp and negligence. Let it be as easy as you please, but let it be strong; two advantages that are very compatible, and often found in the same writer. LIVY is remarkable for both; it is his eloquence and ornaments which have preserved him in such esteem, as much as his matter and good sense. The late Lord SHAFTESBURY, though he has been perhaps too anxious and affected in forming his phrase to easiness and fluency, has yet had good success; since it is manifest that his soft alluring stile has multiplied his Readers, and helped powerfully to recommend his Works. Dr. BURNET of the Charter-House wrote with great eloquence and majesty, yet easy and unaffected. Dr. TILLOTSON's stile is plain and pleasant, enlivened too with fine images, and strong sense; yet many, while they strove to imitate him, have written very poorly. This has happened to some of our Divines, who, studying his manner, but wanting his genius, have uttered a flow of words, which sound not ill, but lack spirit and matter. I have looked over whole pages of Bishop BLACKAL's Sermons, without finding any thing which offended the ear, or pleased the imagination, or informed the understanding. I cannot help mentioning here another Writer, who has gained great reputation for Stile, without deserving any; I mean Dr. SPRAT, Bishop of Rochester. His expression is languishing and insipid, full of false pomp, full of affectation. He is always aiming at harmony and wit, but succeeds ill; for his manner is starched and pedantic. With much greater justice has the Stile of Dr. ATTERBURY, his successor, been admired.

OUR Tongue is naturally cold, and the less force our words have, the more they must be multiplied;

this multiplying of words is tedious; thence the remedy is as bad as the diſeaſe. The Latin phraſes, on the contrary, are ſhort and lively, and a few words convey many images. Theſe difficulties, with many others, I found in this Tranſlation very ſenſibly. I wanted new words, but have rarely coined any, as the creating of words is generally thought affected and vain; yet I have ſometimes ventured upon a new phraſe, and a way of my own, upon drawing the Engliſh idiom as near as poſſible to that of the Latin, and to the genius of my Author; by leaving the beaten road, dropping particles, tranſpoſing words, and ſometimes beginning a ſentence where it is uſual to end it. I have ſtudied to imitate the ſpirit, eloquence and turns of TACITUS, as far as I could, aſſiſted by a Language weak in its ſounds, and looſe in its contexture. This manner of writing, I own, would be ſtrange and even ridiculous in plain and familiar ſubjects; but where the ſubject is high and ſolemn, there muſt be a conformity of ſtile.

IN the political Diſcourſes following, I have likewiſe taken a method of my own, in reaſoning largely upon topics which to me ſeemed of the moſt moment to this free Nation, and giving an idea of the politics of the Cæſars; of the *vis*, *artes*, *& inſtrumenta regni*, as they are called by TACITUS. I have vindicated the principles of civil Liberty; I have examined the defences made for CÆSAR and AUGUSTUS; I have diſplayed the genius of theſe Uſurpers; the temper and debaſement of the people; with the conduct and tyranny of their ſucceſſors, to the end of the *Annals*. In my Tranſlation of the *Hiſtory* I have done the ſame. I have little troubled myſelf with the ſtrife and gueſſes of Commentators, and various Readings. I have choſen the beſt editions, and where the meaning was dubious, taken the moſt probable; for,

after

after all, there is a good deal of guefs-work and uncertainty; difficulties not peculiar to TACITUS.

I was perfuaded to this undertaking feveral years ago by a friend of mine, a Gentleman of Letters in the City; for then I had never feen the Englifh Tranflation, and knew not but it was a good one. Mr. TRENCHARD approved the defign with his ufual zeal for every thing which favoured public Liberty. My Lord CARTERET, who underftands TACITUS perfectly, and admires him, was pleafed to think me not unfit for it, and gave me many juft lights about the manner of doing it; that particularly of allowing my felf fcope and freedom, without which I am fatisfied every Tranflation muft be pedantic and cold. A Tranflation ought to read like an Original. The Duke of ARGYLL efpoufed it generoufly, with that franknefs which is natural to him, agreeably to his knowledge and tafte of polite Learning, and to his fincere love of Liberty. So did my Lord TOWNSHEND. Sir ROBERT WALPOLE encouraged me in the purfuit of it in a manner eminently to my credit; and to many Gentlemen of my acquaintance I am much obliged upon this occafion. I own I have been long about this Tranflation; that I was fo, is to be afcribed not fo much to idlenefs, as to diffidence. It was done a long while before I put it to the prefs; after all my care and many revifes, I continued apprehenfive that much fault might be found, and many objections made; a misfortune which I ftill doubt I fhall not be able to efcape, and wifh I may not deferve. I therefore rely more on the candour of my Readers, than on my own fufficiency. Thofe of them who underftand TACITUS in the original, will eafily make allowances for the difficulty of making him fpeak any other Language. I have been chiefly careful not to miftake the fentiments of my Author about human Nature and Government; and

and I will venture to ſay, that no man who has not accuſtomed himſelf to think upon theſe two ſubjects, can ever make tolerable ſenſe of TACITUS, let him be as learned in other things as he will. For the ſame reaſon, no man that is merely Learned, can ever be pleaſed with a free Tranſlation, however faithful and juſt; for his chief attachment will ever be to Words and Criticiſm. Who had more Learning than Sir H. SAVILL? 'tis plain he abounded beyond moſt men; but I ſuppoſe Learning was his chief accompliſhment; and thence his Tranſlation is a very poor one. The fault cannot be aſcribed to the time; for at that time the polite world wrote and ſpoke well; and if Sir WALTER RALEIGH had then tranſlated it, no body I believe would have ever attempted to mend it.

DISCOURSE III.

Upon CÆSAR the Dictator.

Sect. I. *Of* CÆSAR's *Uſurpation, and why his Name is leſs odious than that of* CATILINE.

NOTHING has been hitherto found a ſufficient check and barrier to the exorbitant paſſions of men; neither kindneſs nor ſeverity; nor mulcts nor pain; nor honour; nor infamy; nor the terrors of death. A proof how far human malice or ambition is an over-match for human wiſdom; ſince Laws and Conſtitutions framed by the beſt and wiſeſt men, have, firſt or laſt, become the ſport and conqueſt of the worſt, ſometimes of the moſt fooliſh. Could wiſe Eſtabliſhments have enſured the ſtability of a State, that of Rome had been

been immortal. Besides adopting all the best Institutions of the free States of Greece, [a] her principal struggle and employment for some Centuries, was the subduing of foreign enemies by Arms, and the securing of domestic Liberty by wholsome Laws; and for Laws and Arms she was the wonder and the glory of the earth. But she, whose force and policy no power could withstand, not that of Greece nor of Carthage, nor of the World, fell by the corruption, and perfidiousness, and violence of her own Citizens. The only sword that could hurt her, was her own; with that she trusted CÆSAR, and that he turned unnaturally upon his own mother, and by it enslaved her.

CATILINE's conspiracy and crime every man detests; yet CÆSAR accomplished what CATILINE only intended. Had he better qualities than CATILINE? he was so much the worse, and able to do higher mischiefs. See how infatuation prevails! the same men who abhor CATILINE, admire CÆSAR, who actually did more evil than ever the wicked heart of CATILINE had conceived. But CATILINE had no success, nor consequently flatterers. Had he succeeded, had he entailed Rome upon his race, and such as would have been concerned to have guarded his fame; there would not have been wanting flattering Poets and Historians to have echoed his Praises and Genius divine, his Eloquence, Courage, Liberality and Politics, and how much the degeneracy of Rome wanted such a Reformer, with every other topic urged in defence of CÆSAR. But CATILINE failed, and is owned to have been a Traitor. CÆSAR's iniquity was triumphant, so was his name; and after-ages have continued to reverence him by the force of habit, and of superstition which swallows every thing, exa-

[a] Accitis quæ usquam egregia.

mines nothing. When popular opinion has consecrated a man or a name, all that man's actions, however wicked or foolish, and every thing done under that name, are sure to be consecrated too. The force of authority is irresistible and infatuating, and reason and truth must yield to prejudice and words.

Sect. II. *Of the publick Corruption by* CÆSAR *promoted or introduced; with his bold and wicked Conduct.*

WAS the Commonwealth become disjointed and corrupt; as in truth it was deeply and dangerously? who had contributed so much as CÆSAR to that wicked work? From his first appearance in the world he confederated with every public Incendiary, with every troubler of the peace of the State, with every Traitor against his Country: insomuch that he was divested of the dignity of Prætor by a solemn Decree of Senate: and when he sollicited for the Consulship, his ambition and violent designs were so much apprehended in that supreme Office [b], that to check him with a proper Collegue, the Senators contributed a great sum of money; nor did even CATO deny but that such contribution, however against Law, was necessary then to save the State [c].

HE began that Office with violent acts of power; by violence dispossessed his Collegue of all Share in the Administration; and, during the whole term, he raised and pulled down, gave and took away by mere will and power, whatsoever and whomsoever he would; terrified some, imprisoned others; forged

[b] Nihil non ausurum eum in summo magistratu.

[c] Ne Catone quidem abnuente eam largitionem e Rep. fieri.

plots,

plots, ſuborned lying accuſers, and then murdered them, and trampled upon all Faith and Law.

To eſcape puniſhment for all theſe outrages, he corrupted and bribed the people, to chuſe his own creatures into the Magiſtracy, or bribed the Magiſtrates after they were choſen. He went ſo far as even to engage ſome of them, by oath and writing, never to call him to account, nor ſuffer him to be called.

By the ſame wicked methods he obtained for his lot the province of Gaul, and kept it for ten years, committing freſh treaſon every day; making war of his own head, right or wrong, upon friend and foe; inſomuch that it was propoſed in Senate to deliver him up to the enemy; but faction and bribery ſaved him, and from the moſt extenſive rapine he derived his power of bribing. He feaſted the people; he gave them largeſſes; he gained the Senators by money, the ſoldiers by donatives; nay, the favourite ſervants and loweſt ſlaves of conſiderable men, were bribed by him. Every prodigal, every expenſive youth, every man indebted and deſperate, every criminal, found in him a ready ſupport and protector; and when their expences, debts, and crimes, were ſo exceſſive as to admit of no relief from him, to ſuch he was wont to preach the abſolute neceſſity of a Civil War.

Nor did foreign Kings and Nations eſcape his court and gifts; upon them he beſtowed aids, and arms, and captives, all belonging to the Roman people, and without their authority; thus to purchaſe foreign friendſhip againſt a day of uſurpation and need. To do all this he robbed the Provinces, plundered Towns, pillaged Temples, even the Capitol he plundered, whence he ſtole a vaſt quantity of gold, and placed ſo much gilt braſs in the room of it, and put whole Kingdoms and Provinces under contribution to his privy purſe.

How many thousand deaths did this man deserve, even before he had committed his capital iniquity! It was he who thus principally corrupted the State, and embroiled it, and unsettled it in all its parts.

He offered indeed to disband his forces, if POMPEY would do so too; but even this offer was giving law to Rome. The Senate was to judge, and not CÆSAR, what armies were to be disbanded, what to be retained. Besides, even that proposal was justly suspected to have been faithless and hollow; since, had he executed the same, it had been easier for him to have re-assembled upon occasion his veteran soldiers, than for POMPEY his troops lately levied.

Had there been no corruption in the State, such a man was enough to introduce it. From his infancy he was thought to have meditated the enslaving of his Country, and in order to enslave it, created corruption, or improved it. To commit the blackest treason and iniquity that the malice of man could devise, he stuck at no other, but by a Babel of crimes accomplished the highest.

Sect. III. CÆSAR *might have purified and reformed the State; but far different were his intentions. His Art, good Sense, and continued ill Designs.*

Did the State want reforming? why did not CÆSAR reform and restore it? This would have been true glory, the only true use of his absolute power, and the only amends for having assumed it. The work too was practicable; the wisest and greatest men in Rome thought it so, even after all the poison and depravity introduced by him. BRUTUS, CICERO, and the Senate thought so; else he would never have been put to Death by those who did it. If the State had been deemed

deemed irretrievable, and an Usurper a necessary evil, they could not have had a better than CÆSAR. But they judged otherwise, and for some time Liberty was actually restored. Why it subsisted no longer, was owing to casualties and the faithlessness of OCTAVIUS. No human wisdom can take in all incidents and possibilities at one view; to see them by succession is often to see them too late; and against what is not foreseen no remedy can be provided. CICERO who swayed the Senate, in hatred to ANTHONY, trusted OCTAVIUS too much, and raised him too high, and was by that false creature given up to the slaughter, to satiate the vengeance of ANTHONY, to cement their late union, and to begin the bloody Tragedy which they had meditated against their Country and her Liberty, by the murder of so signal a Patriot. What followed was horrible, continued massacres and the rage of the sword, the people armed against one another, two thirds of them destroyed, and AUGUSTUS established Sovereign over the rest. He too thought it possible to resettle the old free State, by proposing once or twice to resign; however insincere he were, it was a confession that he thought it to be practicable; and DRUSUS, his wife's son, declared his own purpose to effect it; nay, it was what TIBERIUS, after he was Emperor, pretended to do.

CÆSAR was said to have foretold the public Calamities and Civil Wars to ensue: Why did he not prevent them? By his Dictatorial power he might have removed what enormities, and made what regulations he would, suppressed the insolence of particulars, revived the force of the Laws, and reduced the Commonwealth to her first principles and firmness. Instead of this, he continued, more and more, to break her remaining balance, to

weaken and debauch the people, and to destroy every Law of Liberty.

LIBERTY and the Republic were a jest to CÆSAR; he treated the very name with ridicule and contempt[d]; he punned upon SYLLA for resigning his usurped power. He had nothing in his head or heart but absolute rule, a Diadem, the title of King, and controuling the world according to his lust[e]; nay, to have his very words go for Laws[f]; and as a proof that he meant to entail all this pompous Dominion upon his Race, he had a Law ready to be proposed for a privilege of taking as many Wives as he thought fit, and of what quality and condition he thought fit. His acts of Tyranny were indeed so many, so high and insupportable, that even his dear friends the populace, notwithstanding all his bounties, his feasts and shews, and all his other arts to sooth and debauch them, grew sullen and discontented; they declaimed against such usurpation, in their houses and in the Forum; they called aloud for avengers, and gave him public affronts.

BY the Laws of Rome the Dominion of one, and consequently the dominion of CÆSAR, was detestable and accursed, and any man was warranted to slay the Tyrant[g]: Nor was there any valid reason against killing CÆSAR, but that somewhat as bad or worse was to follow. Now the best and ablest Romans judged otherwise, as I have shewn; and who was better qualified to judge? As to CÆSAR's prophecy of worse times, it was deciding

[d] Nihil esse Rempublicam; appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie.

[e] Nullos non honores ad libidinem cœpit & dedit, spreto Patriæ more.

[f] Debere homines pro Legibus habere quæ dicat.

[g] Eum jus fasque esset occidi, neve ea cædes capitalis noxæ haberetur.

in

in his own favour, and not to be credited; and there was policy in it as well as vanity.

THE accomplishments of CÆSAR, the mildness of his administration, and mercy to his enemies, have been much magnified. It is certain he had exquisite abilities and address; but how did he apply them? Was it not to be the Master of mankind? and was not this, interest and self-love? What could be more interested, what more selfish, than to take the world to himself? CÆSAR had good sense and experience; he knew that particular acts of cruelty and revenge were odious, even more odious than the slaughter of thousands, under the title of war and conquest, however unprovoked and unjust: So much more quarter from the world has ambition than cruelty, though the former is often the more mischievous passion. He knew, that, while general acts of blood would pass for Heroism, fit to be distinguished with praise and laurels, a particular life, taken away in anger, would pass for barbarity. Such fallacy is there in sounds, and in the imaginations of men! We judge not of evil by its quantity, the true medium of judging, but by its name, and the quality of the doer or sufferer; hence the foolish causes of popularity without merit and innocence. Acts of rage, the execution of particulars, and a vindictive Reign, would have diminished the Hero, and tarnished his fame, as much as his generosity to enemies, his noble contempt of fear and offenders, blazoned his glory, and begot admirers.

Sect. IV. *The probability of his waxing more cruel, had he reigned much longer.*

THE generous, the forgiving temper of CÆSAR, was no sure warrant, that he would not have broke out into personal cruelties; for, of his public cruelty, Rome and the world were the theatre and

the witneſſes: He muſt have acted agreeably to the neceſſities and jealouſy of power, broken thoſe necks which would not bend, and deſtroyed ſuch as he could not but conſtantly fear. I own there came after him ſome Emperors who reigned without many acts of blood; but the ſovereignty was then thoroughly eſtabliſhed, and they had no high ſpirits to fear, bred in the notions and poſſeſſion of Liberty, as were all the Romans in his time. Nor, even after ſervitude had been begun, and for ſome time ſuffered under CÆSAR, could the ſecond Triumvirate think themſelves ſecure, till they had deſtroyed at once by Proſcription a whole army of illuſtrious Romans, ſuch as they conceived would oppoſe and even extirpate their domination. Nor did this tragical precaution and general barbarity, put an end to barbarity in particular inſtances; AUGUSTUS, for the firſt years of his Reign, was making almoſt daily ſacrifices of noble blood to his fears and ſafety.

POWER of it ſelf makes men wanton, diſtruſtful and cruel; CÆSAR lived not long enough in purple to ſhew what he would prove; five months were but a ſhort term for trial[h]. It would be raſh to aſſert, that he who had ſhed the blood of Nations and Armies, without provocation, without authority; he who had violated Liberty and Law, and put chains upon his Country, and the race of men, would have ſpared particular lives, when from particular lives he came to apprehend danger and revolt. He that could be piqued even to folly and ridicule, becauſe AQUILA the Tribune did not riſe as he paſſed by; he who could not put up this, nor forget it, nor ceaſe mentioning it upon every occaſion for a long while after, nor even forbear ſcolding at it, muſt have been capable of carrying his reſentment

[h] Retinuit famam ſine experimento.

very

very far, as well as of ſudden anger; nay, been full of capricious and childiſh humours. How far ſuch humours, and vanity, and anger might have carried him, he lived not to ſhew. But he had amply ſhewn, that his Ambition was dearer to him than Rome and the whole earth, and to this private paſſion of his, every public regard had yielded; the genuine mark this of a Tyrant, who rules the State for his own ſake, and, rather than not rule it, enthralls it! CÆSAR, who had committed all wickedneſs to gain power, would have committed more to have kept it, as ſoon as he found more to be neceſſary [i].

WHAT avails the fair behaviour of one who may do what he pleaſes? What avail his fair promiſes, which he may break when he pleaſes? The worſt of the Roman Emperors began their Reigns well, many of them excellently well; as NERO, CLAUDIUS, CALIGULA, DOMITIAN [k]; ſome of them reigned well for ſome years. CÆSAR was generous, magnificent, and humane to affectation, but [l] every paſſion, every ſentiment muſt yield to the ardent luſt of reigning. Had it not been for his great and acceptable qualities, he could not have introduced public bondage; the Hero, the Orator, and the fine Gentleman, hid the Uſurper, and palliated at leaſt the Uſurpation.

LET any man conſider CÆSAR as a Subject of the State, altogether private; one who never bore Office or Authority; as a Phyſician, a Scribe or an Artiſt, or as one juſt ſtarted out of obſcurity, or come from another Country; and then aſk himſelf, What has this man, this private unknown man, to

[i] Nemo enim unquam imperium flagitio quæſitum bonis artibus exercuit.

[k] Nihil abnuentem, dum dominationis adipiſceretur.

[l] Cunctis affectibus flagrantiorem dominandi libidinem.

do

do with governing all men against Laws established by all? His being once Consul, his commanding of Armies, and appearing in a great public light; gave him no more right to do what he did, than the quality of an Artist, a Scribe, Physician, Upstart, or Stranger, would have given him. Public trusts betrayed were aggravations of his crime, horrible aggravations! so were his excellent parts impiously applied.

Sect. V. CÆSAR *no lawful Magistrate, but a public Enemy.*

OF CÆSAR, his Usurpation and Death, I have reasoned largely elsewhere[m], and shall here abridge part of that reasoning. "He had no sort "of Title, but success, gained by violence and all "wicked means. The acquiring and exercising of "Power by force is Tyranny, nor is success any "proof of right. If the person of CÆSAR was "sacred, so is the person of every Usurper and "Tyrant; and if all the privileges and impunity "belonging to a lawful Magistrate, do also appertain to a lawless Intruder and public Oppressor, "then all these blessed consequences follow: There "is an utter end of all right and wrong, public "and private; every Usurper is a lawful Magistrate; every Magistrate may be a lawless Tyrant; "It is unlawful to resist the greatest human evil; "the necessary means of self-preservation are "unlawful: Though it be lawful and expedient to "destroy little Robbers, who are so for subsistence, "it is impious and unlawful to oppose great Robbers, who destroy nations out of lust and ambition. Public mischief is defended by giving it a "good name, since Tyranny may be practised with

[m] *See* CATO's Letters, Vol. II.

"impunity,

" impunity, if it be but called Magiſtracy; and " the execrable Authors of it are ſacred, if they " but call themſelves Magiſtrates; Though it be " unlawful to be a public deſtroyer, yet it is unlaw- " ful to deſtroy him, and to prevent or puniſh " that which is moſt impious and unlawful. In " fine, any man who has wickedneſs and force " enough to deſtroy or enſlave the whole world, " may do it, and be ſafe.

" If CÆSAR was a lawful Magiſtrate, every " powerful villain may make himſelf one, and " lawful Magiſtrates may become ſuch by mere " force and iniquity. But if lawful Magiſtracy be " not acquired by violence and butchery, CÆSAR " was none: if he was not, how came he by the " rights and impunity of ſuch?

" AGAINST lawleſs force every man has a " right to uſe force. CÆSAR had no more right " than ALARICK, ATTILA, or BRENNUS, " who were foreign Invaders; his crime was " greater, as, to that of uſurpation, he added thoſe " of ingratitude and treachery. It is owned that " when he firſt made war upon his Country, his " Country had a right to make war upon him; " How came that right to ceaſe, when he had " heightened that iniquity by ſucceſs? Is it lawful " to reſiſt a Robber before he has robbed you, but " not after? Is a wickedneſs leſſened by aggrava- " tions? CÆSAR had forfeited his life by all the " Laws of Rome; was it not as lawful to take it " away by thirty men as by thirty thouſand; in " the Senate as in the field?

" A private man in ſociety, even capitally in- " jured, muſt not be his own judge, but leave " revenge to the more impartial Law; but a capital " offender againſt all, who ſets himſelf above Law " and Judgment, is a public enemy; and vio- " lence is the proper remedy for violence, when

" no

" no other is left. In a State of Nature, every " man has a right to vindicate himself; when So- " ciety is dissolved, the same right returns. Men " can never be deprived of both public protection " and private defence.

" CÆSAR had violated every tye that can bind " the human soul; Oaths, Trust, and Law; he " had violated every thing dear to human kind, " their Peace, Liberty, Rights and Possessions. " He did all this by means the most black and " flagitious; by Plots, Faction, Corruption, Rob- " bery, Devastation, Sacrilege, and Slaughter.

" WHAT was left to the oppressed Romans to " do, under the bonds of the Oppressor with his " sword at their throat? Law and Appeals were " no more; a Tyrant was their Master; the Will " of a Tyrant their Law. Because he had slaugh- " tered and destroyed one half of the people, had " he thence a right to govern the rest? There " was no public force to oppose him; he had " destroyed many of the Armies of the State, " and appropriated the rest to himself against the " State; it would have been madness to have " thought of judicial process. In short, there was " no other way of abolishing his Tyranny, but by " dispatching the Tyrant.

Sect. VI. *Of the share which Casualties had, in raising the Name and Memory of* CÆSAR. *The Judgment of* CICERO *concerning him.*

PEOPLE suffer their own imaginations to abuse and mislead them. The sound of CÆSAR's Name; the superstitious reverence paid to it, his great employments, great victories, and even his great usurpation, are all pompous images that dazzle the eyes, and give a false lustre to the

blackeſt iniquity and impoſture. Nay, it proved an advantage to the fame and defence of CÆSAR, that he was aſſaſſinated. Hence ſo much popular pity and lamentation for him; hence ſo much rage and obloquy upon the Tyrannicides. A violent death or violent ſufferings, often paſs for great merit, often atone for great crimes; and in the compaſſion for the doom of criminals the abhorrence of their villainies is often extinguiſhed; malefactors the moſt barbarous, who never ſhewed any mercy in their lives, are bewailed at their execution, only becauſe they are executed.

THERE were circumſtances alſo in his Death favourable to his fame; he died with decency and a manly ſpirit, and he fell by the hands of his friends. Theſe circumſtances, and his bloody ſhirt diſplayed to a mob, with an artful melting ſpeech from ANTHONY, inflamed them with ſorrow and fury; two groſs paſſions which do not reaſon but feel. The ſame topics have ever ſince furniſhed undiſcerning Declaimers with big words and vehemence, in behalf of ſo fine a man, ſlain for no fault but that of Uſurpation and Tyranny; a ſmall crime, that of being the enemy of human kind!

As to the glory and proſperous fortune of this mighty Conqueror, CICERO ſays, with great truth, "that Felicity is nothing elſe but good fortune "aſſiſting righteous Counſels; nor can he whoſe "purpoſes are not upright, be, from any ſucceſs, "eſteemed in any-wiſe happy. Hence it is, that "from the impious and abandoned purſuits of "CÆSAR, no true felicity could flow: happier, in "my judgment, was CAMILLUS under exile from "his Country, than MANLIUS his co-temporary "had been, though he had acquired over his Coun-"try that Tyranny which he luſted after[n]." The

[n] Epiſt. ad nepot.

ſame

ſame wiſe man ſays elſewhere, "that he would "have preferred the laſt day of ANTONIUS the "Orator, tragical as it was, to the uſurped rule of "CINNA, by whom that worthy Roman was bar-"barouſly murdered." I cannot admire CÆSAR's ambition; he would rather have been Lord of a poor Village, than the ſecond man in Rome. To me it appears more glory to be the Member of a free State, eſpecially of the greateſt State upon earth, than a Lord of Slaves, the biggeſt Lord.

Sect. VII. *How vain it is to extol any Deſigns of his for the Glory of the Roman people.*

IT is ſaid, that CÆSAR was meditating great and glorious things for the Roman people, when he was cut off. He might indeed have gathered empty Laurels for himſelf by more wars at the expence of the people; but how this would have redounded to their advantage, I cannot ſee. I can eaſily ſee, that all the future ſtrength he could have acquired, muſt have been acquired to himſelf, and over them; and every acceſſion of power muſt, by raiſing his Tyranny higher, have ſunk them lower, and ſtreightened their chains. He wanted to fight the Parthians, but firſt he wanted to be King; and for this purpoſe a Prophecy was forged, that none but a King could conquer them. Was this impudent forgery too, and the deſign of it, for the glory of the people who were abuſed by it? In ſhort, he could have done nothing beneficial or glorious for the Roman people, but to have reſtored them to their ancient and ſubſtantial glory, that of their Liberty and Laws. This too would have been the higheſt glory of his own life, which, to thoſe who conſider things as they are, ſtripped of fooliſh fair names and diſguiſes, is, without this, all over black and infamous.

No

No man's life can be ſaid to be deteſtable, if his was not; ſeeing all the malefactors condemned ſince there were men and crimes, did not half the miſchief which he did. It was even currently believed (and what worſe could be believed of him than he had done?) that he meant to tranſlate the ſeat of Empire, with all its ſtrength, to Ilium, or to Alexandria; and having exhauſted all Italy by great levies, (that ſhe might never recover herſelf) he would have begun, probably, a new ſort of Sovereignty upon his own model, exempt from the names and appearances of the old Conſtitution and Laws, which ſtill had reverence paid them at Rome, and conſequently were ſo many grievances to him. Rome he intended to have left to the dominion of his creatures. It is probable he thought himſelf not ſafe at Rome, nor in any place which had ever known the governance of Laws, nor any where but at the head of Armies. He had reaſon for his fear; the ſevereſt oppreſſor can never tye the hands of all the oppreſſed, nor put chains upon their reſentments.

Sect. VIII. *Of his Death; and the raſhneſs of aſcribing to divine Vengeance the fate of ſuch as ſlew him.*

IN the midſt of his farther deſigns, whatever they were, a bloody doom overtook this man of blood, and he was lawfully ſlain, though not by the forms of Law*; his lawleſs power had made this impoſſible. It is true, they who ſlew him, were themſelves ſlain. The righteouſneſs of a cauſe does not always enſure its ſucceſs; too ſeldom, God knows; but they who periſh in defence of the Laws, are ſlain againſt Law. Such was the difference between his death and theirs. They were vanquiſhed and ſlain

* Abuſus dominatione & jure cæſus exiſtimaretur. (Sueton.)

in a great Civil War, at a time when Courage, and Virtue, and Patriotiſm were capital and proſcribed.

DID none of thoſe who deſtroyed CÆSAR die a natural death? no more did CÆSAR, who deſtroyed the State. If this was not a judgment upon him, why ſhould theirs be one upon them? What rule have we to know a judgment, but from the juſtice or iniquity of a cauſe? If ſo, CESAR fell by the appointment of Heaven; BRUTUS and his brethren by the malice of Men. But if there be no rule, or if judgments, like parties, take different ſides; how dare we pronounce? How many of the Cæſars his ſucceſſors died naturally? Not one, if we will believe the Hiſtorians and probability, from CÆSAR the Dictator to the Emperor VESPASIAN. AUGUSTUS was poiſoned by LIVIA his wife; TIBERIUS ſmothered by MACRO his favourite, to make way for CALIGULA, who was ſlain with the ſword by the officers of his guard. AGRIPPINA poiſoned her huſband CLAUDIUS; NERO ſtabbed himſelf; GALBA was murdered by the ſoldiers, ſo was VITELLIUS. OTHO fell by his own hands.

DIS-

DISCOURSE IV.

Upon OCTAVIUS CÆSAR, afterwards called AUGUSTUS.

Sect. I. *Of the base and impious Arts by which he acquired the Empire.*

BY the death of the Usurper, Liberty was restored, but lasted not [a]; and OCTAVIUS succeeded CÆSAR, by no superior genius, by no military prowess or magnanimity; for tricking and deceit constituted his chief parts, and though he was bold in council, he was a coward in the field. But he usurped the Empire by methods so low and vile, as brought disgrace even upon Usurpation; by a thousand frauds, and turns suddenly made, without the common appearances of decency or shame; by thousands of murders deliberately committed, without process or provocation; by multiplied treacheries, assassinations, and acts of ingratitude; by employing ruffians, and being himself one; and by destructive wars conducted by the bravery of others.

HE levied forces without authority; and, under a lying pretence of defending Liberty, got to be employed by the State against ANTHONY. He then robbed the Commonwealth of her Armies; and was thought to have murdered both her chief Magistrates, the Consuls HIRTIUS and PANSA; the former by his own hand in the hurry of battle, the other after it, by causing poison to be poured

[a] Libertate improspere repetita.

into his wound by GLYCO his Physician. It is certain, that the Physician was suspected, seized, and even doomed to the torture, but saved by the credit of his master OCTAVIUS; whose villainy had these farther aggravations, that he was generally believed to have been a Pathic to HIRTIUS for hire; and PANSA had ever a tender regard for him, a regard superior to that which he owed his Country, as he manifested by the advice which he gave him before he expired under agonies caused by the hard-hearted contrivance of that his beloved and perfidious friend.

WITH this very Army of the Commonwealth he turned head upon the Commonwealth, marched in an hostile manner to Rome, and sent a deputation of Officers to his Masters the Senate, to demand the Consulship in the name of the Legions: and, upon some hesitation shewn by that venerable Body, one of these armed Embassadors laid his hand upon his sword, and told them, "If you will not make "him Consul, this shall." For his first credit with the Senate he was beholden to CICERO, at whose suit he was trusted with command in conjunction with the Consuls, and dignified with the title of Proprætor. We see how he requited the Senate, we see how he served the Consuls; and CICERO his father in Counsel, and the father of the Republic, he delivered up to be murdered and mangled by his implacable enemy.

Sect. II. *Of the vindictive spirit of* OCTAVIUS, *and his horrid Cruelties.*

IN the Battle of Philippi, OCTAVIUS was beaten out of the field, his Camp seized, and, but for the fortune and valour of ANTHONY, the day must have been lost. After the victory he shewed as

as much insolence and cruelty, as he had wanted courage in it. He could not forbear manifesting cowardly spite to the dead body of BRUTUS, before whom he had a little before fled for his life, and sent the head of that excellent person to Rome, to be laid ignominiously at the feet of the Statue of CÆSAR. Different was the treatment shewn by ANTHONY, who had saved OCTAVIUS, and beat BRUTUS. ANTHONY beheld his Corpse with grief and tears, covered it with his own armour, and treated it with respect and tenderness. OCTAVIUS had not greatness of heart enough for such generous humanity; but treated every illustrious captive with bitter words and cowardly insults, and put them to death without mercy [b]; says SUETONIUS. To one of these, imploring the privilege of burial, the base Tyrant answered, "That the fowls "of the air would soon regulate that matter." When a father begged mercy for his son, and the son for the father, the merciful OCTAVIUS commanded the father and son to fight for the survivorship. This barbarous fight he beheld, beheld the son slay his father, and then himself for having done it. Had not the remaining Prisoners reason, when they were brought before ANTHONY and him, to salute the former with the honourable title of *Imperator*, and the latter with invectives and contempt?

WITH the same cruel spirit he behaved himself after the siege of Perusia. All who applied to him, whether they pleaded innocence, or begged mercy, had one and the same mercileſs answer; "Death is "the lot of you all;" and they had it. Three hundred of the chief, comprizing their Nobility and

[b] In splendidissimum quemque captivorum non sine verborum contumelio sæviit,

[c] Moriendum esse.

Magiſtrates, were carried in chains to an Altar raiſed to JULIUS CÆSAR, and there butchered like cattle, as victims to his ghoſt, upon the Ides of March, the Anniverſary of his Aſſaſſination. The City itſelf he delivered to the luſt and plunder of his ſoldiers, contrary to articles, and his faith given. Never was a more tragical and horrible ſcene. After killing, robbing and raviſhing, what the ſword could not deſtroy, the fire did; and that great and beautiful City, one of the faireſt in Italy, was reduced to aſhes. There were Hiſtorians, who aſſerted, that the quarrel between him and LUCIUS ANTONIUS, who had ſhut himſelf up in that City, was all feigned, and a contrivance between them, for two reaſons; firſt, to try who were real friends, and who were covered enemies; and then, by the conqueſt and confiſcation of ſuch, to find a fund for paying the Veterans their promiſed largeſs.

FROM the citizens of Nurſia he took all that they had, their ſubſtance and even their city, and ſent them forth to wander and ſtarve; for no other crime but that, for their fellow citizens, ſlain at the ſiege of Modena, they had raiſed a Monument with an Inſcription, "that they died for the public "liberty;" though he had but juſt before fought and declared for the ſame ſide.

IT is impoſſible to paint the horrors of the Proſcription; by it every conſiderable man in the Roman world, who was diſliked, or ſuſpected by the Triumvirate to diſapprove their Tyranny, was doomed to die; it was death to conceal or to help them, and rewards were given to ſuch as diſcovered and killed them. Many were betrayed and butchered by their ſlaves and freedmen; many by their treacherous hoſts and relations; and many fled with their wives and tender children to the howling wilderneſs, and lived or periſhed amongſt woods and wolves. Nothing was to be ſeen but blood and

ſlaughter;

ſlaughter; the ſtreets ware covered with carcaſſes; the heads of the illuſtrious dead were expoſed upon the Roſtra, and their bodies upon the pavement, denied the mercy of burial, other than ſuch as they found in the entrails of devouring dogs and ravenous birds. This looked like dooming Rome to periſh at once; and when the other two were ſatiated with ſo many butcheries, OCTAVIUS, who never had blood enough, ſtill perſiſted to ſhed more. No ſort of men eſcape his cruelty, nor Nobles, nor Knights, ſtrangers nor acquaintance, nay, nor his confidents, and favourite freedmen; nor even his old companion and tutor, TORANIUS, no one knows why, unleſs for being an honeſt man, and a lover of his Country.

THESE victims continued daily for a courſe of years; the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, the vileſt forgeries, were grounds for ſlaughters, for illuſtrious ſlaughters. Nor could the great quality and venerable ſtation of QUINTUS GELLIUS the Prætor, nor his innocence, exempt him from the bloody hands of the executioner; nor was execution the worſt part of his doom; he was by a band of ſoldiers ſeized in his ſeat of juſtice, hurried away and ſubjected to the torture, like the meaneſt ſlave; but confeſſed nothing. Nor did all this injuſtice and barbarity ſatisfy the gentle AUGUSTUS, ſo much renowned for moderation and clemency; he had the brutal baſeneſs to dig out the eyes of that Magiſtrate with his own hands, before he allowed him the mercy of being murdered outright. One of his favourite Miniſters ſhewed his ſentiments of the clemency of AUGUSTUS plainly enough, upon the following occaſion. That Prince was judging ſome criminals, and giving himſelf over to revenge, and bloody decrees, without check or compaſſion, when the Miniſter, who abhorred to ſee him engaged in ſuch feats of cru-

elty, ſent him a note, told him, "he was a butcher," and bad him "come down from his Tribunal."

Sect. III. *Of the treachery, ingratitude, and further cruelties of* OCTAVIUS. *That the ſame were wanton and voluntary.*

THE conduct of OCTAVIUS in regard to ANTHONY, was, like the reſt of his conduct, all one train of perfidiouſneſs. Firſt he made court to ANTHONY, then ſuborned rogues to murder him; then made war upon him with the arms of the State; then joined with him againſt the State; then by the bravery of ANTHONY he conquered the Empire, and then by plots, and the valour of AGRIPPA, he conquered ANTHONY; then he was deviſing ways to deſtroy AGRIPPA, and, but for an expedient offered by MÆCENAS, had deſtroyed him.

WAS it ſtrange that againſt ſuch a Prince conſpiracies were frequent? As he was an Uſurper he could not eſcape ſome; his falſhood and cruelties begot others; and, from conſiderations public as well as perſonal, there was abundant cauſe for many. To puniſh one plot with exceeding violence, is a ſure way to produce more; and, when there is no ſafety found in innocence, further methods will be tried.

IT is a poor defence for AUGUSTUS, to ſay, that it was from neceſſity, and to ſerve himſelf, that he ſhed ſo much blood; for, beſides that his cruelty was natural, wanton and unneceſſary, why did he ſeek to be in a ſtation where acts of blood were neceſſary? why did he uſurp the ſtate? why did he make himſelf a mark for public and private vengeance? was it not by ambition, was it not by treachery, that he aſſumed Sovereignty? was he not

a public Traitor? and was it not his choice to be so? why did he wilfully commit crimes so flagitious, that in their defence he must commit more? Can one horrible iniquity efface another? Is a subject justified, who, because he has deserved the pains of treason, raises a rebellion against his Prince, nay, kills him, to be safe? No villainy ever was, or ever can be perpetrated, which such reasoning will not justify.

WHEN some were bold and honest enough to talk to OLIVER CROMWEL about his excesses and usurpation, he asked them, What would you have one in my station do? He was well answered: *Sir, We would have no body in your station.* To vindicate murder from the necessity of committing it, in order to conceal robbery; is to argue like a murderer and a robber; but it is honest Logic, to reply; "Do not rob, and then you need not be "tempted to murder; but if you will do one, and "consequently both, remember that punishment "does or ought to follow crimes, and the more "crimes the more punishment. If, by a repetition "of crimes, you become too mighty to be punished, "you must be content to be accursed and abhorred "as an enemy to human race; you must expect "to have all men for your enemies, as you are an "enemy to all men; and since you make sport "of the lives and liberties of men, you must "not wonder, nor have you a right to complain, "if they have all of them memories and feeling, "and some of them courage and swords."

Sect. IV. *Of the popular Arts and Accidents which raised the Character of* AUGUSTUS.

MANY things concurred to favour the fame of AUGUSTUS, and to obliterate his reproach. He reigned very long, and eſtabliſhed a laſting peace; a ſpecial bleſſing and refreſhment after a Civil War ſo long and ruinous[d]. For, though that war was the child of his ambition, yet, in a ſeries of enſuing tranquillity, it was forgot. Nay, the greatneſs of the public calamities was a reaſon for forgetting them; the generation who felt them, were almoſt all cut off by them; and the next generation, which had not ſuffered, did not remember[e]: what the people had not ſeen, they did not lament. When he died there were ſcarce any living who had beheld the old free State[f]. The people too were deceived into a belief that they ſtill enjoyed their old Government, becauſe their Magiſtrates had ſtill their old names, though with juſt as much power as he thought fit to leave them. This was the advice of MÆCENAS, that to the Officers of the State, the ſame names, pomp and ornaments ſhould be continued, with all the appearances of authority without power[g]. They were to have no military command during their term, but to poſſeſs the old juriſdiction of adjudging all cauſes finally, except ſuch as were capital; and though ſome of theſe laſt were left to the Governor of Rome, an Officer newly created by the Emperor, yet the chief were reſerved.

[d] Cuncta diſcordiis civilibus feſſa, ſub imperium accepit.

[e] Juniores poſt Actiacam victoriam, etiam ſenes plerique inter bella civium nati.

[f] Quotuſquiſque reliquus qui Rempublicam vidiſſet?

[g] Eadem magiſtratuum vocabula: ſua conſulibus, ſua prætoribus ſpecies.

Moreover

Moreover AUGUSTUS paid great court to the people: the very Name that covered his Usurpation was a compliment to them: he affected to call it the Power of the Tribuneship, an Office first created purely for their protection, and as the strongest effort and barrier of popular Liberty. It was for their sake and security, he pretended to assume this power, though by it he acted as absolutely as if he had called it the Dictatorial power; such energy there is in words! The Office itself was erected as a bulwark against Tyranny; and by the name of it Tyranny is now supported. In the same manner he used and perverted the Consulship; another Magistracy peculiar to the Commonwealth, but by him abused to the ends of his Monarchy.

HE likewise won the hearts of the people by filling their bellies, by cheapness of provisions, and plentiful markets. This has infinite effect. If people have plenty at home, they will not be apt to discover many errors or much iniquity in the public, which will always be at quiet when particulars are so. But famine, or the fear of it, children crying for bread, mothers weeping for their children, and husbands and fathers unable to stop their tears, and find the necessaries of life for themselves, and such dear relations; all these are terrible materials for tumults, sedition, and even for revolutions. But people in ease and plenty are under no temptation to be inquiring into the title of their Prince, or to resent acts of power which they do not immediately feel.

HE frequently entertained them with Shews and Spectacles; a notable means to produce or continue good humour in the populace, to beget kind wishes and zeal for the author of so much joy, and to make them forget Usurpation, Slavery, and every public evil. These were indeed used for the ends of corruption and servitude; they rendred the people idle,

venal, vicious, insensible of private virtue, insensible of public glory or disgrace; but the things were liked, and the ends not seen, or not minded, so that they had their thorough effect; and the Roman people, they who were wont to direct mighty wars, to raise and depose great Kings, to bestow or take away Empires, they who ruled the world, or directed its rule, were so sunk and debauched, that if they had but bread and shews, their ambition went no higher.

BY the same arts Cardinal MAZARIN began to soften and debase the minds of the French; and after his death the like methods for promoting of idleness and luxury were pursued; shews, debauchery, wantonness and riot were encouraged and became common; and after the Restoration, England adopted the modes of France, her worst modes. There were some, too many, who, unworthy, of their own happiness and Liberty, came to admire her Government and misfortune; and laboured, with the spirit of Parricides, though without their punishment, to bring ours to the model of that.

I cannot omit observing here, that by the same means that CÆSAR and AUGUSTUS acquired the Empire, they destroyed its force. In the Civil Wars great part of the people perished, and the rest they debauched. They had utterly drained or corrupted that source of men which furnished soldiers who conquered the earth; henceforth the *plebs ingenua* became a mere mob, addicted to idleness and their bellies, void of courage, void of ambition, and careless of renown. Armies were with difficulty raised amongst them; when raised, not good, or apt to corrupt the rest. It was such who excited the sedition in the German Legions, after the death of AUGUSTUS[h]:

[h] Vernacula multitudo, nuper acto in urbe delectu, lasciviæ fueta, laborum intolerans, implere ceterorum rudes animos; venisse tempus, &c. An. 1. C. 31.

" the recruits lately raiſed in Rome, men accuſ-
" tomed to the ſoftneſs and gaieties of the City,
" and impatient of military labour and diſcipline,
" inflamed the ſimple minds of all the reſt by ſedi-
" tious infuſions, and harangues, *&c.*" Indeed the Roman Armies (ſo chiefly in name) were moſtly compoſed of foreigners.

To engage new creatures and dependencies, he created many new Offices; as the multitude of Offices in France is reckoned a great ſupport of the Authority Royal. He raiſed many public buildings, repaired many old, and to the City added many edifices and ornaments. He attended buſineſs, reformed enormities, ſhewed high regard for the Roman name; was ſparing in admitting foreigners to the rights of Citizens; preſerved public peace; procured public abundance, promoted public pleaſure and feſtivity; often appeared in perſon at the public diverſions, and in all things ſtudied to render himſelf dear to the populace. In truth, when he had done all the miſchief he could, or all that he wanted, and more, he ceaſed his cruelty and ravages. This too was imputed to him for merit. He was reckoned very good, becauſe he began to do leſs miſchief. It was a rational ſaying of that madman CALIGULA, " that calamitous and tragical to the " Roman people were the boaſted Victories of his " great grandfather AUGUSTUS;" and therefore he forbad them to be ſolemnized annually for the future.

Sect. V. *Though* AUGUSTUS *courted the people, and particular Senators, he continued to depress public Liberty, and the Senate.*

BUT, amidst all these acts of popularity and beneficence, and this plausible behaviour of AUGUSTUS, the root of the evil remained and spread; the bulwarks of Liberty were daily broken down, and having lulled the public asleep, he was sowing his tares. The best of his Government was but the sunshine of Tyranny[k]. AUGUSTUS was become the centre and measure of all things; he was the Senate, Magistracy and Laws; the arms of the Republic he had wrested out of her hands; those who had wielded them for her, he had slain[l]. The armies of the State were now the armies of AUGUSTUS, and every Province where Legions were kept or necessary, he reserved to himself; such as were unarmed he left to the Senate and people; in kindness forsooth to them; for he studied to relieve them from all anxiety and fatigue, and to leave them nothing to do; but would take all the care and trouble to himself. Italy, the original soil of Liberty and Freemen, he utterly disarmed, agreeably to the Maxims of absolute Monarchy. The Roman people and the Roman Senate he had reduced to cyphers and carcasses[m]. Hence all the submission and duty formerly paid to the free State, were, with her power, transferred to the Emperor, and certain wealth and

[k] Ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine pacis pellexit, insurgere paulatim, munia Senatus, Magistratuum, Legum, in se trahere.

[l] Bruto & Cassio cæsis, nulla jam publica arma.

[m] Patres & plebem, invalida & inermia.

preferment

preferment were the rewards of ready ſervility and acquieſcence [n].

THIS ſhews that, however he depreſſed the power of the Senate, he paid great court to particular Senators; and it is too true, that as men generally love themſelves better than their Country, they too eaſily poſtpone the public intereſt to their own.

Sect. VI. *What Fame he derived from the Poets and other flattering Writers of his time.*

THE Renown of AUGUSTUS was alſo notably blazoned by the Hiſtorians and Poets of his time; men of excellent wit, but egregious flatterers. According to them, AUGUSTUS had all the accompliſhments to be acquired by men, the magnanimity of Heroes, the perfections and genius of the Deity, and the innocence peculiar to the primitive race of men. After ſo many inſtances of his cruelty, revenge, ſelfiſhneſs, exceſſive ſuperſtition, and defect in courage; after all the crying calamities and afflictions, all the oppreſſion and vaſſalage, that his ambition had brought upon his Country and the globe, one would think that ſuch praiſes muſt have paſſed for ſatire and mockery. But ambition, ſucceſsful ambition, is a credulous paſſion; or whether he believed ſuch praiſes or no, he received them graciouſly, and careſſed the Authors. Hence ſo much favour to VIRGIL and HORACE, and to ſuch other wits as knew how to be good Courtiers; and hence every admirer of thoſe charming Poets, is an admirer of AUGUSTUS, who was ſo gene-

[n] Quanto quis ſervitio promptior, opibus & honoribus extollerentur.

[o] —Nihil eſt quod credere de ſe
Non poſſit cum laudatur Diis æqua poteſtas.

rous

ſous to them, and is the chief burden of their Panegyrics.

SUPPOSE he had miſcarried; ſuppoſe the Commonwealth reſtored, and him puniſhed as a Traitor inſtead of gaining the Sovereignty; would not the Hiſtorians, would not the Poe tshave then ſpoke as the Law ſpoke, that Law by which he had certainly forfeited his life? would not BRUTUS and CASSIUS have then filled their mouths with Panegyrics, as the Saviours of the State? would they have lamented that the Uſurpation failed, and extolled the Uſurper? Is CATILINE extolled, or are the Uſurpations of CINNA, SYLLA, or MARIUS? nor was the conduct and domination of either, half ſo barbarous and tragical as was that of AUGUSTUS for a courſe of years. The truth is, their Tyranny was ſhort-lived, unſucceſsful, or reſigned.

INIQUITY unproſperous or puniſhed, no man praiſes; but wickedneſs exceeding great and triumphant, almoſt all men do, as well as decry virtuous attempts defeated. CÆSAR and AUGUSTUS ſucceeded; and their flattery continued, becauſe their government and race did; [p] Sycophancy is ever a conſtant attendant upon greatneſs, ſays PATERCULUS, who was himſelf a ſcandalous flatterer, and has in his Hiſtory, miſerably perverted truth, or utterly ſuppreſſed it, that he might lye for the Cæſars. When Truth was treaſon, who would venture to ſpeak it? and when Flattery bore a vogue and a price, there were enough found to court it, and take it. Hence the partiality or ſilence of Poets and Hiſtorians [q].

[p] Semper magnæ fortunæ comes adeſt adulatio.
[q] Gliſcente adulatione deterrerentur.

Sect.

Sect. VII. *Of the false Glory sought and acquired by* AUGUSTUS, *from the badness of his Successors.*

ANOTHER signal advantage to the name and memory of AUGUSTUS, was the badness of his Successors; and for his posthumous lustre he was indebted to the extreme misery of the Roman people. In proportion as TIBERIUS, CALIGULA, *&c.* were detested, AUGUSTUS was regretted; yet who but AUGUSTUS was to be thanked for these monsters of cruelty? They were legacies by him entailed upon that great State, and he was even suspected to have surrendered the Roman people to the Tyranny of TIBERIUS, purely to enhance his own praise with posterity, by the comparison and opposition of their Reigns[r]. He sought renown from a counsel for which he deserved abhorrence. He had made a feint or two to abdicate the Sovereignty; had he been in earnest, he might at least have contrived, that his Usurpation should last no longer than his life, and have left for a legacy to the Roman people that Liberty of which he had robbed them; that dominion over themselves, which none but themselves had any right to exercise. The truth is, his power and name were dearer to him than the Roman people or human race; he made provision by a long train of successors against any possible relapse into Liberty[s]. When he had no longer any heir of his own blood, or none that he liked, he adopted the sons of his wife; and even the worst of them was destined to the succession[t].

[r] Comparatione deterrima sibi gloriam quæsivisse.
[s] Provisis etiam hæredum in Rempublicam opibus.
[t] Ne successor in incerto foret.

IF it be ſaid that by ſuch adoption he fortified himſelf, and conſidered heirs as[u] the ſtays and ſecurity of his domination; this ſtill ſhews what was uppermoſt in his views, that he meant to perpetuate ſlavery. If he had ſtudied the good of Rome, why was not TIBERIUS, whom he knew to be tyrannical and arrogant, poſtponed? why was not his brother DRUSUS, the moſt accompliſhed and popular man in the Empire, preferred? or (after his death) GERMANICUS his ſon, one equally deſerving, and equally beloved? It is even ſaid that he loved DRUSUS, loved GERMANICUS, and was ſuſpected to have hated and deſpiſed TIBERIUS; yet TIBERIUS was preferred, and had the world bequeathed to him. Was it done to pleaſe his wife? then he loved her better than the Roman people, nay, preferred her caprice to the felicity of human kind. DRUSUS had declared his purpoſe to reſtore the Commonwealth; the ſame intention is ſuppoſed to have been in GERMANICUS. This perhaps was the reaſon for ſetting them aſide[w]; as was ſaid of TIBERIUS.

Sect. VIII. *The Character of* AUGUSTUS.

AS to the Character of AUGUSTUS, he was a man of Senſe and Art; his courage below his capacity, his capacity below his fortune, yet his fortune below his fame; becauſe his fame was the child of able flattery as well as of propitious fortune. He was a cunning man, not a great genius; dextrous to apply the abilities of others to his own ends, and had ability enough to be counſelled by ſuch as had more; his deſigns were rather incidental and pro-

[u] Subſidia dominationis.

[w] Quippe illi non perinde curæ gratia preſentium, quam in poſteros ambitio.

greſſive,

greſſive, than vaſt and conceived at once; and he cannot be ſaid to have maſtered fortune, but to have been led by it. In the times of the Republic he would have made but a middling figure; in the ſtation and purſuits of JULIUS CÆSAR, none at all. It is not in the leaſt likely that he would have thought or attempted what CÆSAR accompliſhed. He wanted CÆSAR's maſterly ſpirit, the eclat of that conſummate Warrior, his boundleſs Liberality, his enchanting Eloquence. For the Eloquence of AUGUSTUS, which was eaſy and flowing, ſuch as became a Prince, was quite different from that torrent of Language, and power of ſpeaking neceſſary to agitate and controul the ſpirit of Republicans, and came far ſhort of the talent of JULIUS, who ſtood in rank with the moſt diſtinguiſhed Orators. I know not whether the vices of the Dictator had not more popular charms than the virtues of AUGUSTUS. CÆSAR made his way to the Throne, AUGUSTUS found it already made, or, where difficulties occurred, was conducted by the ſuperior lights and force of others, whom he rewarded with all the meanneſs of ingratitude, and even cruelty, and did many things which the great heart of CÆSAR would have ſcorned. No great mind ever delighted in petty miſchiefs; though to do mighty evil an elevated genius is not always neceſſary.

Sect. IX. *Of the Helps and Cauſes which acquired and preſerved the Empire to* AUGUSTUS. *His great Power and Fortune no proof of extraordinary Ability.*

THAT AUGUSTUS acquired the Empire, is not a proof of talents grand and ſurprizing; a thouſand things concurred to it, times and accidents, friends and enemies, the living and the dead,

fought and contrived for him; CÆSAR, ANTHONY, the authority of the Senate, the folly and corruption of the people, the eloquence and abilities of CICERO, ſeaſonable conjunctures, the oppoſition of ſome, the compliance or intoxication of others, nay, the charms of CLEOPATRA, and his own treachery and fears: All theſe coincided to puſh him forwards, and to hoiſt him into Sovereignty; nor indeed wanted he dexterity to improve opportunities; for he was a notable man, judged well, and had a turn for buſineſs.

NOR did it require much genius to hold the Empire, when he had got it. All who could oppoſe him were ſlain or ſubdued. He had Armies and Guards; and the people were diſarmed and enſlaved; the State was ſo thoroughly maſtered, the Roman ſpirit ſo entirely broken [x], that any the moſt contemptible wretch among men, provided he were but vouched by the Armies, and called CÆSAR, might rule, inſult, and lay waſte the Roman world at his pleaſure [y]. What was CALIGULA, what were NERO and CLAUDIUS? were they not monſters, who but for ſhape and ſpeech, were utterly disjoined from humanity? and yet were not theſe monſters ſuffered, nay adored, and deified, while they were wallowing in the blood of men, and making ſpoil of the creation? Nor were the ſavages cut off by any effort of the Roman people, but by the inſtruments of their own cruelty, their wives, ſoldiers and ſlaves.

THUS it was poſſible to be Maſters of mankind, not only without common ſenſe, and common mercy and compaſſion, but even armed with intenſe and ſettled hate againſt the race of men, and daily exerting it. The rule and havock of a Lion, or any

[x] Verſo civitatis ſtatu, nihil uſquam priſci & integri moris.
[y] Omnis exuta æqualitate juſſa principis aſpectare.

other beast of prey, would have been less pernicious, and less disgraceful to the Roman people, though he had required for his sustenance a vessel of human blood every day. Nay, had the imperial Lion kept about him a Court and Guard of subordinate Lions for his Instruments and Counsellors, they could not have worried and devoured faster than did the Accusers, Freedmen, Poisoners, and Assassins of the Emperors. Cruelty, inspired by hunger, ceases when hunger is asswaged; but cruelty, created by fear and malice, is never satiated, nor knows any bounds. So much less dangerous and pernicious are the jaws and rapaciousness of a Tyger, than the jealousy and rage of a Tyrant, his flatterers and executioners.

Now where was the difficulty to AUGUSTUS, where the necessity of high wisdom, to maintain the Sovereignty, when such despicable wretches could maintain themselves in it for a course of years? The Romans, who were masters of mankind, were become the tame property, the vassals and victims of creatures equal to no office in a State, even the meanest and most contemptible office; creatures void of understanding, void of courage. Such, without aggravation, were the Lords of Rome for several successive reigns. Such as were a scandal to human Nature, trod upon the necks and wantoned in the blood of human kind; nay, delegated this work, and the disposal of the Romans life and property, to the vilest of their domestics and dependants, their spies, informers, and bond-slaves,

DISCOURSE V.

Of Governments free and arbitrary, more especially that of the CÆSARS.

Sect. I. *The Principle of God's appointing and protecting Tyrants, an Absurdity not believed by the Romans.*

I Do not find that a servitude so beastly and ignominious was borne by the Romans out of Principle. Their Religion, as vain and superstitious as it was, had never offered such an insult to common sense, as to teach them that their Deities, as capricious as they thought them, warranted Tyranny, and sanctified Tyrants; that the brutal and bloody CALIGULA, was the beloved and Vicegerent of Jove, almighty, all-wise and all-merciful; that the worst of men had a commission from Heaven to oppress all men, and to destroy the best; that murder, rapine and mis-rule were Government, and such lawless and bloody robbers were Governors divinely appointed; that Society had no remedy against devouring lust, and the raging sword, which were destroying all the ends of Society, and Society it self. These are Absurdities below Paganism and all its chimeras; even the Superstition of Pagans never broached such blasphemies and indignities to God and Man; never propagated Doctrines which would have turned men into idiots, destitute of reflection and feeling, nay, into beasts of burden, and beasts for sacrifice; turned the Deities into Devils; human society into a chaos of blood and carcasses, and this earth into a place of torments. It never entered

entered into the heart of a Greek or a Roman, nor into any heart which felt the ſentiments of virtue and humanity, that it was unlawful to defend Law; a crime to ward againſt murder, barbarity, and deſolation; and an impiety to do the moſt godlike action which can be done on this ſide Heaven, that of diſarming a Tyrant, and ſaving one's Country from periſhing. It is true, that the Romans flattered their Tyrants, as Tyrants ever will be flattered; but as the names and appearances of the old Government ſtill ſubſiſted, they pretended to believe that none but the old Laws were exerciſed; and by the old Laws the Emperors ſtill pretended to act. For ſeveral generations after the State was enſlaved, and even during the Reigns of the worſt of the CÆSARS, the Romans expreſſed high contempt for Nations who were avowedly ſlaves, and for Kings who were avowedly arbitrary; and it then continued uſual to behold foreign Monarchs attending the levee and train of the Roman Magiſtrates and Governors of Provinces; nay, they were ſometimes denied acceſs, and treated with great ſcorn.

GOVERNMENT is doubtleſs a ſacred thing, and juſtly claims all reverence and duty; but in the idea of Government is implied that of public Protection and Security; that it is the terror of evil doers, and the encouragement of ſuch as do well. But when what was Government ceaſes; and what is called Government, is, in reality, general oppreſſion, havock, and ſpoil; when a power prevails which is ſwayed by evil doers to the deſtruction of all who do well; when law and righteouſneſs are baniſhed, luſt and iniquity triumph; property is violently invaded, and lives are wantonly deſtroyed; is this Government too? If it be, I ſhould be glad to know what is not Government.

Sect. II. *The reasonableness of resisting Tyrants asserted, from the Ends of Government, and the Nature of the Deity. Opinions the most impious and extravagant, why taught, and how easily swallowed.*

IT is certainly unlawful to resist Government; but it is certainly lawful to resist the deviation from Government, to resist what destroys Government and men. To resist the abuse of Government, is to assist Government. It is allowed to be just to help our protectors; but it is equally just to oppose our enemies, madmen and spoilers. Now what was NERO, what CALIGULA and CLAUDIUS? one a bloody idiot, the other an inhuman madman; the first like the second, and all of them public robbers and butchers. If their course of cruelties and oppression was Government, so are plagues, tempests and inundations; but if their lives and actions were altogether pernicious and detestable; the exterminating of such monsters from amongst men, would have been a service to the whole race. Was TARQUIN half so black and odious? yet who has ever blamed his expulsion? was the Insolence and Tyranny of TARQUIN the Ordinance of God? what then was the succeeding Government of the People and Senate? if this was the Ordinance of God too; then every Government good and bad, or rather Mis-government as well as Government, public robbery and ruin, as well as public security and protection, may be equally said to be his Ordinance; and there are Ordinances of his that combat one another, like the two Angels contending in one of the Prophets. But if the Tyranny of TARQUIN was, and the establishing of the free State was not the Ordinance of God, then are not the Patrons of this opinion obliged to say, and to maintain

tain this groſs and blaſphemous abſurdity, that the divine Being diſapproves of good Government, Equity and Laws, and delights in injuſtice, cruelty and confuſion; not in the rule of equal juſtice, but in the ravages of luſt and iniquity?

To ſay that all Governments, the good and the bad, are alike to him, equally inviolable, is to ſay that he takes no cognizance of things below; and at this rate, there is, in his ſight, no ſuch thing as guilt and innocence. To alledge that that Government which is beſt for men, is diſliked by him; and the rule of luſt is preferable to that of Laws; is to make him worſe than indifferent, the patron of wantonneſs and oppreſſion; a foe to order and benevolence, fonder of one man's caprice and violence, than of the happineſs of millions; nay a profeſſed advocate for iniquity, a profeſſed adverſary to all public righteouſneſs. If it be ſaid, that he approves not of Tyranny himſelf, and yet would not have it reſiſted by others; this is nonſenſe added to prophaneneſs; ſince what he neither checks nor allows to be checked, he may be ſaid to approve. If I ſee a man going to commit murder, and by terrible threatning and penalties reſtrain ſuch as would reſtrain him, will it not be conſtrued, that I choſe to have the murder perpetrated? It makes him beſides a hard-hearted being, who forbids to remedy the higheſt human evil, nay, wilfully dooms human kind to the ſevereſt miſery.

I never heard that he has forbid under any penalty the uſe of Medicines againſt the Plague, and I think I have found the reaſon why I never heard it; the Plague has no treaſures, nor dignities to recompence flatterers. Had it been worth while to have made ſuch prohibition a Doctrine of Religion; that is, had it been pleaſing to Power, and the way to favour, I doubt not but it would have gained ground, and many followers, as other doctrines equally abſurd have done, where the gain and craft of a few have

been followed and defended by the superstition and zeal of many; witness Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Auricular Confession, blind Obedience under the rod of Tyranny, *&c.* The Turks out of bigotry to that of Predestination, forbear all precautions against the Plague, when raging on every side of them. It is impossible to invent a Doctrine so monstrous and mischievous, but it will meet with partizans and admirers, provided the inventors have convenient names and habiliments, without which the most illustrious and benevolent truths will hardly pass with a multitude bewitched with the magic of words and superstition.

IT is impossible for the hearts of men to contrive a principle more absurd and wicked, than that of annexing divine and everlasting vengeance to the resisting of the most flagrant mischief which can possibly befal the sons of men; yet it has found inventors and vouchers. It is plain from this instance, and from a thousand more, that there is no wickedness of which the hearts of men are not capable, and that the wretchedness of the whole race weighs not so much with them as their own profit and pleasure. It would seem from hence, as if we had lived in the dregs and barbarism of time, since to the late age (at least here in Christendom) was reserved the infamy of hatching a Monster so horrible, that to its birth was sacrificed all Sense and Humanity, all the considerations, and even the essence of Truth, Order and Liberty.

THE advocates for this impious tenet, which represents the great and good God as incensed with men for striving to remove their chains and sorrows, are, by defending Tyranny, so much worse than Tyrants, as a Scheme of Barbarity coolly and deliberately contrived or defended, is more heinous than particular acts of barbarity committed in the heat and hurry of passion, and as Murder is a greater crime than Manslaughter.

WHAT

WHAT avail Laws and Liberty, ever ſo excellently framed, when they are at the mercy of lawleſs rage and caprice? If we are forbid by God to defend Laws, why do we make them? Is it not unlawful to make what it is unlawful to defend? What elſe is the end of Government, but the felicity of men; and why are ſome raiſed higher in Society than others, but that all may be happy? Has God ever interpoſed againſt the eſtabliſhment of Society upon a good foot? If he has not, but wills the good of Society, and of men, how comes he to interpoſe againſt the defence of an Eſtabliſhment which he nowhere forbids, and againſt that good which he is ſaid to will? What more right had NERO to take away the lives of innocent men than any other Aſſaſſin; what more title to their fortune than any other Robber; what better right to ſpill their blood than any Tyger? And is it unlawful to reſiſt Robbers, and Aſſaſſins, and Beaſts of Prey? Did the Almighty ever ſay of that beaſtly Tyrant, "Touch not "NERO my Anointed, nor do his Ruffians any "harm?" Did NERO's ſtation leſſen or abrogate his crimes?

WHAT idea does it give of God, the Father of mercies and of men, to repreſent him ſcreening that enemy to God and man, as a perſon ſacred and inviolable, and holding his authority from himſelf; the merciful and holy Jehovah protecting an inhuman Deſtroyer! What more relation could there be between God and NERO, than between God and an Earthquake, God and a Conflagration or Maſſacre? The very phraſe is ſhocking to the ſoul! Is ſuch repreſentation likely to make the name and nature of God amiable to men, likely to excite them to love and reverence him? SATAN is ſaid to be delighted with the miſeries and calamities of men; and, to ſuppoſe that wicked Being concerned for the ſecurity of a Tyrant, whoſe office it is to debaſe

and afflict human race, is natural and consistent with his Character. But I wish men would not father upon the Author of all good such counsels and inclinations, as can only suit the father of cruelties and lies.

Sect. III. *The danger of slavish Principles to such as trust in them, and the notorious insecurity of lawless Might.*

NEITHER have Tyrants and Oppressors been much obliged to this enslaving Doctrine, which has generally filled them with false confidence and security; it has always made them worse, seldom safer; and, without doing any good, been the cause of much evil to their poor subjects. The Turks hold it as an Article of Faith, and it is one worthy of Turkish grosness and barbarity! yet where has the deposing and murdering of Princes been so common as in Turkey? The Monarch is told he may do what he pleases; their Religion tells him so, the holy Mufti, who explains it, tells him so, and from God he tells him so; but notwithstanding all these holy Authorities, this person so sacred, and guarded with securities human and divine, is often butchered with less form than a common malefactor, and even with the Mufti's consent and assistance. Thus it has happened to several in a Century; had not their power been so great, their security would have been greater.

[a] AN absolute Prince is of all others the most insecure; as he proceeds by no rule of Law, he can have no rule of Safety. He acts by violence, and violence is the only remedy against him. Now violence which is confined to no rule, but as various and unlimited as the passions and devices of men,

[a] Nunquam satis fida potentia, ubi nimia,

can

can never be parried by any certain provision or defence. His acts of cruelty upon particulars, whether done for revenge or prevention, do but alarm other particulars to save themselves by destroying him. Men who apprehend their lives to be in danger, will venture any thing to preserve them; or if they do more than apprehend and be already become desperate, we know to what lengths despair will push them. Thus CALIGULA, thus DOMITIAN and COMMODUS, were slaughtered by those whom they had doomed to slaughter. Nor Armies nor Guards can prevent the machinations and efforts of a secret enemy; even amongst his Armies and Guards such a one may be found, nay, in his Houshold, in his Bed-chamber, amongst his Kindred, nay, amongst his Children.

WHEN Princes act by Law, in case of hardship upon particulars, there is a remedy to be sought from the Law; and when the Law fairly administered will afford none, they will acquiesce; or, if they blame any thing, they will blame the Law, but a remedy they will be apt to seek; and, when they suffer not from Law, but from mere violence, they will have recourse to violence. Neither can a people be ever so sunk or deadened by Oppression, but much provocation, some management and a skilful leader, will find or raise some spirit in them, often enough to accomplish great Revolutions; witness Sicily under the French, Swisserland under the Yoke of Austria, and the Low Countries under that of Spain; nay, the most consummate and professed slaves, those of Turkey, often rouse themselves, and casting their proud rider to the earth, trample him to death.

INDEED slaves enraged are the most dangerous populace; because having no other resource against oppression, they repel violence with outrage; a little spark often raises a great flame; and a flame soon

spreads

ſpreads to a Conflagration, where materials are prepared, as they almoſt eternally are in Governments that are abſolute or aiming to be ſo. The Commotions at Paris, during the Minority of the late King, were followed by others all over France, though the whole Kingdom had been for a great while before, by the Tyranny of the Adminiſtration, frightened, deſpairing, and even lethargic; but the reſentment and convulſions that followed this falſe calm, had like to have overſet the Monarchy. Nor can any public calm be certain, or any Government ſecure, where the people are pillaged and oppreſſed. People that are uſed like beaſts, will act like beaſts; and be mad and furious, when buffeted and ſtarved.

Sect. IV. *Princes of little and bad Minds, moſt greedy of Power. Princes of large and good Minds chuſe to rule by Law and Limitations.*

IT is poor and contemptible ambition in a Prince, that of ſwelling his Prerogative, and catching at advantages over his People; it is ſeparating himſelf from the tender relation of a Father and Protector, a Character which conſtitutes the Glory of a King; and aſſuming that of a foe, and an enſnarer [b]. This is what a Prince of a great and benevolent ſpirit will conſider; not himſelf as a lordly Tyrant, nor them as his Property and Slaves; but himſelf and them under the amiable and engaging ties of Magiſtrate and fellow Citizens. Such was the difference between a Queen ELIZABETH and a RICHARD the ſecond; how glorious and proſperous the Reign of the one, how infamous and unhappy that of the other! what renown accompanies her memory, what ſcorn his! It is indeed apparent

[b] Non dominationem & ſervos, ſed rectorem & cives cogitaret.

from

from our History, that those of our Princes who thirsted most violently after arbitrary rule, were chiefly such as were remarkable for poor spirit, and small genius, Pedants, Bigots, the timorous and effeminate.

THE French Historians observe that the worst and weakest of their Kings were fondest of Dominion, and their best and wisest contented with stinted Power, and the rule of Laws. LEWIS the eleventh, says Cardinal DE RETZ, was more crafty than wise. He was in truth a genuine Tyrant; he trampled upon the Laws of the Kingdom, and the lives of his Subjects, pillaged and oppressed all manner of ways, and followed no Counsel but that of his Lust and Caprice. But what advantage or content, what security or fame did he draw from his exorbitant encroachments and power? No man ever lived under a blacker series of fears, and cares, and suspicions, or died in greater misery and terrors; and in his life, and death, and memory he is equally detestable [c]. LEWIS the thirteenth, a man naturally harmless, but silly, was jealous of his authority, purely because he was ignorant about it; but HENRY the fourth, who was born with a Soul great and generous, never distrusted the Laws, because he trusted in the uprightness of his own Designs. *Il ne se defioit pas des loix, parce qu'il se fioit en lui même*, says DE RETZ. Another French Monarch of great name, loved and enjoyed unbridled Dominion, but had no greatness of mind or genius answerable to the measure of his ambition. He had a sort of stiffness and perseverance, by his flatterers stiled Fortitude and Firmness, but in reality arising from arrogance or obstinacy; qualities found in the weakest women, and eminently in his mother. In Religion he was a bigot; in Politics false, suspi-

[c] *Vid.* PHIL. DE COMINES and MEZERAY.

cious,

cious, and timid; in Government insolent and oppressive; the property of his Mistresses, the Pupil of his Confessors, the Dupe of his Ministers; a sore Plague to his Neighbours; a sorer to his own People; vainly addicted to War without the talents of a Warrior; a dishonourable Enemy, a faithless Ally; and, with small Abilities, a great Troubler of the World.

IT was natural to such an Imperial Wolf as CALIGULA, to delight in power as savage as his own bloody spirit, and to boast that he had an unlimited privilege to do whatever his will or fury suggested [d]; but worthy of the benevolent and humane heart of TRAJAN, were the words by him used to his chief Officers, when he presented them with the sword. "This sword, this badge of Authority, you hold from me; but turn it, if I deserve it, against me [e]." Now, did the challenging and exercise of this monstrous power secure CALIGULA; or did the disavowing of it lessen the security of TRAJAN? quite otherwise; the former was abhorred and assassinated as a Tyrant; the latter was adored living, and died lamented, as a public Father and Guardian. TRAJAN knew no other purpose of Imperial Prerogative, but that of protecting the People; nor indeed is there any other use of Emperors and Prerogatives upon earth.

Cardinal DE RETZ says, that with all the arguments and pains he could use, he could never bring the Queen Regent to understand the meaning of these words, *the Public*. She thought that to consult the interest of the People was to be a Republican, and had no notion that the Government of a Prince was any thing else but Royal Will and Authority, rampant and without bounds. Was it any wonder, that the people of France gasped under Oppressions and Taxes, when the Government was

[d] Omnia sibi in homines licere.

[e] Pro me; si merear, in me.

swayed

ſwayed by ſuch a Woman, herſelf blindly governed by MAZARINE, a public Thief, if ever there was any; one convicted to have ſtollen from the Finances nine millions in a few years; one who had ſpent his younger years in low rogueries; who had no maxims of rule but ſuch as were adapted to the ſevereſt Tyranny in Italy, that of the Pope; and one, who, in the higheſt poſt of firſt Miniſter, could never help ſhewing the baſe ſpirit of a little Sharper. *Le vilain cœur paroiſſoit toûjours au travers*, ſays DE RETZ: the Duke of Orleans called him *un Scelerat, & Miniſtre incapable & abhorré du genre humain; un Menteur fieffé.*

Sect. V. *The Wiſdom and Safety of ruling by ſtanding Laws, to Prince and People.*

IT was a fine anſwer of THEOPOMPUS King of Lacedæmon to his wife, who reproached him that he would leave the Kingſhip diminiſhed to his ſons, by creating the Ephori: *Yes*, ſays he, *I ſhall leave it ſmaller, but I ſhall leave it more permanent.* VALERIUS MAXIMUS explains this by a very juſt reflection; "THEOPOMPUS's reaſon was "full of pertinency and force; for, in reality, that "Authority which bounds itſelf, and offers no in-"juries, is expoſed to none. The king therefore "by reſtraining Royalty within the juſt limits of "Laws, did as much endear it to the Affections "of his Countrymen, as he pruned it of all Licen-"tiouſneſs and Terror [f]."

IT is as rare for a Prince limited by Laws, and content with his power, to reign in ſorrow, or to die tragically, as it is uncommon for thoſe who have no bounds ſet them, or will ſuffer none, to eſcape a miſerable

[f] Optime quidem; ea demum tuta eſt potentia, quæ viribus ſuis modum imponit. Theopompus igitur legitimis regnum vinculis conſtringendo, quo longius a licentia retraxit, hoc propius ad benevolentiam civium admovit. Val. Max L. 4. C. 1.

Reign,

Reign, and unbloody end. The power of the Roman Kings was, from the first establishment, very short; they had no negative voice in the Senate, and could neither make War nor Peace. What TACITUS says of ROMULUS [g], can only mean his administring justice, as the chief Magistrate, between man and man, or perhaps his encroachments upon the Senate towards his latter end, for which, it is thought, he paid dear.

WHERE the Government is arbitrary and severe, the oppressed people will be apt to think that no change can make their condition worse; and therefore will be ready to wish for any, nay, to risque a Civil War, risque fresh evils and calamities, to get rid of the present, and to be revenged on their Oppressor. Such was the temper of the Romans upon the revolt of SACROVIR; they even rejoiced in it, and, in hatred to TIBERIUS, wished success to the public enemy [h]. People will be quiet and patient under burdens, however heavy, which Law lays on; for they suppose that laws are founded upon reason and necessity; but impositions the most reasonable will be apt to appear unreasonable and tyrannical, where they proceed from the will of one. Mere will is supposed to act without reason, and to be only the effect of wantonness; hence the acquiescence of a free people however taxed, and from their acquiescence, the safety of their Governors. Hence too the industry and wealth, and consequently the peaceableness of the country; for industry and wealth are things exceeding quiet and tame, and only aim at securing themselves; whereas idleness and indigence are uneasy, tumultuous, and desperate. Besides, he who pays twenty shillings in a free Government, and pays it chearfully, would not per-

[g] Nobis Romulus ad libitum imperitaverat.

[h] Multi odio præsentium, & cupidine mutationis, suis quisque periculis lætabantur.

haps,

haps, were the Government changed, pay willingly ten, nay, perhaps be unable to pay it, though by the change no new taxes were added. While the Law requires it, he will imagine that no more than enough is required; and as the ſame Law leaves him all the reſt to himſelf, he will be induſtrious to acquire more, and as much as he can; but when the quantity of his Tax depends upon the caprice or avarice of one; when the more he is worth, the more he will be taxed, or even fancies that he will be, he will grow idle, diſcontented and deſponding, and rather live poor and lazy, than labour to make his Tax-maſter rich. Not to mention the furious Monarchies of the Eaſt deſtructive of all Diligence and Arts; the COMTE DE BOULAINVILLIERS in his *Etat de la France*, ſays, that in ſome Provinces in France the ſoil is left uncultivated, and ſeveral trades and profeſſions are diſuſed; becauſe the labour of the Huſbandman, and the ſkill and application of the Artiſt, are rendered abortive by rigorous impoſitions. They chuſe rather to ſtarve in idleneſs, than to work and ſtarve.

Sect. VI. *The Condition of free States, how preferable to that of ſuch as are not free.*

NO arbitrary Prince upon earth could have raiſed from the States of Holland the fifth part of what they have, as a free State, paid to their own Magiſtrates, nor could have found whence to have raiſed it. I will venture to ſay the ſame of England. Under a Monarchy of the late King JAMES's model, was it poſſible to have ſupported two wars ſo long and conſuming as the two laſt, or to have raiſed ſums ſo immenſe to carry them on? It would be madneſs to aſſert it. By this time numbers of our people would have been driven from their Country, much of our Soil been waſte, many of our

Manufactures laid aſide, our Trade ſunk, our Wealth fled, and the condition of England have reſembled that of France, as well as our Government theirs, and for the ſame reaſon. It is in vain boaſted of the Houſe of Medicis, that in a long courſe of years they had laid no new tax upon a country where their power was abſolute; ſince the Cities and Territories, under their Sovereignty, are by it reduced from great wealth and populouſneſs to ſuch miſerable deſolation and poverty, that it is downright oppreſſion to oblige them to pay any conſiderable part of the old, much more all.

To reaſon from experience and examples, is the beſt reaſoning [i]. Compare any free State with any other that is not free. Compare the former and preſent condition of any State formerly free; or once enſlaved, and now free. Compare England with France; Holland with Denmark; or the ſeven Provinces under the States, with the ſame ſeven Provinces under Philip the ſecond; you will find in theſe and every other inſtance, that happineſs and wretchedneſs are the exact tallies to Liberty and Bondage.

FLORENCE was a Commonwealth ill framed at firſt, and conſequently ſubject to frequent convulſions, factions, parties, and ſubdiviſion of parties; yet by the mere bleſſing and vigour of Liberty, ſhe flouriſhed in people, riches and arms, till with her Liberty ſhe loſt all ſpirit and proſperity; and became languiſhing, little and contemptible under a ſmall Prince with a great name. She has been long cured of all her former frolicks and tumults, by an effectual remedy, ſervitude; and beggary, the child of ſervitude; and by depopulation, the offſpring of both [k]. All arguments for abſolute Power, are confuted by facts; no Country governed by mere will

[i] Quia pauci prudentia, honeſta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis diſcernunt; plures aliorum eventis docentur.

[k] Inſtrumenta ſervitutis & reges habuere.

was

was ever governed well; passion governs the will, the will becomes the measure of right and wrong and of all things, and caprice the ballance of the will; and I know not but it may be maintained that a free State the worst constituted, as was that of Florence, is, with all its disorders, factions, and tumults, preferable to any absolute Monarchy, however calm [1].

Sect. VII. *The Misery and Insecurity of the Cæsars from their overgrown Power.*

THESE Emperors of Rome, who had sacrificed their country and all things to their supreme power, found little ease and security from its being supreme. From CÆSAR the Dictator, who had sacrificed public Liberty, and was himself sacrificed to her *manes*, till CHARLEMAIN, above thirty of them were murdered, and four of them murdered themselves; the soldiery were their masters, and upon every pique put them to death. If the Prince was chosen by the Senate, this was reason enough for shedding his blood by the Armies; or if the Armies chose him, this choice of their own never proved an obstacle against shedding it. It was the soldiers that dispatched the Emperor PERTINAX, after he had been forced to accept the Empire. These lofty Sovereigns having trodden under foot the Senate, People and Laws, the best supports of legitimate Power, held their scepter and their lives upon the courtesy of their masters the soldiers. He who swayed the Universe, was a slave to his own mercenaries.

Though AUGUSTUS had reigned so long, and so thoroughly enfeebled or extinguished the maxims of Liberty, and introduced and settled those of Monarchy; TIBERIUS his immediate Successor,

[1] Solitudinem faciunt, pacem vocant.

thought himſelf ſo little ſafe, that he lived in perpetual vaſſalage to his own fears. By making all men ſlaves, he could not make himſelf free, and was only the moſt overgrown and gaudy ſlave in the Empire; ſo much do Princes gain by being above Law! They who will be content with no terms of reigning, but ſuch as make all men fear them, will find reaſons to fear all men. TIBERIUS did ſo, and the many ſacrifices which he made to his fear, far from leſſening, did but encreaſe it, as ſuch ſacrifices did but multiply enemies and terrors.

FIRST he dreaded AGRIPPA POSTHUMUS, and murdered him; but the murder enſured not his repoſe, even from that quarter; for a ſlave of that Prince perſonated his maſter, and alarmed TIBERIUS more than AGRIPPA had done. He dreaded GERMANICUS, and when that excellent perſon was dead (by no fair means, it was ſuppoſed) he dreaded AGRIPPINA his wife, and her little children; and when by all manner of treachery and cruelty he had oppreſſed them, he was ſeized with new dread from SEJANUS, the greateſt and juſteſt of all; nor ceaſed his dread after the execution of SEJANUS; inſomuch, that he commanded a general Maſſacre of all his Family, Friends, and Adherents. Next, his fears ſtill continuing, he doomed to the moſt barbarous death his own grandſons by GERMANICUS; for their being already under miſerable impriſonment and exile, did not ſuffice. And when the Family of GERMANICUS was deſtroyed; he had remaining fears from the Friends and Dependants of that Houſe; theſe were the next objects of his Vengeance, which he executed fiercely. Nor ſmall was the Terror which he entertained of his own Mother; and when ſhe was gone, he let looſe his rage upon the Favourites and Adherents of his Mother.

Now

Now after all these precautions, so many and so bloody, did his suspicions abate? No; they were rather whetted and inflamed[m]. Of the great Lords of the Senate he was under perpetual apprehensions, and making daily victims; their wealth and race, nay, their poverty, names, and qualities frightened him; he feared friends and enemies. Those who advised him in council, those who diverted him at his leisure hours; his Confidents, Counsellors, and Bottle-companions, were all Martyrs to his Jealousy and Fury. He was so afraid of considerable men, or giving them employments which made them so, that some who were appointed Governors of Provinces, were never permitted to go thither, and great Provinces, for a course of years, left destitute of their Governors; and though he dreaded stirs and innovations above all things[n]; yet he suffered the loss and devastation of Provinces, the insults and invasion of enemies, rather than trust any one with the power of avenging the State, and repulsing the public foe. Thus he left Armenia to be seized by the Parthians, Mœsia by the Dacians and other barbarians, and both the Gauls to be ravaged by the Germans[o], says SUETONIUS.

Sect. VIII. *A representation of the Torments and Horrors under which* TIBERIUS *lived.*

WHAT joy, what tranquillity did TIBERIUS reap from his great and unaccountable Sovereignty? Did it exempt him from disquiet, or could all his efforts, all the terrors of his Power, prevent

[m] Irritatus suppliciis.

[n] Nihil æque Tiberium anxium habebat, quam ne composita turbarentur.

[o] Magno dedecore Imperii, nec minore discrimine.

or remove his own? Did his numerous Armies protect him from the assaults of fear and apprehension? Did he sleep the sounder for his Prætorian Bands? Did the Rocks of Capreæ, hardly accessible to men, keep off those horrors of mind which haunted him at Rome, and on the Continent? Or rather, with all the eclat of Empire, with all his Policy and all his Guards, was he not the most miserable Being in his Dominions? Doubtless he was; other particulars, the most obnoxious and threatened, had but some things and some persons to fear; TIBERIUS dreaded all men and every thing. Was his Power unlimited? so was his Misery; the more he made others suffer, the faster he multiplied his own torments. He himself confessed, that all the anger of the Deities could not doom him to more terrible anguish than that under which he felt himself perishing daily.

IMAGINE this great Prince, this Sovereign of Rome, in hourly fear of secret Assassins; daily dreading and expecting the news of Armies revolted, a new Emperor created, and himself deposed: imagine him fixed upon a high rock, and watching there from day to day, with a careful eye and an anxious and boding heart, for signals from the Continent, whether he must stay or fly: imagine him every moment ready to commit himself to the waves and tempests, and to escape whither he could for life and shelter: imagine him, even after a Conspiracy suppressed, lurking for nine months together in one lodge, under such terrors as not to dare to venture an airing even in his beloved Capreæ, however walled with Rocks and defended with Guards. In short, he feared every thing but to do evil, which yet was the sole cause of his fears. Such was his situation and life, and such the blessing of lawless might! "To TIBERIUS not his Imperial fortune, not "his gloomy and inaccessible solitude could ensure

"repose

"repose, nor keep him from feeling nor even from "avowing the rack in his breast and the avenging "furies that pursued him." His Death too, was, like his life and reign, tragical and bloody.

Sect. IX. *The terrible Operation of lawless Power upon the minds of Princes; and how it changes them.*

TIBERIUS was an able man; he had talents for Affairs; he had eminent sufficiency in War; during the Commonwealth he would have well supported the Dignity of a Senator; he would have filled the first Offices of the State; he would have probably been zealous for public Liberty. He had even under AUGUSTUS, while he was yet a Subject, acquired a signal name and estimation. Nay it is likely he might have left behind him a high reputation and applause; for he had Art enough to have hid or suppressed the ill qualities which were naturally in him; so that he might have lived happy and admired, and died in renown. But being, unhappily for himself and his Country, invested with Power without controul, he let loose all his Passions, and he, who might have proved an excellent and useful Member of a free State, became a Prince altogether mercileſs and pernicious; a terrible Tyrant, void of natural affection for his own Blood and Family, void of all regard and tenderness for his People, and possessed with intense hate towards the Senate and Nobility. One of his discernment was not to be deceived by Flattery; he knew that, whatever submissions and even prostrations were made him, the Yoke of Sovereignty was grating and grievous to the Romans, and he sought revenge upon their persons for hating his Usurpation. This conduct made him more hated, and this hatred enraged him so, that at last, renouncing all shame, and

throwing away his beloved Arts of Diſſimulation, he commenced, as it were, an open Enemy to his People, ſurrendered himſelf over to every act of Cruelty, and to every abomination, even to Rapaciouſneſs and Plunder, a vice to which for a long time he ſeemed to have no biaſs.

BUT what is not to be apprehended from Power without controul, and who is to be truſted with it, when a man of ſuch ſtrong parts and long experience as TIBERIUS, was ſo entirely maſtered and perverted by it? It is a taſk too mighty for the ſoul of man, and fit for none but God, who cannot change, cannot act paſſionately, cannot be miſtaken, and is omnipreſent. There are few inſtances of men who have not been corrupted and intoxicated with it, and many, of whom the higheſt hopes were conceived, have degenerated notoriouſly under it. When men are once above fear of puniſhment, they ſoon grow to be above ſhame. Beſides, the genius and abilities of men are limited, but their paſſions and vanity boundleſs; hence ſo few can be perfectly good, and ſo many are tranſcendently evil. They miſtake good fortune for great merit, and are apt to riſe in their own conceit as high at leaſt as fortune can raiſe them. GALBA was, in the opinion of all men, worthy of Empire, and that opinion would have ever continued, had he never been tried; and VESPASIAN was, till then, the only inſtance of an Emperor by power changed for the better [p].

[p] Soluſque omnium ante ſe Principum in melius mutatus eſt.

Sect.

Sect. X. *The wretched Fears accompanying the Possession of arbitrary Power, exemplified in* CALIGULA *and other Roman Emperors.*

NOR was this anguish and these fears peculiar to TIBERIUS, his Successors felt them eminently; as did every one who reigned as he reigned. CALIGULA was so haunted by inward horrors, and his imagination so terrified, that he became almost a stranger to sleep, and used to roam about the palace while others slept, afraid of the night, and invoking the return of day. Upon an alarm from Germany, he prepared to run away from Rome; and was always provided with exquisite poison against an exigency. CLAUDIUS scarce lived a moment of his Reign free from affrights and suspicions; nor was there any accident so trivial, or any Man, Woman, or Slave, or Child so contemptible, as not to dismay him and set him upon sanguinary precautions and punishments; he was several times almost frighted out of his Sovereignty, and willing to creep away into safety and solitude. Even before the Senate, which upon the sight of a dagger, he had summoned in great haste and earnestness, the poor unmanly wretch burst into tears and howling, bewailed his perillous condition, that in no place or circumstance could he be out of the way of danger. His whole life was governed by fears, and his fears by his wives and freedmen; hence his excessive cruelty, according to the measure of his own timidity, or of their ambition, vindictiveness, and rapacity. The Horrors of NERO's guilt never forsook him; they were sometimes so violent, that every joint about him trembled; he dreaded his Mother's Ghost as much as he had her living Spirit, and made doleful complaints, that the Furies pursued him with Stripes,

Stripes, and Rage, and burning Torches: and that he was alarmed with horrid shrieks and groans from his Mother's Tomb. What else did HELIOGABALUS apprehend but a violent death, when he went always provided with a silken halter and a golden poignard, as expedients to escape death by the hand of an enemy? For the like purpose CARACALLA made himself a copious provision of poisons. This barbarous Parricide was wont to complain that the Ghost of his Father, and that of his Brother by him murdered, terrified and pursued him with drawn swords. So sorely did the bloody Horrors of their Crimes and Infamy, haunt these men of Blood, and became their Executioners! What availed their Power and Armies against the alarms of their Conscience? Could all their Titles and Might, all the Guards at their gate, scare away reflection, or rescue them from the agonies and goreings of their own breasts?

Sect. XI. *What it is that constitutes the Security and Glory of a Prince; and how a Prince and People become estranged from each other.*

WHAT then is it that a Prince may rely on for the security of his Person, and the quiet of his Soul? Hear the opinion of a great and a good Prince, MARCUS ANTONINUS, delivered to his Friends and Counsellors just before he expired: "Verily it is neither the influence of Revenue and "Treasures, nor the multitude of Guards, that can "uphold a Prince, or assure him of obedience, "unless with the duty of obedience, the zeal and "affections of his People do concur. Surely, only "long and secure is the Reign of such a one as by "actions of benignity stamps upon the hearts of "his People the impressions of love; not those of

"fear

" fear by acts of cruelty." He adds, " that a " Prince has nothing to fear from his People, as " long as their obedience flows from Inclination, " and is not constained by Servitude; and that " Subjects will never refuse obedience, when they " are not treated with contumely and violence[q].

A man who means no ill would not seek the Power to do it, and he who seeks that Power, or has it, will be eternally suspected to mean no good. Now the only way to obviate such suspicion, is, to act by known rules of Law; he who rules by consent is obnoxious to no blame. Such restraint may probably at some times keep a just Prince from doing good, but it certainly withholds a bad one from doing much greater mischief. An arbitrary Prince who can do what he will, is for ever liable to be suspected of willing all that he can; hence his people mistrust him; hence his indignation for their mistrust, and hence the root of eternal jealousy and uneasiness between him and them.

THE People likewise expect complaisance from the Prince, expect to have their sentiments and humours considered; while the Prince probably thinks that they have no right to form any judgment of public matters, or to make any demands upon him; but, on the contrary, requires of them blind reverence and obedience to his Authority; and acquiescence in his superior Conduct and Skill; that all his doings should pass for just; himself for a person altogether sacred and unaccountable; and his words for Laws. If their behaviour towards him do not happen to square exactly with these his sovereign notions and high conceit of himself, he will be apt to think, or some officious flatterer will be ready to persuade him[r], " his Royal Authority is set at nought, the

[q] *See* Herodian in Marc. Antonin.

[r] Spretam voluntatem Principis, desciviſſe populum: quid reliquum nisi ut caperent ferrum?

" People

"People are revolted; and what remains but that "they take Arms?" To punish therefore their Disobedience, he proceeds to violence, and exercises real severity for imaginary guilt. Mischief is prolific; violence in him begets resentment in them; the People murmur and exclaim; the Prince is thence provoked, and studies vengeance; when one act of vengeance is resented and exposed, as it ever will be, more will follow. Thus things go on. Affection is not only lost, but irrecoverable on either side; hatred is begun on both; and Prince and People consider themselves no longer as Magistrate and Subjects, but one another as Enemies. Hence perhaps CALIGULA's inhuman wish, that he could murder all his People at a blow. The sequel of all this is easy to be guessed; he is continually destroying them; they are continually wishing him destroyed.

Sect. XII. *How nearly it behoves a Prince to be beloved and esteemed by his Subjects. The terrible Consequences of their mutual Mistrust and Hatred.*

HOW much does it import Princes to preserve the good opinion of their People! when it is once lost, it is scarce ever to be recalled. When once they come to believe ill of their Prince, there is nothing so ill that they will not believe; as in the instance of TIBERIUS, of whom things the most improbable and horrid were believed. It is hardly possible for any merit, the most genuine and exalted, to preserve popular favour for a long time; accidents and disasters will be falling in, to sour the spirits of the populace; or some fresh merit, more new or more glaring, may appear, and lessen or intercept their admiration of the other; or the same person may not always have the same opportunities to oblige them; so that the best care and conduct can only

only ſerve to retain it to a certain degree; and this by good conduct is certainly and always to be done. But when the reputation of the Prince with his Subjects is entirely gone, ſomething worſe than the bare want of it will enſue. Between a Prince's forfeiting the public Affection and his incurring the public Hatred, there is ſcarce any medium, and even that medium is a terrible one, ſince to be ſcorned is not much better than to be hated, and often infers it.

WOULD a Prince live in ſecurity, eaſe and credit? let him live and rule by a ſtandard certain and fixed, that of Laws, nor graſp at more than is given him. Many by ſeeking too much have loſt all, and forfeited their Crown through the wantonneſs and folly of loading it with falſe and invidious ornaments. While nothing would ſerve them but lawleſs Power, even their legitimate Authority grew odious, and was rent from them. They ſet their People the example of aſſuming what was none of theirs, to do acts of violence in defenſe of violated Laws, to judge for themſelves, and to ſanctify by the title of Right whatever they could accompliſh by force. Rather than live upon bad terms, people will be apt to make their own terms, and think no fealty is due where no faith is kept. Who would not rejoice more in a free gift than in plunder? for ſuch is the difference between Power conferred and Power uſurped. What new Prerogative acquired to the Crown, or what new Revenue can make amends for the Hearts of the People eſtranged and embittered? This is ſuch a loſs, as no acquiſition, no pomp of Power whatſoever, can atone for. We have ſeen under what gloom, affright, and deſpair the Cæſars lived and ſwayed, though their ſway was without check and bounds. MACHIAVEL ſays, that when a Prince has once incurred the public hate, there is no perſon nor thing which he ought not to dread.

HE who does no ill, fears none; but ſuch as are continually creating terrors and calamities to others, have abundant reaſon to be under continual apprehenſions themſelves. How much more deſirable, how much more juſt, and eaſy, and ſafe is the condition of a Prince, who lives and rules by Laws over a free People by their own conſent? both People and Laws are his guard, and what ſecures them, ſecures him. They ſeel that he loves them; and he is conſcious that they ought to love him. This is Government, and the effects of it; not the triumph of boundleſs arrogance or folly; not the inſults of one over all, nor conſequently his diſtruſt of them, nor their ſlaviſh dread of him; but the equal adminiſtration of eternal Righteouſneſs, and ſtated Laws; an endearing i tercourſe of fatherly care and protection, and of filial gratitude and duty. How amiable muſt it be, how refreſhing to a generous Spirit, to oblige and ſolace a whole People, to have a whole People adore and bleſs him! What maſter of Slaves, even the higheſt and moſt unbounded maſter, can boaſt ſo much of himſelf and his ſlaves? The Grandeur of ſuch a Prince is all falſe and tinſel, painted and hollow; he is never ſecure, becauſe he is not innocent; he is not innocent, becauſe he is an Oppreſſor.

TO rule by mere Will, is to rule by Violence, and violence is War. He who puts himſelf in a ſtate of Hoſtility with his Subjects, invites Hoſtility from them, as did the late King JAMES, who having no Confidence in the Laws, which he had violated, nor in his People, whom he had oppreſſed, put himſelf in a poſture of War againſt his Subjects; ſo that when they too had recourſe to arms, they did but ſtand in their own defence. They had no quarrel to that King JAMES, who had taken an Oath to rule by Law; but when that King aſſumed another perſon, and, in ſpite of Oaths and Laws, would op-

preſs and ſpoil, they who owed this man of violence no Allegiance, oppoſed Might to Might, ſince he would abide by no Law. It was not their Prince therefore that they reſiſted, but their Enemy and Spoiler: he in truth, had no more Right to what the Law gave him not, than the great Turk had; they therefore oppoſed not an Engliſh Monarch, but an Invader and a Tyrant. Nor do I know of any People who threw off their Monarchy wantonly; and if they did it through Oppreſſion, the Oppreſſor might blame himſelf [s]. Had he conquered his Subjects, what would he have gained, but the deteſtable Glory of a triumphant Oppreſſor; of ſeeing a rich Country reduced by ſervitude to poverty, and of bearing the curſes of a free People oppreſſed? Whoever has beheld the condition of a great neighbouring Kingdom, naturally the fineſt in Europe, has ſeen in the condition of the Inhabitants, poor, pale, naſty, and naked, what genuine Glory their Princes have reaped, by reducing all the Laws of their Country into one ſhort one, that of Royal Will and Pleaſure.

Sect. XIII. *Public Happineſs only then certain, when the Laws are certain and inviolable.*

IT is allowed that amongſt the Roman Emperors, there were ſome excellent ones. But was not all this chance? They might have proved like the reſt, who were incredibly miſchievous and vile. They had nothing but their own Inclinations to reſtrain them; and is human Society to depend for ſecurity and happineſs upon uncertain Inclinations and Will? They were good by conformity to the Laws, as Laws are the only defenſe againſt ſuch as

[s] Quidam, poſtquam regum pertæſum, leges maluerunt.

are

are bad. The bad ones had almost sunk the Empire to a chaos, before there appeared one Prince of tolerable capacity and virtue to retrieve it. Insomuch that VESPASIAN declared it to be absolutely necessary to raise a fund of above three hundred millions of money (of our money) purely to save the State from absolute ruin, and dissolution [t]. After DOMITIAN there succeeded five good Reigns, during which Law and Righteousness prevailed, and the Emperors took nothing, neither power nor money, but what Laws long established gave them, and professed to derive every thing from the Law, and to occupy nothing in their own Name. But as the Emperor might still be a Tyrant if he would, that wild Prince COMMODUS resumed the old measures of violence, and, becoming a second CALIGULA, dissipated and overturned, in a few years, all the treasure, wise provisions and establishments, contrived and gathered by his Predecessors during the best part of a Century.

TO conclude, if Princes would never encroach, Subjects would hardly ever rebel; and if the former knew that they would be resisted, they would not encroach. Every Subject knows that if he resist against Law, he will die by Law. It is certain mischief to both Prince and People, to assert slavish Doctrines, and no security to either; since nature oppressed will depart from passive principle. But to assert the reasonableness of vindicating violated Laws, is no more than asserting that Laws ought not to be violated, as they ever will be where there is no penalty annexed. The least attempt upon public Liberty is therefore alarming; if it is suffered once, it will be apt to be repeated often; a few repetitions create a habit; habit claims prescription and right. Such also is the nature of man, that

[t] Ut Respublica stare possit.

when

when public Affairs are once disconcerted, it is hard, sometimes impossible, to restore them to their first firmness; numbers become engaged in the corruption, and will be trying all their Arts and Power to support it. Where it grows extensive and general, the public Authority will probably espouse and defend it; and even where that authority is against it, the torrent may be so strong as to bear down Authority itself. How many great and good men have fallen themselves while they strove to restore the State? attempts to reform the Soldiery, to reform the Clergy, to reform the Civil Administration, have often drawn down a tragical doom upon the authors of them. It is much easier to prevent than to cure.

DISCOURSE VI.

Of the old Law of Treason by the Emperors perverted and extended.

Sect. I. *The antient Purpose of that Law; the Politics of* AUGUSTUS *in stretching it.*

I Proceed now to shew by what Arts and Supports the Tyranny was preserved and exerted; how the old Laws, especially that of Treason, were perverted, and to explain the *instrumenta regni.* "This Law, says TACITUS, in the days of our "Ancestors, had indeed the same Name, but im- "plied different arraignments and crimes, namely "those against the State; as when an army was "betrayed abroad, when seditions were raised at "home; in short, when the public was faithlesly

"administered, and the Majesty of the Roman "People was debased. These were Actions; and "Actions were punished, but Words were free. "AUGUSTUS was the first who brought Libels "under the penalties of this wrested Law[a]."

IN that sense of this Law (and doubtless it is the true sense) the Emperors were the criminals; they who had enslaved Senate and People, usurped and destroyed the State. But they had got the Power of interpreting Laws, or of directing those who did, and consequently were become the Law-makers. As Laws observed had defended Liberty; Laws wrested secured the Usurpers. Hence the old Law of Treason was degraded and perverted to involve in its penalties the Authors of Lampoons and Pasquinades. This Law of Majesty was so much and so long prostituted and abused; so much bloodshed and oppression was committed by the succeeding Emperors under its name, that at last every sentence and punishment, however just, which was pronounced by virtue of it, was thought unlawful and cruel; so that out of detestation to this abused Law, many other good Laws perished.

DOUBTLESS Reputation is a tender thing, and ought no more to be violated than property or life; and they who attack and blacken it, are as vile Offenders as they who rob and steal. But there was no better pretence for making it treasonable, than for construing any other offence against particulars, to be an offence against the public. In truth, AUGUSTUS could have no other view in this, than the suppressing of that Freedom of Speech which

[a] Legem Majestatis reduxerat (Tiberius); cui nomen apud veteres idem, sed alia in judicium veniebant: si quis proditione exercitum, aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta Repub. Majestatem populi Romani minuisset. Facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant. Primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis, specie legis ejus tractavit.

was

was an effect of the freedom of the antient Government, and inconsistent with his Usurpation. When words were made Treason, it was time to be wary of one's expressions; especially when the construction of them was merely arbitrary, and the Law that made them so, was utterly silent about them, there remained no sort of rule to know when they were otherwise; nor had he who was to be judge any rule but his own suspicion, anger and partiality. For every word, for every action, men were involved in process for Treason, provided there appeared but an informer to charge him, and call it so.

IT is to no purpose to say that AUGUSTUS sometimes overlooked or pardoned invectives against himself. It was all grimace and false generosity; since, after this Law was so terribly inverted, there was little likelihood that men would run such capital risques. If contumelies upon private persons were high Treason, what must it be to meddle with the Prince or his Administration? He took care of himself without seeming to do so; he found his own sanctuary in providing one for others; and regulations made for his own defence and gratification, had an appearance of a spirit altogether public and disinterested. But it was a downright insult upon the sense of mankind, to convert a petulant imagination and a few wanton words, into a crime against the State. He who exposed the gallantries of a Lady of Quality, or the faults and foibles of a Patrician, was, forsooth, deemed to bear hostile purposes against the Commonwealth: for this is the construction of Treason by the Lawyers. Yet AUGUSTUS himself had made obscene Libels, particularly upon FULVIA the wife of ANTHONY. This multiplying of Treasons from Words and Writings, had a melancholy aspect; for, besides that Treasons multiplied are the bulwarks and engines of Tyranny; looks at

last became treasonable, as did natural sympathy and sorrow, nay, sighs and silence.

AUGUSTUS was cunning enough to know the advantages of Treasons multiplied to his own domination, and wrested adultery also into a crime of State. His daughter and her daughter were prostitutes, and all their gallants, according to this merciful Monarch, were Traytors, and because these sort of Traytors were very numerous, as well as considerable for quality and credit, he had here a good pretence to get rid of many considerable Romans, who gave him uneasiness and jealousy. With death or banishment therefore he punished their gallants. For to a crime common between men and women, he gave the grievous name of Treason and Sacrilege, and trod upon the moderation of Antiquity. Nor was this sort of Treason limited to the Reigning House and the blood of the Cæsars; it was universal, and every Adulterer was a Traytor; by which he made himself the greatest Traytor in Rome, as he was the most universal Adulterer; nor were his own severe Laws any check upon him, no more than the sacred ties of friendship; for he spared not the wife of his own Favourite, and faithful Counsellor MÆCENAS. This was not extreme prudence in so great a Politician, to be daily violating institutions of his own making, especially when by the rigour of the penalties, and the formidable name which he had given to the crime, he had shewn how important and unpardonable he thought it; unless, like the Princes of Italy in MACHIAVEL's time, he broke penal Laws, to encourage others to do so, on purpose to ensnare delinquents, and gain confiscations.

Sect.

Sect. II. *The Deification of the Emperors, what an engine of Tyranny, and snare to the Roman People.*

THE Deification of AUGUSTUS and his usurping even in his life-time the Attributes and Prerogatives of a Deity, was another snare for Power and Crimes. Henceforth every offence offered to this new Deity was high Treason against the Gods; for he was a God as well as the best of them, and indeed more to be dreaded than all of them. It became a high crime to swear falsly by his name, the same as if the name of Jupiter had been falsified; nay, to sell his Statue in the sale of a house or gardens; and the citizens of Cyzicus, notwithstanding their faithful adherence and strenuous services to the Romans in the Mithridatic War, were bereft of their freedom for neglecting the worship of the deified AUGUSTUS. The name of APIDIUS MERULA was razed from the list of Senators, because he had not sworn upon the Acts of the deified AUGUSTUS. One of the articles charged against C. SILANUS, Proconsul of Asia, was, that he violated the Deity of AUGUSTUS. VARILIA, in the opinion of TIBERIUS, deserved to be condemned, if she had uttered aught irreligiously concerning the deified AUGUSTUS; for this was Treason and Blasphemy. Such was the awe and reverence paid to this fresh Deity; and such care had he taken to tie up the tongues of men from censuring him living or dead; he was *instar omnium deorum*; you might say what you would of other Gods, but beware of injuring a deified Emperor. He had done more mischief, committed higher oppressions, spilt more human blood than all the men in the world, and was made a Deity!

NOR was it out of any principle of Superstition, that TIBERIUS guarded the fame and Godhead of AUGUSTUS with such severe sanctions; for he little mattered the Gods and godly Rites, being himself a Fatalist, and only infatuated with notions of Astrology. Neither was it from any regard to AUGUSTUS (who was suspected to have been poisoned to make way for him) and whose Blood and Posterity he was daily destroying; a proceeding inconsistent with the adorations and sacrifices which he affected to offer him, as AGRIPPINA truly told him. But he did it to promote Superstition in others, and rivet the public Slavery; since in religious devotion paid to a Prince, civil submission was included and enforced. It in truth imported him nearly to have all the Laws and doings of AUGUSTUS pass for sacred, and to set an example himself that he thought them so. AUGUSTUS had left him (as he pretended) his Successor, and it behoved him that AUGUSTUS should pass for a Prince of consummate wisdom; for had he erred in other great counsels and events, he might have erred in that; besides, AUGUSTUS was a popular Prince, and it would have been unpopular to have neglected him, or rescinded his deeds.

NERO too acquired the Sovereignty by the murder of CLAUDIUS, and, to keep it, murdered his Children and Kindred; yet he at first treated his memory with high regard, vindicated the Reign, and even extolled the parts and prudence of this deified fool; for CLAUDIUS too was listed amongst the Gods; he who had been the most stupid, cowardly, and bloody Idiot that could possibly wear and disgrace a Diadem. This strange animal or human monster, just begun by nature, but never finished, as his mother used to say, was utterly unfit for any Office in the Empire or private life, yet came to be an Emperor and a God. So that to

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bear ſovereign rule, or to be exalted to a God, no qualification at all was neceſſary. His grandmother LIVIA contemned him even to loathing; ſhe could not bear to ſpeak to him. His nephew CALIGULA, when he had butchered many of his kindred, ſaved CLAUDIUS purely to keep him for a laughing-ſtock. He was held in the ſame ſcorn by his ſiſter LIVILLA, by AUGUSTUS and all his family. He was the jeſt of the Court [b]. The kindeſt word AUGUSTUS gave him was that of *miſellus*, wretchling.

Sect. III. *The Images of the Emperors, how ſacred they became, and how pernicious.*

AS flattery begot ſervitude, ſo it was by ſervitude propagated, and whatever tended to ſink and debaſe the ſpirit of the people, as ſycophancy did, exalted the Tyrants; nay, their Images and Statues became ſacred and revered; and any villain or profligate might offer what outrage he pleaſed to every worthy man, every ſlave inſult his Lord, every criminal eſcape juſtice, by ſheltering himſelf under the Emperor's Statue, or by carrying his Effigies about him. Nor could ſo conſiderable a man as a Senator of Rome, even in the face of the Tribunal, and in the very portal of the Senate, eſcape the inſults and menaces of a profligate woman, who thus defended herſelf with the Image of TIBERIUS, though he had legally convicted her of forgery; ſo far was he from daring to bring her to judgment. So that in this impious reverence to a ſilent Stone, all Law, and puniſhment, and protection was ſwallowed up. This gives probability to what PHILOSTRATUS tells us in the life of APOLLONIUS TYANEUS, that a maſter was

[b] Tum Claudius inter ludibria aulæ erat.

condemned, as one sacrilegious and accursed, for having chastized a slave, who happened to have about him a small coin impressed with the Effigies of TIBERIUS. So vastly had servitude grown upon the Romans so early as the Reign of TIBERIUS, and in the best part of his Reign, even while he yet kept tolerable measures with Law and Liberty, and warily avoided all excesses of power and cruelty. Yet in his second year, GRANIUS MARCELLUS being arraigned of high Treason, it was one of the Articles, that the Statue of MARCELLUS stood higher than that of the Cæsars, and from that of AUGUSTUS the head had been taken off, and the head of TIBERIUS put on. At the recital of this TIBERIUS waxed into such a flame and fury, that, departing from his wonted caution and silence, he cried aloud, he would vote in this cause himself under the tie of an oath. He was excellently answered by CNEIUS PISO, who asked him; "In what place, CÆSAR, will you chuse "to vote? if first, I shall have your example to "follow; if last, I fear, through ignorance, I may "happen to differ from you." Hence the reflection of TACITUS, that there even then remained some faint traces of expiring Liberty [c].

IT is not strange, however hideous, to find afterwards these Statues, these dead representatives of the dead, invested with such extravagant and inviolable sanctity, that it was death without redemption for a master to chastize his slave near the picture or image of AUGUSTUS; death, to change one's garments there; death, to carry a coin or a ring with his Image into the Privy or into the Stews; death, to drop a word that seemed to censure any action or any saying of his; and death was the portion of that unhappy man, who suffered some pub-

[c] Manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis.

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lic honour to be decreed him by his Colony, on the Anniversary of the same day, when AUGUSTUS had once public honours decreed to him.

THE execrable CALIGULA, who was a professed foe to the human race, a monster gorged with blood, and dyed in it, assumed Godhead as well as the rest, and claimed all the apparatus of Divinity, a Temple and Altars, Worship and choice Sacrifices. It is incredible what dreadful punishments he inflicted upon many even of principal fashion, for no other crime, than that they had never invoked his celestial Genius by an Oath. This was capital, it was Majesty violated; and for it the offenders, after they had been first torn and mangled with stripes, were doomed to the mines, or to the drudgery of mending the public roads, or to be thrown to wild beasts; and some were sawed asunder. A bloody Deity! Had he been omnipotent, the race of men must have been extinct. All his own murders, all the efforts of his malice and rage, were not able to accomplish it, and he wished to derive the Glory of his Reign from some signal Calamities happening in it; as if the monster himself had not been curse and calamity enough! He envied AUGUSTUS the happiness of an Army massacred, and TIBERIUS the sad disaster at Fidenæ, where fifty thousand souls were maimed, or perished outright by the fall of the Amphitheatre there. Hence he longed passionately for the blessing of some public Calamities great and dreadful, the Slaughter of great Armies, Famine, Pestilence, Conflagrations and Earthquakes. The acclamations of the crowd in the Theatre differing from his, he uttered a Godlike wish, "That the whole Roman "People had but one common neck; for then one "execution would have dispatched them all." To complete the Character of this benevolent Deity, he boasted,

boasted, that of all his great Qualities, none delighted him so much as his defiance of all shame[d].

THESE celestial Titles and Worship divine, were sometimes bestowed upon the wives of the Emperors, their sisters, harlots, and infants. CALIGULA was wont to swear by the Divinity of DRUSILLA his sister and concubine. CLAUDIUS had divine Honours decreed to LIVIA his grandmother. NERO's daughter by POPPÆA was deified; Worship, Priest, and Chapel were assigned her; and it was one of the crimes imputed to THRASEA PÆTUS, that he did not believe POPPÆA herself to be a Divinity. Nay, it would seem as if NERO's Voice had been created a Divinity, since I think, it was Treason never to have sacrificed to it; a crime imputed to the same THRASEA. DOMITIAN likewise adjudged himself a God, and proved much such another as CALIGULA.

Sect. IV. *What a destructive Calamity the Law of Majesty grew, and how fast Treasons multiplied under its Name.*

I Have said so much of this humour of deifying Princes living or dead, not so much to expose it, as to shew the wicked effects it had upon Liberty and the State. It opened a new Source of flattery, and accusations, and punishments, and strengthened the hand of Tyranny; of this I have given sufficient instances, and many more might be given, all manifestly proving with what impudence and cruelty the Law of Majesty was stretched and embittered. In this Law all Laws were swallowed up, and therefore all crimes brought under the article of Treason,

[d] Nihil majus in natura sua laudare se ac probare quam ἀδιαστροφίαν.

as

as Treason was the highest crime [c], as in the case of C. SILIUS, whose chief offence was overmuch service done to TIBERIUS; thence that refined observation of TACITUS; "That benefits are "only so far acceptable, as it seems possible to dis-"charge them; but when once they have exceeded "all retaliation, hatred is returned for gratitude." Under TIBERIUS, says SUETONIUS, every fault passed for Capital, even that of Words, however few and undesigning. When C. SILANUS was arraigned for male-administration in Asia, TACITUS says, that besides all the other methods of artifice and violence, manifold and barbarous, used to destroy him; that none of his relations might dare to aid him and plead for him in his trial, articles of Treason were subjoined, a sure bar to all assistance, and a seal upon their lips. One of the great charges against LIBO DRUSUS was, that he asked the fortune-tellers, whether he should not one day be immensely rich. This too was the sin of Majesty violated, and for it he was pursued to death and his estate seized. Note, that these were two men of high quality, akin to the Cæsars, and obnoxious to TIBERIUS. This seems to have been their real crime. CESIUS CORDUS was accused of Rapine in his Government of Crete; but to make sure of the criminal, he was likewise charged with the crime of violated Majesty; a charge, says TACITUS, which in those days proved the sum and bulwark of all accusations whatsoever.

IT was Treason in CREMUTIUS CORDUS to have inserted in his History the praises of BRUTUS; Treason, to have stiled CASSIUS the last of the Romans, though in doing it he only quoted the words of BRUTUS; Treason in TITIUS SABI-

[c] Cuncta quæstione majestatis exercita.

NUS to have been a follower of GERMANICUS, and after his death, a faithful friend to his wife and children; Treason in POMPEIA MACRINA, Treason in her Father and Brother, the former an illustrious Roman Knight, the latter once Prætor, to have been descended from THEOPHANES of Mitylene, a noble Greek, in great confidence with POMPEY the Great; Treason in L. ENNIUS a Roman Knight, to have turned the Effigies of the Emperor into money; Treason in LUTORIUS PRISCUS, another Roman Knight, to have composed during the illness of DRUSUS, a Poem for an Elegy, in case he died; Treason in MAMERCUS SCAURUS, an illustrious Orator nobly born, that in a Tragedy by him composed, there were certain Verses capable of two meanings; Treason in TORQUATUS SILANUS, a Nobleman of the first rank in Rome, to live splendidly, and entertain several principal servants; another SILANUS his Nephew died soon after for the very same sort of Treason. In another Nobleman it was Treason, to have preserved the Image of CASSIUS amongst those of his Ancestors; Treason in the two brothers sirnamed PETRÆ, both illustrious Roman Knights, to have dreamed something about CLAUDIUS; Treason in APPIUS SILANUS, that MESSALINA the Empress, and NARCISSUS the freedman, had forged a dream concerning him; and, to add no more, it was Treason, it was Majesty violated, for a poor distressed Lady to have bewailed the blood of her son, spilt to satiate an implacable Tyrant incensed by his gay raillery. This was FUSIUS GEMINUS lately Consul; and his ancient mother was murdered for bewailing the murder of her child [f].

[f] Fœminæ ob lacrymas incusabantur; necataque est Vitia Fusii Gemini mater, quod filii necem flevisset.

DIS-

DISCOURSE VII.

Of the Accusations, and Accusers under the Emperors.

Sect. IV. *The pestilent Employment of these Men, their Treachery and Encouragement.*

FROM Law thus perverted there arose encouragement more than enough for Informers and Accusers, and a plentiful harvest: a sort of men, says TACITUS, born for the destruction of mankind, and by no terrors or penalties ever sufficiently restrained; yet by the Emperor such sons of perdition were sought out and invited by great rewards. TIBERIUS had the front to tell the Senate, that these insects, enemies to Law and Liberty, were the Guardians and Defenders of the Laws. They were his Defenders, if he pleased; the Champions of Imperial Violence and Lust; but the Pests of the Public; dogs of Prey thirsting after the blood and fortunes of every worthy and every wealthy man. That Prince who does not punish Informers, encourages them, said DOMITIAN; but this he said in the beginning of his Reign while he yet retained the appearances of benevolence and humanity; afterwards when the disguise was taken off, and he followed the bent of his brutal nature, it was enough to ruin any man, if he were but charged to have done some deed, or spoke some word, no matter what, against the Majesty of the Prince. Men were then capitally arraigned, and the estates were seized of both the living and the dead, for any fault whatsoever,

ſoever, upon the credit of any Accuſer whatſoever; and inheritances, to which he could have no poſſible title or pretence upon earth, were uſurped by him, if there was but one Perſon, one Informer, who could ſay, that he heard the deceaſed declare CÆSAR to be his heir. The ſame pretence ſerved CALIGULA; nay, when people had out of fear named him amongſt their heirs, he wondered at their impudence to keep him out of his ſhare by living afterwards, and for that offence poiſoned many ſuch. In ſhort the chief and moſt frequent incidents in the Reigns of almoſt all the Cæſars, were but the bloody efforts and ſucceſs of the Accuſers; and the groundwork and ſupport of all accuſations, was the perverted Law of violated Majeſty, which came to ſignify every thing which the Accuſers averred and the Emperors diſliked.

In the beginning of TIBERIUS's Reign, L. PISO, one of the boldeſt men then ſurviving, owned himſelf ſo much intimidated by the mercileſs purſuits of the Impleaders, who breathed nothing but terror and accuſations, that he threatned in open Senate to relinquiſh Rome and retire into ſome diſtant corner of the earth. He had reaſon for his complaint and fears, he was afterwards marked out as a victim and prey by one of the tribe, and arraigned for certain words ſecretly dropped againſt the Majeſty of the Prince. Theſe accuſations were no other or better than the cruel Proſcription continued; by the latter, Senators and Knights, Patriots obnoxious to the Uſurpers, were butchered in the lump; afterwards, under the proceſs of the Accuſers, they periſhed piece-meal, but were inceſſantly periſhing [a], often a great many at a time. Every Law

[a] Quem diem vacuum pœna ubi inter ſacra & vota, vincla & laqueus inducantur.

of

of the old free State, and every man who loved his Country and her Laws, were repugnant to the reigning Tyranny; hence as the Republic was swallowed up in the Sovereignty of the Cæsars, all her laws were made to center in that of Majesty, and all men who adhered or were suspected to adhere to the ancient Constitution, were either destroyed by this new Law (rather an old Law turned into a new snare) or at the mercy of its Guardians and Accusers. And all this new violence was committed under old names and constitutions [b]; so that the Commonwealth was made to cut her own throat; just as cruel and ambitious men justify Persecution and Oppression by the authority of the Gospel, which abhors it. The Church of Rome calls every thing that displeases her, Heresy and Blasphemy; this is the *Lex Majestatis* of some Churchmen, and by cruelties committed under that name they have more than vied with the NERO's and DOMITIAN's. Thus, after a solemn murder committed by the Senate, to gratify TIBERIUS, he sent them a Letter of thanks, for punishing a person who was an enemy to the Commonwealth; as if the Republic had been then subsisting and vindicating her own wrongs.

THE Accusers were the agents and tools of Tyranny, and by the Tyrants upheld and animated with open countenance and high rewards; their business was to hunt down and destroy every man signal for blood, or wealth, or dignity, or virtue; because all such men were obnoxious to imperial Jealousy and Displeasure. Had a noble Roman sustained public Offices? he was a dangerous man; had another refused to bear them? he was equally dangerous; and for public Offices either exercised or declined, he was sure to be attacked as a criminal of State;

[b] Proprium id Tiberio fuit, scelera nuper reperta priscis verbis obtegere.

and

and if he were conſpicuous for any notable ability or virtue, his doom was inevitable [c]. VALERIUS ASIATICUS periſhed becauſe he had delightful Gardens, which tempted the avidity of MESSALINA; as did STATILIUS TAURUS, for the ſame reaſon, by the avarice and ſubornation of AGRIPPINA; ſo did SEXTUS MARIUS for his immenſe Wealth and gold Mines, under TIBERIUS. This gives one an idea of the terrible ſpirit of the Emperors as well as of the Accuſers; how much the former feared and hated, and how faſt they deſtroyed every thing that was noble, good, or amiable amongſt men; and what a peſtilent employment was that of an Accuſer! Was it any wonder that to carry on ſo deteſtable a trade, they were to be tempted with lucrative earnings? In truth, their recompences were ſo public and ample, that they were deteſted not more for their Iniquities than for the Wages of their Iniquities.

THESE Peſts of Rome were, for being ſo, frequently raiſed to the higheſt Offices in the Roman State; and that Imperial City, the Miſtreſs of the Earth, ſaw her public Dignities, thoſe of the Pontificate, and of the Conſulſhip, beſtowed as ſpoils upon Parricides for ſpilling her beſt blood, and tearing her vitals. With the Prince their credit was high, as their merit was infamous; ſome were preferred to be Governors of the Provinces, others taken to be his chief Confidents and Counſellors in the Palace. And thus, veſted with credit and ſway, exerting all their terrors, and purſuing their hate, they controuled and confounded all things [d]. After the tragical Death of LIBO DRUSUS, procured by execrable Artifices, Falſhoods, Horrors and wreſted Laws,

[c] Nobilitas, opes, omiſſi geſtique honores, pro crimine; & ob virtutes certiſſimum exitium.

[d] Agerent, verterent cuncta, odio & terrore.

all

all the ſubſtance of that noble Patrician was divided amongſt his Accuſers; and ſuch of them as were Senators were created Prætors, even without the regular method of election. The four Senators who enſnared TITIUS SABINUS, by trapanning, lurking, feigned friendſhip, and by a ſeries of treachery the moſt infamous and cruel that could be practiſed amongſt men, and afterwards accuſed him, engaged in all this meritorious villainy purely to gain the Conſulſhip, to which there was no poſſible acceſs but through SEJANUS, nor without villainy was the favour of SEJANUS to be ſought or purchaſed.

BUT beſides rewarding of the Accuſers out of the fortune of the Accuſed, (for where they had not all, they ſtill went ſhares with his children) they had frequently exceſſive ſums out of the public Treaſury; CAPITO COSSUTIANUS had near a hundred and thirty thouſand Crowns, for accuſing THRASEA PETUS; EPRIUS MARCELLUS had as much, for the ſame good ſervice; for NERO, after he had long wallowed in the blood of eminent men, and butchered them without number, was in hopes by the murder of THRASEA and SORANUS, to extirpate Virtue, name and eſſence, from the face of the earth. OSTORIUS SABINUS, the Accuſer of SORANUS, had indeed a leſs reward in money, that of thirty thouſand Crowns; but the reward was enhanced by the ornaments of the Quæſtorſhip preſented with it. "Theſe Incendiaries "were animated, and ſuch crying calamities to the "public were excited by the Minions of the Court, "who, as it were, ſounded the Trumpet to Arraign-"ments and Confiſcations; on purpoſe, that out of "the fortunes of the condemned they might raiſe or "increaſe their own;" ſays AM. MARCELLINUS. AQUILIUS REGULUS, an upſtart and a miſchievous Accuſer under NERO, was diſtinguiſhed with two Conſulſhips, and the dignity of Pontiff;

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and had premiums in money to the value of more than two hundred thousand Crowns; as if he had been burying the Commonwealth, and for this merit had afterwards gathered her spoils, says TACITUS.

Sect. II. *The traiterous Methods taken to circumvent and convict Innocence. The spirit of accusing how common, the dread of it how universal; and the misery of the Times.*

AS upon these bloody occasions, it was necessary to find or feign some crime; so any crime served the turn, as I have largely shewn; witnesses also must be had; but any witnesses were good witnesses; and where they did not offer themselves, they were bought with money, or frightened with the torture. Slaves were suborned against the life of their Lords; clients and freedmen against their Patrons; and he who had no enemy, was betrayed and undone by his friends[e]. Now, because, by the old Roman laws, slaves could not be witnesses against their masters, the crafty TIBERIUS found a trick to evade that law without seeming to violate it; he contrived to have the slaves upon such occasion sold; and then they might be evidence against their late Lord. This perfidious subtilty was begun by AUGUSTUS, as is largely shewn by DION CASSIUS. Nay, when a man had no other to accuse him, he was accused by his own son. Dreadful times! even, all rewards and incitements apart, fear for themselves made men treacherous to others; falshood and cruelty reigned uncontrouled. If you would please the Prince, you must gratify his bloody spirit; to do that, you must offer victims and exercise the trade

[e] Corrupti in dominos servi, in patronos liberti, & quibus deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressi.

of

of accuſing; if you were ill with him, no man, no innocence could protect you; and to be well with him, you muſt make all other men deteſt you. To make your own fortune you muſt ruin that of others, and ſhed blood to get money.

To this vile employment men of the higheſt Quality deſcended, and thoſe of the firſt note for Eloquence and Civil Accompliſhments; ſuch was COTTA MESSALINUS, a man nobly born, but the foremoſt in every ſanguinary motion; ſuch was PUBLIUS DOLABELLA, who ſprung from Anceſtors the moſt illuſtrious, yet debaſed his Nobility, and engaged in the occupation of an Accuſer, even againſt thoſe of his own blood. When men of ſuch Quality ſet ſuch example, what wonder if numbers followed it? Many purſued it for money; others becauſe they would not become obnoxious by appearing ſlack. The queſtion was not about right or wrong, Law or Magiſtracy; but how to pleaſe and humour, to ſatiate the Emperor, and to eſcape his ſuſpicion and fury. It was the plea of the Accuſers afterward, when they were brought to anſwer for their crimes, that they were obliged by the Emperors, or their wives, to undertake and proſecute accuſations: this SUILIUS pleaded, and urged the imperious orders of MESSALINA. Nay, men of figure were ſometimes called upon by the Emperor in perſon to undertake Accuſations. This, ſays TACITUS, was one of the moſt baneful and deadly evils of thoſe times, that the firſt Lords of the Senate degraded themſelves to the office of the vileſt Informers; ſome impudently in the face of the ſun; others in the dark ways of treachery; no diſtinction of kindred from ſtrangers, of friends from ſuch as were unknown; none between things lately tranſacted, and ſuch as were covered by a courſe of years in oblivion; for words ſpoken in the Forum, ſpoken at an entertainment, and about what ſubject ſoever

ſpoken, the ſpeaker was accuſed; every one haſtening to be foremoſt in the accuſation, and to prevent his fellows; ſome for their own ſafety, many, as it were, ſtruck with the contagion, and ſmitten with the diſeaſe of accuſing.

THIS univerſal treachery begot apprehenſion in all men equally univerſal. When villainy was thus rewarded, or thus neceſſary, and thus every-where practiſed by high and low, every man was fearful of finding every man a villain. Hence the mournful anguiſh and terror which ſeized the City; people were afraid to converſe, nay, afraid to meet; they diſtruſted all alike, their acquaintance as well as the unknown; even things mute and inanimate were dreaded; and roofs and walls created terror and circumſpection; nay, they were apprehenſive that guilt might be found in theſe their apprehenſions, and thence came to dread this very thing, that they had ſhewn dread[f].

Sect. III. *Plots feigned or true, an ample field for Accuſations and Cruelty; and upon what miſerable Evidence Executions were decreed.*

BUT the beſt market for Accuſations, and the beſt opportunity for the Emperor to exert Tyranny, and conſume men, was the detection of any Conſpiracy forged or real. How prodigious and mercileſs was the ſlaughter committed by CONSTANTIUS after the death of MAGNENTIUS, and by his bloody inſtrument PAULUS, ſirnamed *Catena* from his dexterity in calumny and accuſations! Thus too, upon the detection of the deſigns of SEJANUS againſt TIBERIUS, who at one time, for a courſe of years, had deſtroyed every man that

[f] Id ipſum paventes, quod timuiſſent.

was

was obnoxious to this execrable Favourite of his, and afterwards deſtroyed every man who had been well with his Favourite; thus when thoſe of PISO againſt NERO came to be diſcovered, the whole buſineſs of the State was that of accuſing, impriſoning and executing. Rome was dyed, deformed, and filled with blood, and death, and funerals; and as many as were hated, or diſliked, or worth deſtroying upon any account, were ſure to have been Conſpirators, and to be doomed to the pains annexed to Conſpiracy. TIBERIUS cauſed a general ſlaughter to be made of all that were in priſon, under accuſation of intelligence with SEJANUS. Any thing upon earth, the lighteſt, the moſt fortuitous and fooliſh thing, ſerved for proof of ſuch intelligence. POMPONIUS SECUNDUS was arraigned of Treaſon, for that there were ſome ſigns (but not ſhewn by him neither) of friendſhip between him and AETIUS GALLUS, who was a friend to SEJANUS, who was a Traytor. GALLUS, upon the execution of SEJANUS, had retired into the Gardens of POMPONIUS: this was all; yet this was the doughty argument uſed by his Accuſer, for proving this worthy and accompliſhed man a Traytor, one who had violated Majeſty. Yet his Accuſer CONSIDIUS was a man conſiderable enough to have been Prætor: it was thus, I ſuppoſe, he ſhewed how well he deſerved Imperial Favour, and one of the higheſt Dignities in the State.

THE Emperor CONSTANTIUS was as cruel and as credulous: with him it was death to be accuſed, and every Accuſation, however doubtful, or falſe, or even whiſpered, was convincing proof of guilt; nay, the leaſt rumour, however groundleſs, the ſmalleſt hint, however ſpiteful, created Treaſon and death without redemption; and by no better proof men of the firſt quality and merit were doomed to confiſcation, or baniſhment, or execution. The

bare saying that such a one was in the Conspiracy, or a friend to the Conspirators, was conviction in abundance for taking away Estates and Lives. NERO, whose chief and only purpose was to afflict and destroy, created guilt wheresoever he found distaste. His own hatred or fear was crime enough, and reason sufficient to destroy the object. Some were sacrificed without being once accused, or named; some punished ere they knew they were accused; and the least defamation was full conviction. Nothing was more common than to charge any great man, doomed beforehand to destruction, with designs against the State. This was the charge upon LIBO DRUSUS. All the guilt that could be proved upon him, though to prove it, and indeed to create it, the most villainous arts were used, was, that he had consulted the Fortune-tellers, and dealt in Charms. This was conspiring against the State, it was Treason; and because the Romans were much addicted to such sort of Superstition, this became a very convenient Treason, and very fertile; yet TIBERIUS himself was, as much as any, addicted to Astrology. In the accusations particularly against great Ladies, who for blood, or wealth, or beauty, merited Imperial Wrath, it was a constant article, that they had dealt with the Chaldeans, or practised the rites of Magic: and for this many great Ladies were doomed to death [g].

[g] Ob hæc mors indicta.

Sect.

Sect. IV. *What ridiculous Causes produced capital Guilt. The spirit of the Emperor* CONSTANTIUS; *with somewhat of his Father* CONSTANTINE.

THIS humour of consulting the Astrologers, still encreasing with Superstition and Tyranny, administered an inexhaustible fund of crimes and accusations: the noise of a Mouse in a wall, or the sight of a Weasel, became matters of omen and consultation, and consequently matters of Treason and Blood: so did the use of an old Woman's Charm for aches: so did the counting the Vowels upon one's Fingers, as a remedy against the Colic: so did the wearing of an Amulet for an Ague: so did the casual dropping of any Word or Joke, that bore any analogy to the Empire, or the Emperor's name, or to any matter of State and Power: so did the frequenting of Sepulchres, and carrying away the bones or habiliments of the dead: so did any Dream dreamt about any such subject, or construed to be so dreamed.

Under CONSTANTIUS there was one MERCURIUS, a Persian, who was a favourite of the Emperor, and a spy for Dreams; insomuch that he had the title of *Somniorum comes*. This blessed instrument, a fellow of a malicious spirit, and fawning behaviour, used to creep into all companies and banquets, to fish out Dreams from particulars; and whatever he there learned of this kind, after he had, with all his invention, dressed it up in ugly and formidable colours, he carried instantly to the Emperor, whose ears were ever open wide to such mischievous infusions; and this Dreaming, thus represented, was a crime to be expiated only by the blood of the Criminal, I should say, Dreamer, and so a terrible process was formed. This terror spread so much,

that people, far from telling their Dreams, durſt ſcarce own that they ſlept: nay, it was lamented by ſome, that they had not been born upon Mount Atlas, where, according to tradition, people never dream.

To complain too of the badneſs of the times, was high Treaſon; for this was arraigning the Government, and puniſhed capitally. But Death itſelf, however unjuſt, was not always the moſt formidable woe. The accuſed were often not allowed the benefit of Death, till they were firſt barbarouſly racked and mangled by torture; and to gratify the inhuman Vengeance of the Prince, their Agonies were continued as long as life could continue under them[h]. This is teſtified by AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS of CONSTANTIUS the ſecond Chriſtian Emperor, more cruel than NERO and CALIGULA; a conſideration which confirms what I have ſaid before, that where the Government is bad, even the beſt Religion can do little good. CONSTANTIUS was a Chriſtian, and even zealous in Church Matters, and Religious Diſputes, and by foſtering them did miſerably afflict Chriſtianity and the Empire. But he was ſo far from being improved or bettered by this zeal, that the moſt cruel Tyrants that went before him, ſuch monſters as CALIGULA, DOMITIAN, and COMMODUS, were but babes to him in cruelty[i].

I wiſh much better things could be boaſted of his Father, the firſt Emperor who embraced Chriſtianity, and ſtiled CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. All the Princes, even the perſecuting Princes who went before him, hurt not Religion ſo much as he did;

[h] Mortemque longius in puniendis quibuſdam, ſi natura permitteret, conabatur extendi.

[i] Caligulæ, & Domitiani, & Commodi immanitatem facile ſuperabta, *ſays the ſame* Ammianus.

by

by blending it unnaturally with Politics and Power, by laying the foundations of a ſpiritual Tyranny, and enabling the Biſhop of Rome, and other great Prelates, to exert the domineering ſpirit, which before they had but ill concealed; a ſpirit which has almoſt extinguiſhed that of the Goſpel. In his Civil Adminiſtration, he was rapacious, profuſe, and oppreſſive; and in his Family barbarous and ſanguinary; however his partial and flattering Hiſtorian, EUSEBIUS, has extolled him, and concealed the iniquities of his Reign. But, in barbarity, and the exceſſes of Power, his ſon and Succeſſor CONSTANTIUS exceeded him. What juſt reaſon had AMMIANUS to ſay, that under the lying pretence of guarding Imperial Majeſty, numerous and horrible were the butcheries then committed[k]!

Sect. V. *The black and general carnage made under* CONSTANTIUS, *by his bloody Miniſter* PAULUS CATENA, *for certain Acts of Superſtition and Curioſity.*

CONSTANTIUS ſurrendered at one time a great part of the Roman World to the merciless hands of Accuſers, Torturers and Executioners; and certain cauſes, in themſelves frivolous and contemptible, but magnified with the ſwelling imputation of Majeſty violated, produced all the uproar and calamity attending a great Civil War. The trumpets ſounded to try and ſlay[l].

AN Egyptian Deity, named *Beſa*, was noted for uttering Oracles, and telling fortunes, and thence

[k] Per ſimulationem tuendæ Majeſtatis imperatoriæ multa & nefanda perpetrabantur.

[l] Ad vicem bellorum civilium inflabant litui quædam colorata læſæ Majeſtatis crimina——materiam autem in infinitum quæſtionibus extendendis dedit occaſio vilis & parva.

much

much frequented, adored and consulted by all the Countries round about. As many consulted him in person, others did it in writing: this occasioned, that several of the billets thus sent, continued in the Temple after the answer was returned. Some of these were maliciously transmitted to the Emperor, a Prince of a poor spirit, suspicious, and bitter. He now waxed fierce and wrathful, and instantly dispatched his execrable instrument, PAULUS CATENA, into the East, armed with Powers equal to those given to some famous Captain for carrying on a mighty war. PAULUS was authorized to hear and determine discretionally, and proceeded to his charge, breathing nothing but rage, and bloody zeal. Universal accusation and calumny being thus licensed and encouraged, numbers of all degrees were dragged from far and near, as it were, out of the several quarters of the world, to this barbarous Tribunal, and exposed to the mercy of a butcher, who only pursued blood and prey. Some came with their joints excoriated with fetters, others crushed and spent in carts made for carrying criminals; no distinction made between the noble and vulgar. The process was long and tragical; in short, confiscations, exiles, tortures worse than death, death under tedious torments, and every evil painful or destructive to human nature, was there exerted and suffered. As for PAULUS, the lives, and fortunes, and fate of multitudes depended upon his nod, a man skilled in the Arts of cruelty, aad openly professing them; a savage who made a market of the rack and the wheel; one, fed, as it were, with human carcasses mangled, and enriched by butchery and rapine; a fellow who avowed the trade of accusing and killing, and studied to ensnare and devour innocence, lives, and property. This was the man in high favour and trust under the pious CONSTANTIUS. It will be a relief to the Reader to know that this monster,

ſter, bloated with blood and crimes, was burnt alive under JULIAN, a Prince of very different parts and ſpirit.

Sect. VI. *The Ravages of the Accuſers continued; their Credit with the Emperors; yet generally meet their Fate. The Falſehood of theſe Princes. The melancholy State of thoſe Times.*

THE Reigns of theſe following Princes, CONSTANTIUS, CONSTANS, GALLUS, VALENTINIAN, VALENS, were ſpent in a continual war upon their people, under colour of their Majeſties being violated.

CRYING and tragical were the ravages committed at Rome by that bloody man MAXIMINUS, where, under pretence of Majeſty violated, poiſonings, and acts of lewdneſs, ſome few real, more imputed, were uſed as a ſtale for killing, torturing, and deſtroying. Every man, or woman, that was obnoxious to him or the Accuſers, was put to death; and to private malice or rapaciouſneſs a ſea of Roman blood was ſpilt. I think it was this MAXIMINUS, who perſuaded certain perſons accuſed to confeſs and diſcover others, and in that caſe promiſed they ſhould undergo no puniſhment either by ſword or fire. They did ſo, truſting to his faith, and confeſſed crimes never committed; he then, for a ſalvo, doomed them to die under leaden hammers. He was executed himſelf under GRATIAN.

AGAINST the defence of innocence accuſed, againſt the moſt evident truth and juſtice, and all honeſt information, the ears of the Emperor were eternally ſhut; but calumny whiſpered by any malignant, had equal weight with real crimes proved by authentic witneſſes; ſays AMMIANUS. Falſe-

hood

hood and flattery, envy and rapaciousness passed for evidence; justice was converted into cruelty, and judgment into rage; the Tribunals erected for justice, and preservation of life and property, were become shambles, and what had the names of pains and penalties, was in truth robbery and assassination.

As there was never any lack of Accusers, there was none of Criminals; and the accused, the more they were destroyed, the faster they multiplied; like witches in former days, daily executed, and daily increasing. They were the food and revenue of the Accusers, who while they could speak and lie, could never want occupation or wages, as long as there were Tyrants and men. MARCELLUS was charged with having uttered disaffected words concerning TIBERIUS, and the Accuser collecting every thing which was detestable in the manners of that Prince, alledged the same as the imputations of the accused. A large field for accusations, and well cultivated by the Accusers! you could say nothing of these Emperors that was true, but what was Treason; such bloody monsters were they all! and the worst you could have said being actually true, you were easily believed to have actually said it. What a blessed lot it must have been to have lived in those Reigns, under monsters unchained, and rogues let loose; when virtue and property were proscribed, villains caressed and guarded!

THE persons of Accusers came to be considered as sacred and inviolable; the more they were detested by the public, the more they were protected by the Emperor; and in proportion as they merited death and ignominy, had countenance and preferment. Their vilest forgeries, convicted and owned, against the lives and fortunes of the greatest men, drew down no doom or penalty upon them. The crimes charged upon FONTEIUS, late Proconsul of Asia, by SERENUS, were proved to have been

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by him forged; yet he escaped punishment. Nay, the more the man was abhorred by all men, the more TIBERIUS considered and protected him. This SERENUS was a villain of exalted merit; he had falsly accused his own father of Treason, an old man, and already in exile: but TIBERIUS owed him a spite, and the son studied to oblige TIBERIUS, who had been offended with the elder SERENUS for once upbraiding him with some wicked service unrewarded; nor had an interval of eight years pacified the Prince. Yet it generally so happened, that their reign was but temporary; first or last most of them found the genuine wages of their fraud and iniquity, and suffered the same doom which they had made others suffer; a doom much more bitter, as it was just, accompanied also with universal hatred of their persons, and with a guilty and upbraiding conscience. This was the fate of SUILIUS, CASSIUS SEVERUS, and others.

NOW as it was the custom, to find high Treason in harmless words, impertinent vanities, and even in ridiculous follies, deserving rather pity than punishment, such as were those charged upon LIBO; so it was the purpose and policy of the Emperor never to prevent any guilt of this kind: on the contrary, he was glad of guilt, and when he knew it was begun, let it run on, till it was ripe, and evidence and Accusers were ready. TIBERIUS knew that LIBO dealt with the Astrologers, with every thing done or said by him; yet at no time had he caressed LIBO more, than at the time when he was meditating his destruction. He preferred him to the Prætorship; he entertained him at his table; shewed no strangeness in his countenance, no resentment in his words; so deeply had he smothered his vengeance! and when he might have restrained all the dangerous Speeches and Practices of LIBO, he chose rather to permit them, in order to punish him for them.

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The crafty Tyrant did not only lull asleep his destined victim by these excessive civilities; but meant by them to deceive the world, as if LIBO's crimes were a surprize upon him, at a juncture when he would seem to have meant all kindness to LIBO. But he was mistaken, and his dissimulation only served to heighten the opinion of his malice; for craft discovered is worse than folly, as folly never creates hatred. Cunning is only then complete, when it cannot be detected, which seldom happens. NERO caressed and flattered SENECA, while he was devising all methods to destroy him. When he meant to murder his mother, never was there such a scene of false fondness as that which he played. He was formed by nature, says TACITUS, and by habit nurtured, to hide his hate under insidious blandishments. DOMITIAN used to treat with the utmost good humour and tenderness such as he intended to murder; nor was there any warning or interval between his caressing you and delivering you to the Executioner; nor a more certain sign that a tragical doom awaited you, than the Prince's gentle behaviour towards you. Well might SUETONIUS say, that his cruelty was not only excessive, but sly, and instantaneous.

NOW under such a torrent of Accusations, under Laws perverted, Informers busy, employed, protected and rewarded, when all things were crimes, and all men were feared, nay, when fear itself was a crime, (for when CALIGULA murdered his brother, he gave it for a reason, that the youth was afraid of being murdered) when servants and neighbours, nay, acquaintance and kindred, were all justly to be suspected; we need not admire that all offices of friendship and compassion were suspended amongst men, and compassion itself, as it were, extinguished. When LIBO DRUSUS, so often already mentioned, upon his arraignment for Treason, went in mourning

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from houſe to houſe to ſollicit the interpoſition of his relations (as all the great families in Rome were ſo) and to pray their aid, when his life and all was at ſtake; they all declined it to a man, each alledging a reaſon of his own, but every one in reality from the ſame cauſe, namely, their fear of the Emperor[m].

PEOPLE muſt not only ſhew no ſorrow or ſympathy for their murdered relations, but they muſt teſtify joy, unleſs they had a mind to be murdered themſelves; as under NERO, many, whoſe neareſt relations had been murdered by him, repaired to the Temples with thankſgiving and offerings, and when the City was filled with corps, ſo was the Capitol with victims. In that mighty carnage made by TIBERIUS of the friends and followers of SEJANUS at once; when the pavements were covered with ſingle carcaſſes, or filled with carcaſſes in piles, thoſe of every ſex and age, many that were noble, many that were mean, all caſt abroad promiſcuouſly; neither their acquaintance nor kindred were allowed to approach them, or to bewail them, or even at laſt to behold them. About the coarſes ſpies were placed, to watch countenances, and the ſigns of ſorrow: and when, after they became putrified and noiſome, and were thrown into the Tiber, whether they floated in the ſtream, or were caſt upon the banks, none would touch them, none durſt bury or burn them. The force of Fear had cut off all the commerce and offices of Humanity; and the more Tyranny raged, the more human compaſſion was extinguiſhed[n]. Even the outrageous CALIGULA had ſo well learned to hide his heart, that when by

[m] Abnuentibus cunctis, cum diverſa prætenderent, eadem formidine.

[n] Interciderat ſortis humanæ commercium vi metus; quantumque ſævitia gliſceret, miſeratio arcebatur.

the

the cruelty of TIBERIUS, his mother and both his brothers were condemned and banished, not a word escaped him; nor a groan; though all arts were used to draw words and resentment from him. OCTAVIA too, the wife of NERO, when her little innocent brother was murdered before her face, by the direction of the Tyrant her husband, had even then learned, young as she was, to smother all symptoms of tenderness and sorrow, and every affection of the soul; nay, AGRIPPINA, with all her courage and high spirit, laboured to hide her surprize and dread, and every other emotion, upon that occasion.

Sect. VII. *The increase of Tyranny. Innocence and Guilt not measured by the Law, but by the Emperor's Pleasure and Malice.*

ONE would think that Tyranny had by this time gone as far as it could go, and that after this, human cruelty and terrors could be strained no higher. But this is a mistake, Flatterers and Accusers were ingenious villains, and Tyranny is a monster never glutted; it is still craving for new butchery and victims; its purveyors therefore are ever studying to humour and pamper it*. Who could have imagined any thing upon earth more intensely cruel than TIBERIUS? yet his Successors exceeded him and one another in cruelties, for number and quality; and DOMITIAN committed such as had escaped even the preceding monsters. Hence TACITUS says; "As our fore-fathers had seen "the ultimate point and last efforts of public "Liberty; it was reserved to us of this generation "to behold the utmost weight and severity of pub-"lic Bondage; since by the terrors of State Inqui-

* Metus principis rimantur, & sævitiæ adrepunt.

sitors,

" ſitors, we were even bereft of the common inter-
" courſe of Civil Life, that of diſcourſing ourſelves,
" and of liſtening to the diſcourſe of others:" he adds, " we ſhould have alſo loſt the uſe of memory,
" as well as the habit of ſpeaking, had it been
" equally in our power to forget as to be ſilent."

THE trial of perſons for Treaſon went on generally in the old form, but in effect, was all reſolvable into the breaſt and good pleaſure of the Prince. According to hints from him, perſons were condemned or acquitted; ſometimes by his interpoſing the Tribunitial Power, they were not admitted to be accuſed; ſometimes Treaſon was found in one man's words and actions, which in another were not allowed to be criminal. Thus men were ſentenced, or abſolved, or not accuſed, not according to their guilt or innocence, but to their degree of grace or diſlike with the Emperor, who had the Prerogative to coin guilt and innocence, and invert one into the other, as he pleaſed. Thus TIBERIUS purſued VESTILIUS to death, his brother's antient friend and his own, for ſuſpicion of having lampooned his Nephew CALIGULA; but would not allow COTTA MESSALINUS to be a criminal for the ſame offence and for many more. But COTTA had merit, he was always foremoſt in every bloody Counſel; all his wickedneſs and crimes were ſo many ſervices, and ſo much merit. In thoſe days there was no ſure guilt but that of worth and of virtue, and innocence; hence the ſecurity of all men egregiouſly miſchievous. The known cruelty of the Prince, was no terror to thoſe who took care to eſcape it, by the vileneſs of their lives; eſpecially if they were active to feed his cruelty by noble ſacrifices; like HATERIUS AGRIPPA, who meditated in the midſt of his cups and harlots the deſtruction of illuſtrious men. The worſt and

vileſt men in the Empire, became the ſecureſt, and often the higheſt, by deſtroying the beſt.

Sect. VIII. *What* TACITUS *means by* Inſtrumenta regni.

BESIDES the Accuſers, who were the Imperial Bloodhounds, to hunt men down for words, conjectures, ſigns, and appearances, by ridiculous pleas, forced conſtructions, and wreſted Laws; the Emperors had other peſtilent tools called by TACITUS *Inſtrumenta regni*, the Inſtruments of Imperial Rule. Theſe were the Poiſoners and Aſſaſſins. When there was no room or pretence to accuſe a perſon ſignal for worth or opulence, or on any account obnoxious, and thence fit to be deſtroyed; or when it was unſafe to accuſe him; recourſe was had to a doſe or dagger. Such were P. CELER, and ÆLIUS the Freedman, they who poiſoned JULIUS SILANUS, by the appointment of AGRIPPINA: ſuch was ANICETUS, who murdered NERO's Mother, by the direction of her ſon: ſuch was LOCUSTA, who adminiſtred the poiſon to CLAUDIUS, a woman famous for many feats in poiſoning, and long retained for this talent, amongſt the implements of Court; it was ſhe who prepared this poiſon as well as that which deſtroyed young BRITANNICUS: ſuch was XENOPHON, Phyſician to CLAUDIUS; one who helped to diſpatch his maſter: ſuch were they who by the procurement of LIVIA, made away the deſcendants of AUGUSTUS. After the aſſaſſination of CALIGULA, in his apartment was found a cheſt filled with all ſorts of poiſons, ſo rapid, that when they were thrown into the ſea, they proved baneful to the fiſh; and numbers were by the tide caſt dead upon the ſhore. Such alſo were the Tribunes and Centurions, and even the Captain of the Prætorian Guards; who

whenever they were ordered to ſeize and kill, never failed to obey, without any reaſon but the word of command. Thus POSTHUMUS AGRIPPA was diſpatched by a Centurion under TIBERIUS: thus GERELANUS the Tribune, was, at the head of a band of ſoldiers, by NERO employed to ſee the execution of VESTINUS the Conſul, a man charged with no guilt; but NERO, who hated and feared him, having neither crime nor accuſer againſt him, and being therefore unable to aſſume even the falſe guiſe of a Judge, betook himſelf to the violence of a Tyrant.

IN truth, the whole body of Prætorian Guards were kept by theſe Tyrants as their Aſſaſſins, to murder for them, or to ſecure others who did. The Turk too has his Mutes and Poiſoners in the Seraglio, as well as ſoldiers, to execute his fury ſecretly, or openly. LEWIS the eleventh entertained other ſecret Ruffians to ſtab and drown, beſides his truſty murderer the Provoſt TRISTAN. Queen KATHERINE and her ſon CHARLES the Ninth, kept an Aſſaſſin, to diſpatch privately ſuch men of rank as they could find no other means to deſtroy; and as dark as the proceedings in the Baſtile are kept, it is known what helps have been adminiſtered to the miſerable priſoners there, to get rid of life, beſides that of nature. Under the Reign of LEWIS the fourteenth the trade of poiſoning was brought to great perfection; and was ſuſpected, with too much appearance, to have been part of the Politics of ſome French Miniſters, as well as the bane of others.

Sect. IX. *How much these Emperors hated, and how fast they destroyed all great and worthy Men. Their dread of every Man for any Reason.*

THE destruction of every man who was great or good, was so common and almost certain in those tragical Reigns, that TACITUS reckons as a wonder the natural death of L. PISO, chief Pontiff[p]. Eminent men, and eminent merit, are the dread of Tyrants. That merit and those talents which, during the old Republic, would have certainly recommended a man to public Favour and public Honours, did afterwards expose him as certainly, to Imperial jealousy and persecution, generally to ruin and death; and those pestilent Accusers, Instruments of public Servitude, the sons of rapine and blood, who were now the men of fashion and favour, and cloathed with the spoils of their Country, for afflicting and mangling her, and devouring her vitals, would have been then treated as public Enemies and Beasts of prey, and doomed to the pains of Murder and Treason, with universal consent and abhorrence.

SUCH a barbarous and unnatural inversion of all Order, Law, and Righteousness, accompanied the Sovereignty of the Cæsars. AUGUSTUS, reckoned the best and wisest of them, though he affected to love and countenance men of parts and accomplishments, yet limited his favours to such of them as were devoted to Flattery and the Usurpation. Hence the public Honours conferred by him upon ATEIUS CAPITO, a new man, one of signal Abilities, but a notorious Flatterer; nay, the Em-

[p] Per idem tempus L. Piso Pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudine, fato obiit.

peror

peror raiſed him in oppoſition to ANTISTIUS LABEO, one who excelled in the ſame acquirements; one who never departed from a laudable freedom of ſpeech and ſpirit, and thence more applauded than the other, by the public voice: whereas, the ſuppleneſs and ſubmiſſion of CAPITO rendered him more acceptable to thoſe who bore rule. The latter by this merit gained the dignity of Conſul; the other, for having too much, was never ſuffered to riſe higher than that of Prætor. How much muſt the ſpirit of Imperial Jealouſy encreaſe afterwards?

EVERY thing gave theſe Tyrants fear and offence. Was a man nobly born and popular? He withdrew the affections of the People, rivalled the Prince, and threatened a Civil War[q]. Was he akin to AUGUSTUS? He had his eye upon the Sovereignty[r]. Had he a reputation for Arms? He was a living terror to the Prince[s]. Was a great man afraid of popularity, and lived retired? He gained fame by ſhunning it, and ſtill was an eyeſore[t]; and his beſt fate was to leave his Country[u]; but where the exile was a conſiderable man, the executioner generally followed. Was he virtuous, and his life and morals exact? He was another BRUTUS, and by the purity of his manners, upbraided the vitious behaviour of the Emperor[w]. Was a man ſad? It was becauſe the adminiſtration pro-

[q] Studia civium in ſe verteret; ſeceſſionem jam & partes, & ſi multi idem audeant, bellum eſſe.

[r] Nobilem, & quod tunc ſpectaretur, è Cæſarum poſteris.

[s] Oſtorius multa militari fama——metum Neroni fecerat, ne invaderet pavidum ſemper —— miſſus Centurio qui cædem ejus maturaret.

[t] Quanto metu occultior, tanto plus famæ adeptus.

[u] Conſuleret quieti urbis; eſſe illi per Aſiam avitos agros.

[w] Gliſcere ac vigere Brutorum æmulos —— rigidi & triſtis, quo tibi laſcivium exprobrent.

ſpered[x]. Did he indulge himſelf in gayety and feaſting? It was becauſe the Emperor was ill, and his end thought to be near[y]. Was he rich? He was too wealthy for a ſubject, and great wealth in private hands boded ill to Princes[z]. Was he poor? He was thence the more enterprizing and deſperate[a]. Was he a dull man, and unactive; He only put on the guiſe of ſtupidity and ſloth, till he found room for ſome bloody purpoſe[b]. Or had he a different character, and was a lively and active man? Then it was plain he did not ſo much as feign a deſire of private life and receſs, but avowed a buſtling Republican Spirit, and to be meddling with the State[c]. Did he live in pomp and magnificence? He ſtudied to overſhadow the Emperor in ſeats and grandeur[d]. Was he accompliſhed in ſcience, a Philoſopher, or maſter of Eloquence, and thence eſteemed? The luſtre of his Fame gave umbrage to the Prince[e].

IN ſhort, no man could poſſeſs any advantage or quality that rendered him acceptable to God or man, a bleſſing to his Country, to his friends, or to himſelf, but ſuch quality and advantage was ſure to

[x] Hominem bonis publicis mœſtum.

[y] Reddendam pro intempeſtiva lætitia mœſtam & funebrem noctem, qua ſentiat vivere Vitellium & imperare.

[z] Plautum magnis opibus —— auri vim atque opes principibus infenſas.

[a] Syllam inopem, unde præcipuam audaciam.

[b] Simulatorem ſegnitiæ, dum temeritati locum reperiret.

[c] Plautum ne fingere quidem cupidinem otii, ſed veterum Romanorum incitamenta præferre; aſſumptâ etiam Stoicorum arrogantia ſectaque, quæ turbidos & negotiorum appetentes faciat.

[d] Hortorum amœnitate & villarum magnificentia quaſi principem ſupergrederetur.

[e] Verginium & Rufum claritudo nominis expulit; nam Verginius ſtudia juvenum eloquentiâ, Muſonius præceptis ſapientiæ fovebat.

awaken

awaken the jealousy and vengeance of these Tyrants, and procure his doom [f].

Sect. X. *Reflections upon the Spirit of a Tyrant. With what Wantonness the Roman Emperors shed the blood of the Roman People. The blindness of such as assisted the Usurpation of* CÆSAR *and* AUGUSTUS.

HOW miserable must be the reflections of a Tyrant, if he has any reflections, that numbers must be wretched (for what wretchedness is not produced by Tyranny?) that he may make a hideous figure, unsafe and detested? Every step he takes for his grandeur and security, renders him more contemptible or abhorred, and therefore more insecure; and the bloody end of most, abundantly shews, that numerous Guards and Armies are so far from secureing him, that from them his greatest dread accrues. What a curse it is upon a thinking Being, to consider himself as an obstacle to every thing lovely and desirable amongst men: to the Virtue, Liberty and Happiness of all men, to his own peace and stability, to his own innocence and true glory: that for every chain he puts upon his People, he multiplies terrors and contempt upon his own head; and having forfeited their affections, and living in distrust of those whom he ought chiefly to confide in, relies for his life upon hirelings, the sons of vice and idleness, or forced from their honest labour to be made so, and often picked out of streets and gaols? He dreads every man who is great and brave; and one who fights for him, conquers for him, and saves him, does but expose himself to jealousy, indignity and martyrdom. His own slaves, spiritless and coward-

[f] Omni bonâ arte in exsilium actâ, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret.

ly, cannot ſerve him, and a man truly valiant is undone by ſerving him. The people are apt to admire and magnify military virtue, and thence the Tyrant hates and dreads ſuch as have it. CHARLES the fifth held it a greater honour, to be Count of CATALONIA, than King of the Romans: he had reaſon; the CATALANS were free men and valiant; the Romans poor monk-ridden ſlaves.

BUT I ſhall find another place in the courſe of theſe Obſervations to diſcourſe more fully of Armies and Conqueſts: I ſhall here only obſerve with what wantonneſs theſe Tyrants ſhed the blood of Roman Citizens; Citizens whoſe lives were once ſo valuable, fenced and ſecured by Laws ſo numerous, ſo ſacred, and ſtrong; lives ſo precious that nothing againſt the life and fortune of the meaneſt Roman could be determined, but by the Romans in general, aſſembled in Centuries. Theſe Romans who, while free, became the maſters of mankind, were, by loſing their Liberty, become daily victims to their own domeſtic Traitors, and miſerable Traitors they were; to a CLAUDIUS, a CALIGULA, a NERO. By the ancient Conſtitution and Laws of Rome, theſe Uſurpers were the only perſons liable to be put to death, without proceſs, or form, or penalty. See the *Lex Valeria* in LIVY, and CICERO *Pro domo ſua.*

HAD ſuch as were Champions for the exaltation of CÆSAR and AUGUSTUS, foreſeen what their race and deſcendants were to ſuffer under the Succeſſors of theſe Uſurpers, would it not have quenched their zeal, would it not have ſtruck them with horror? Had they foreſeen their offſpring ſtooping and groaning under a beaſtly bondage, not to the Emperor only, but to his ſlaves and ſtrumpets; living a precarious life at the mercy of ſycophants; under continual terrors of the Accuſers, or themſelves exerciſing the execrable occupation of ſuch; ſome endan-

gered

gered by the luſtre of their name; ſome by that of their virtue and capacity, others from that of their wealth; many become Pimps, Pathics, and Paraſites to the Prince; ſeveral, upon his authority, proſtituting their perſons and quality upon the public Stage; numbers doomed to exile upon deſolate rocks and iſlands; numbers ſlain outright, their carcaſes expoſed and denied the privilege of burial, their fortunes ſeized from their families; and all of them liable to the like tragical fate; their wives withal daily expoſed to the luſt of the Tyrant, and afterwards made the ſubject of his Imperial Sport and Drollery, even before their injured and bluſhing huſbands, nay, proſtituted in the Palace as in the public Stews, and ſuch as paſſed by invited in to lie with theſe illuſtrious Ladies, as with common harlots, for money.

HAD the Partizans of Uſurpation foreſeen theſe woful conſequences to their families from it, would it not have changed their hearts and their conduct? Yet what was eaſier to be foreſeen than the fury and ravages of a madman or fool unlimited, where chance, and not law, directed the blind Succeſſion; as did blind will, and not reaſon, the Adminiſtration? But with the heat of party and preſent impulſe, cool reflection and foreſight are incompatible: it ſcarce ever happens, that, for future conſiderations, however wiſe, the inſtant paſſion, however fooliſh, is ſmothered. The Adherents of CÆSAR and AUGUSTUS had an immediate view of greatneſs, and would not diſturb ſo pleaſing an imagination by anxious care or fear for things future. All the world goes well with thoſe that are well; and before men can be brought to believe prophecies of miſery, they muſt begin to feel it. What a child is Man! what a name is Reaſon! The moſt frequent uſe we make of it, is to reaſon ourſelves out of it, and from it to borrow arms againſt itſelf: juſt as we have ſeen

Laws quoted to vindicate the ſubverſion of Law, and the Holy Goſpel of Peace and Love urged in defence of Perſecution and Enmity.

Sect. XI. *Why under ſuch Tyrants, the Senate continued to ſubſiſt.*

IT may be inquired why Tyrants ſo jealous and precipitate, did not aboliſh the Senate; and it was once the purpoſe of CALIGULA, as it was afterwards that of NERO, to have murdered all the Senators: but in truth it would have been an enterprize of infinite difficulty and danger, to have attempted the ſuppreſſion of that body. It is incredible what ſtubbornneſs and force there is in eſtabliſhed Names, Cuſtoms and Forms, which often are harder to deſtroy than realities and ſubſtances; and ſigns and titles frequently remain, when the things ſignified and denominated by them are gone. Thus Popery has extirpated Chriſtianity, and is called Chriſtianity; and Evangelical Humility and Forbearance are preached and extolled in the midſt of Pride and Flames.

As the Popes pretend to derive all power from the Goſpel, which they pervert and ſuppreſs, ſo did the other Roman Tyrants theirs from the Senate; as if the ancient free State had ſtill ſubſiſted, and to have deſtroyed the Senate, would have been to have abrogated their own title to Sovereignty. They muſt likewiſe have deſtroyed the Conſulſhip, which was ſtill reckoned *ſummum Imperium*, the ſupreme Magiſtracy: with the Office of Prætor, and every Office, great and ſmall, in the State, with the title and ſtile of every Law of Rome, and every Tribunal of Juſtice there: for, every Law and every Office depended upon the Senate, or upon the Senate and People. They muſt have aboliſhed Learning, Hiſtory, Records, all Proceſs and Memory; nay,

nay, the very Military Titles, and Laws of War and Negotiation; those about the Colonies and Provinces, Customs and Trade; and have introduced absolute Oblivion, a new Language, and a new Creation.

Now what Power, what Genius upon earth, was equal to such a prodigious design, that of vacating at once regulations and usages so infinitely numerous, so long established, become a great part of the public Language, grown, as it were, to the minds and memories of men, and essential to Speech and Conversation, as well as to business and protection; and then to supply such an immense void, with Ordinances, Offices, Terms and manner of Process, so as to answer all the ends of Society in so vast an Empire? This was not to be done, nor was it needful: they found their account sufficiently in breaking the Power and Spirit of the Senate, in reducing it to a skeleton and a name, and in exercising under that name all their own violences and exorbitances. The Senate and the People had a venerable sound, and served as a cloak for power when they themselves had none, and the Emperor had all[g]. The registering of Edicts by the Parliament of Paris is become a matter of form; but without that form, the Court, as uncontrouled as it is, does not care to execute an Edict. The Romans still preserved a veneration for their Senate and Magistrates, and the same was often found in the Armies; insomuch that as late as the Reign of COMMODUS, the soldiers were so enraged at the insolence of PERENNIS, his Favourite and Minister, for discharging from their military commands such as were Patricians and Senators, and for placing in their room others of Equestrian Rank, that they cut him in pieces.

[g] Cuncta Legum & Magistratuum in se trahens Princeps.

TIME

TIME, however, with the continuance of Tyranny, and Barbarity its inſeparable companion, cancelled by degrees the old names and forms, after the eſſence had been long cancelled; and introduced a cloud of offices and words, of rumbling ſounds, and ſwelling titles, ſuitable to the genius of abſolute Rule, and as different from the purity of the old Republican Language, as are Liberty and Politeneſs from groſſneſs and bondage.

Sect. XII. *How the unrelenting Cruelty of the Emperors haſtened the Diſſolution of the Empire. The bad Reigns of* CONSTANTINE *and* CONSTANTIUS. *The good Reign of* JULIAN. *The indiſcreet behaviour of the Chriſtians. Continued Tyranny; and end of the Empire.*

TO reſume once more the ſubject of Accuſations and the abuſed Law of Majeſty; They were cankers in the heart of the Empire, which at laſt haſtened its Diſſolution. The Emperors, to gratify their own cruelty, were continually waſting the public Strength by ſacrifices noble and many; and, to ſatiate their avarice or that of their creatures, encouraged endleſs ſeizures and confiſcations. This crying Oppreſſion was by the Emperor CONSTANTINE, before mentioned, carried higher than any of the Pagan Emperors had ever carried it. Beſides his own rapine, which was mercileſs and exceſſive, he glutted his Favourites and Grandees with the ſpoil and fortunes of others; as MARCELLINUS witneſſes[h]. His ſon CONSTANTIUS followed his example, and was a more conſuming Tyrant than the Father. I have already ſaid ſomething of his Character and Reign, which was chiefly conducted

[h] Proximorum fauces aperuit primus Conſtantinus.

by

by inhuman villains, whoſe heads and hands were eternally engaged in the plunder and blood of his People. Such were his Counſellors, ſuch his Governors of Provinces, which were ſucked and devoured to the bone, and might ſay with truth, what a noble Dalmatian once told TIBERIUS; "Instead of ſending us Shepherds to protect our flocks, "you ſend us Wolves to devour them." How many Governors in all Countries have deſerved to be hanged, before they reached their Governments, becauſe they went with deſign to rob and oppreſs?

THESE depredations were reſtrained during the Reign of JULIAN, who had as much capacity, as many virtues and accompliſhments, as could well adorn private life, or a crown: he was brave, generous, wiſe, and humane; a Hero, a Philoſopher, a Politician, a Friend and Father to mankind. It is pity ſuch an amiable Character ſhould have any blots; his had two; he was ſuperſtitious even to weakneſs, and had conceived an averſion to the Chriſtians altogether unſuitable to his remarkable candor and equity; an averſion which they themſelves improved too much, by a behaviour unworthy of ſo great a Prince, much more unworthy of ſo meek a Religion. They indeed treated him with eminent ſpite and outrage, traduced him, libelled him, and even mobbed him. Nothing could be a ſharper Satire upon them, for ſuch brutiſh conduct, than the ſingular meekneſs with which he bore it. The truth is, the Chriſtians were then ſtrangely degenerated from the primitive peaceableneſs and purity, become licentious and turbulent to the laſt degree, and perpetually inſtigated by the arrogance and ambition of the Biſhops, who were come to contend with arms as well as curſes, for the poſſeſſion of opulent Churches. It was not uncommon with theſe ambitious men, to affront and revile the Emperors to their faces, to publiſh Invectives againſt them,

them, to break the public Peace and to raiſe frequent Tumults and Seditions. As they were the moſt complaiſant Courtiers when pleaſed; ſo they were the moſt implacable Incendiaries when diſguſted. All this was enough to alarm any Prince, and to awaken reſentment in the moſt flegmatic. Moreover a great part of the wealth and revenue, which uſed to go towards the public Charge, particularly to defend the Frontiers againſt the Barbarians, was diverted and appropriated to maintain the grandeur and pomp of the great Prelates; *ſacerdotes ſpecie religionis fortunas omnes effundebant*, as TACITUS ſays, upon another occaſion.

As ſome parts of the behaviour of that great Prince, one wiſe and good in moſt things, but miſtaken and even unjuſt in others, chiefly towards the Chriſtians, ought to be cenſured and condemned; the behaviour of the Chriſtians towards him can never be juſtified. They inſulted him intolerably, with all the exceſſes of bitterneſs and ill-breeding, while he lived, and ſlandered and blackened him ſhamefully when dead; as much as ſome of them baſely flattered and extolled other Emperors, who, though complaiſant and liberal to the Eccleſiaſtics, were conſuming Tyrants.

IT is the buſineſs of Truth and of true Religion, to give even enemies their due, and friends no more than their due. To give JULIAN his; if we lay aſide his Religion, I doubt whether we can find upon record one Prince that excelled him, or three that equalled him. He is indeed a pattern to princes, in ſpite of the anger and obloquy of Writers who were apparently animated by a ſpirit then too common, a ſpirit altogether narrow, monkiſh, and vindictive; ſuch a one as the charitable Religion of JESUS diſclaims, and wants not. To his benevolent Goſpel and Precepts I ſincerely wiſh all men to conform;

form; but fewer ſigns of ſuch conformity, or rather greater ſigns of the want of it, have I no where ſeen, than in the Conduct, Diſcourſes, and Writeings of ſuch as have railed at others for their religious ſentiments, real or imputed. I wiſh too that a temper ſo barbarous and Antichriſtian had been entirely confined to the Days of that Emperor, whoſe Adminiſtration will for ever recommend him to all calm and impartial men, as an aſtoniſhing example of virtue and parts.

THE Reign of JOVIAN, whoſe intention ſeems to have been honeſt and good, was but ſhort, and followed by thoſe of VALENTINIAN and VALENS; Princes exceeding furious, ſuſpicious and ſanguinary. Under them the old Accuſations, Confiſcations and Carnage were revived without mercy, and continued thenceforward, with few intervals, till the Roman Empire was quite overthrown. The people in every part of it being quite harraſſed and conſumed, finding no relaxation from Oppreſſors and Accuſations, no protection from Law, no refuge in the Clemency of the Emperors, grew deſperate, and revolted to the Goths, Huns, Vandals, and other Invaders.

Sect. XIII. *The Excellency of a limited Monarchy, eſpecially of our own.*

I Think it is MACHIAVEL who obſerves, that two or three weak and bad Princes ſucceeding each other, are ſufficient to ruin a State, where they govern by mere Will; but it may ſurvive a long ſucceſſion of fooliſh Princes limited by good Laws. VESPASIAN found three hundred millions (of our money) wanting to reſtore the Empire to a condition of ſubſiſting. Monarchy, according to PLATO, is the beſt Government, or the worſt: to which opinion I ſubſcribe; as I do to that of PHILIP DE COMINES,

COMINES, that England is the place in the world, where the Public is moſt equally adminiſtered, and where the people ſuffer the leaſt violence. We are bleſſed with that form of Government which TACITUS mentions as the moſt perfect, and thinks the hardeſt to be framed; that happy ballance and mixture of intereſts which comprehends every intereſt [i].

AN Engliſh Monarch has one advantage which ſets him above any arbitrary Monarch upon earth; he obliges his ſubjects by being obliged to them. As he protects them by defending their Property and Laws; ſo they, by ſupporting him, enable him to do it: while they give by choice, and not by force, they give chearfully. Princes who take all themſelves, and leave nothing to their people to give, can never be beloved by their people. If it be true that we hate thoſe whom we have hurt, it is equally true, that we are apt to love thoſe whom we have obliged. Hence God is ſaid, not only to love doing good, but to love the good that he does.

ARBITRARY Princes would doubtleſs chuſe to have the love and affections of their people, were the ſame to be acquired by furious and unaccountable Rule; but this is impoſſible. Hence dread of their power is all the ſhare they can expect in the hearts of their ſubjects; and this is a compliment which their ſubjects pay to things the moſt hideous and vile; to Serpents; to mad and wild Beaſts; to Plagues and Satan; to Pain and Poverty. But even this miſerable compliment is not always paid to ſuch princes: they are not always dreaded. When their terrors are become habitual, they ceaſe, in a good meaſure, to be terrors; the people grow har-

[i] Cunctas nationes & urbes populus, aut primores, aut ſinguli regunt. Delecta ex his & conſtituta Reipub. forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel, ſi evenit, haud diuturna eſſe poteſt.

dened

dened and desperate; they themselves become scorned; and contempt, the most abject lot in life, becomes the portion of those who possess the highest. When NERO asked SUBRIUS FLAVIUS, one of the Conspirators against his life, from what motives he had renounced his Allegiance; "It was because I abhorred thee," said he. The Consul VESTINIUS too was known to NERO, to despise his vile and unmanly spirit; and in the whole detection of that Conspiracy, and the punishment of the conspirators, nothing was so signal as the series of contempt poured upon that brutal Tyrant, in the heighth of his Power, and amidst the terrors of his Tyranny. Nothing, says TACITUS, mortified him so much. But when the Monster was deposed, he incurred such sovereign scorn, that he was doomed to be stripped naked, and scourged to death like a slave, with his head fastened in a pillory; his carcass to be cast afterwards from the Tarpeian Rock, and with a hook in his nose to be dragged to the Tiber.

NOR could the great reputation of JULIUS CÆSAR, or that of AUGUSTUS, and all their Power, secure them from popular insults and despight. The *mœchum calvum*, and *videsne ut cinædus orbem digito temperet*; were contumelies which even their greatness could not escape. MITHRIDATES King of Armenia, when despoiled of his Kingdom, experienced by the behaviour of his People, how much they reverenced him; they even assaulted him with reproaches and blows [k]. When the Emperor VITELLIUS was led along to the slaughter, with his hands bound behind him, his habit all torn, and himself a filthy spectacle; he found much the like usage. Numbers wounded him with reproaches; but none was found to bewail him; and the populace railed at him when dead, with the

[k] Vulgus duro imperio habitum, probra ac verbera intentabat.

ſame baſeneſs of heart, with which they had flattered him living [1].

DISCOURSE VIII.

Of the general Debaſement of Spirit and Adulation which accompany Power unlimited.

Sect. I. *The motives of Flattery conſidered. Its vileneſs, and whence it begins.*

I SHALL now ſay ſomething of the extreme Debaſement of the Romans under the Emperors. Flattery ever riſes in proportion to Power and Fear. Where Law and Liberty reign, and men hold not their Property and Lives at the mercy of one or a few; this ſecurity begets in them a pride and ſtubbornneſs inconſiſtent with Servility and Adulation. Men do not flatter ſuch as they dare own to be no better than themſelves, or ſuch as have no power to hurt them; nor will they pay over-much reverence to great Titles which are not accompanied with great Power, nor ſupported by Superſtition. For Superſtition enſlaves as effectually as real Power, and therefore confers it; nor is Tyranny ever ſo complete as when the chief Magiſtrate is chief Pontiff, as were the Soldans of Egypt and Bagdat; or, which is the next thing, can create and depoſe him, as do the Turkiſh Emperors. But where men hold their fortunes and lives at the mere mercy of another, they will fear him as much as they love themſelves,

[1] Vulgus eadem pravitate infectabatur interfectum, qua foverat viventem.

and

and flatter him, as much as they fear him [a]. If his Power be limited, their Flattery will be limited; but boundless, if his Authority be so. Thus court and sycophancy prevail less under a mixed Monarchy, than under one that is despotic; in an Aristocracy less than there; and less still in a popular State. Perfect equality quite destroys it; complete Sovereignty raises it to the highest.

THE more foolish and wicked a Prince is, the more Incense he will have; it is the surest way of pleasing a Tyrant, as it sanctifies his Iniquities, and represents him to himself as worthy of all his Grandeur and equal to all the highest Offices of Empire. TIBERIUS, who was a Prince of great penetration, hated Flattery, because he knew it to be so; as he knew that they who paid him most, the Senate and Grandees, dreaded, and therefore hated his Power; as he, who understood perfectly the nature and blessing of Liberty, would have dreaded and hated any man in his place, had he been in theirs. He knew that Flattery and Hate often go together; so that they who possess the greatest Hate, profess the greatest Affection. It is as much as their lives are worth, to manifest any tokens of Aversion; and the stronger it is, it will require the more Art and Assiduity to hide it. JULIUS CÆSAR was loaded with all sorts and every excess of Honours, some that were divine, with design to make him odious, while they who conferred them abhorred him, and were concerting schemes to destroy him. With the same view the like artifices were practised by the Senate towards his Successor OCTAVIUS, afterwards AUGUSTUS, concerning whom the equivocal saying of CICERO, could not but be remembered by TIBERIUS [b], "they should extol the

[a] Omnis exuta æqualitate, jussa Principis aspectare.
[b] Ut juvenem laudarent, & tollerent.

"Youth, and take him off." Hence though TIBERIUS was irreconcileable to public Liberty, he abominated Flattery [c]. He saw that Flattery was the mere effect of Bondage, and suiting only with the spirit of Slaves; and though he would not part with the Sovereignty (notwithstanding he often talked of it, as well as pretended great backwardness to accept it) yet he was ashamed of the vile and slavish abjectness of the Romans [d].

BUT neither under TIBERIUS was there any security in abstaining from Flattery; he was a Prince infinitely jealous, and could brook no sort of opposition, nor even independence; and it was both necessary and dangerous to flatter him; but, in my opinion, not so dangerous as necessary: I mean, to such as purely consulted their own safety, and to escape the rage of the Tyrant. It is true, he despised Flatterers; but he hurt them not; and it was natural for him to think (suspicious as he was) that such as would not flatter him, scorned him. It is certain he never forgave free speakers, never could endure men of bold spirit, but, first or last, pursued them to destruction. It was perillous, says TACITUS, to practise no Flattery, and perillous to practise too much [e]. L. PISO had inveighed against the corruptions of the State, particularly against the pestilent pursuits of the Impleaders, who were daily arraigning, and circumventing, and menacing all men; he even threatened to quit Rome. TIBERIUS bore this calmly, nay, he descended to mollify him with kind words. But in a soul like his, brooding over Vengeance, though he had suppressed the sallies of Wrath, the deep impressions remained; PISO was a

[c] Libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.

[d] Etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam projectæ servientium patientiæ tædebat.

[e] Adulatione, quæ moribus corruptis, perinde anceps si nulla, & ubi nimia est.

good

good while afterwards charged with Treaſon, and, but for a natural death, which opportunely intervened, muſt have ſuffered the pains of Treaſon. ASINIUS GALLUS incurred his rage for a motion in Senate which had really a compliment in it. TIBERIUS had in a Letter to the Fathers complained, that from the plots and ſnares of his enemies, he led a life full of dread and apprehenſions. GALLUS propoſed to addreſs the Prince, that he would explain his fears to the Senate, and permit them to remove the cauſes; this incenſed him. GALLUS too had piqued him before, and was ſuſpected by him of aſpiring views; and though he had notoriouſly flattered him, he could not by it redeem his life.

As all Corruptions in a State begin commonly from the Grandees (or rather they are beginners of all Corruption) ſo the Grandees are the moſt ſignal Flatterers; they are moſt in the eye of a Prince, they are the moſt obnoxious to his jealouſy, and thence the moſt prone to flatter him [f]. A Prince who governs or would govern by mere Will, muſt countenance and employ ſuch as aſk no reaſons for what he does; but commend all he does; and the more they have to get or loſe, the lower they muſt ſtoop, the more they muſt praiſe [g]. For this vile ſervitude of theirs they make repriſals upon the people, and are as terrible to thoſe below them, as fawning to thoſe above them; for the moſt proſtitute Slaves, are the moſt inſolent Tyrants, and it is from the ſame baſeneſs of ſpirit that men oppreſs and flatter; it was truly ſaid of CALIGULA, "that "there never lived a more complaiſant Slave, nor "a more cruel and deteſtable Maſter." Thus

[f] Ruere in ſervitium conſules, patres, eques; quanto quis inluſtrior, tanto magis falſi ac feſtinantes.

[g] Primores civitatis quorum claritudo ſua obſequiis protegenda erat.

Flattery is propagated, and infects all degrees of men. The Prince awes the Grandees, and by the Grandees is flattered; the Grandees oppreſs and terrify the people; and thence the people dread and adore the Grandees. The Baſhaws are ſlaves to the great Turk; the people ſlaves to the Baſhaws.

THE inſolence of ſlaviſh ſpirits is by TACITUS exemplified in VITELLIUS, among many other inſtances. He was always the foremoſt in Flattery; ever aſſaulting every worthy Patriot with reproaches, and ever ſtruck ſilent when repulſed; agreeably to the genius of Sycophants, to be both inſulting and cowardly. This man, however, proſpered by Proſtitution. He had great employments under TIBERIUS, he was a great Favourite in the two ſucceeding Reigns, he was thrice Conſul and once Cenſor. Nor did the man want good talents and qualifications; in the Government of Provinces, ſays TACITUS, he exerciſed the integrity of a primitive Roman. But his dread of CALIGULA, and complaiſance to CLAUDIUS, changed him into a filthy Slave, and he is handed down to poſterity as a pattern of the moſt infamous Flattery: The juſt reward of his ſervile ſubmiſſion. His firſt and beſt actions were forgot; his laſt and worſt remembered; and the excellencies of his younger years obliterated by an old age drenched in ſervitude and iniquity. Beſides his adoring CLAUDIUS as a God, he carried one of MESSALINA's ſandals in his boſom continually, frequently kiſſed it; and amongſt his houſhold Gods placed golden Statues of PALLAS and NARCISSUS, the Emperor's freed ſlaves. This man was, I think, farther to VITELLIUS afterwards Emperor. Such men ſuch Princes delight in; *regibus boni quam mali ſuſpectiores ſunt, ſemperque his aliena virtus formidoloſa eſt:* ſays SALLUST.

Sect.

Sect. II. *Men of elevated Minds irreconcileable to Arbitrary Power, and thence suspected by it. The Court paid to it always insincere, sometimes expedient, but seldom observes any bounds.*

AGRIPPA told AUGUSTUS, according to DION CASSIUS, that it was impossible for a man of great spirit and resolution, to be other than a lover of Liberty, and an enemy in his heart to an absolute master. AGRIPPA himself was that sort of man; he had courage enough to advise that Prince to resign the Sovereignty, and restore public Liberty; such in truth was his credit and bravery, that AUGUSTUS thought himself no otherwise safe, than either by killing him, or taking him for his son-in-law. The Emperor did more than give him his daughter; he assumed him partner in the Tribunitial Power, which, as that Usurper and his Successors managed it, was, in effect, the Dictatorial Power. The other great men of Rome he suspected and hated; though in vanity and for the praise of Posterity, he left them his heirs in the third degree[h]; AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS judged too well, to imagine that the illustrious Senators and Chiefs of Rome, men who had scorned the alliance and affinity of Kings, nay, treated Kings as their creatures and dependents, could like a blind dependence upon one of their own Citizens, who by usurpation and violence had made himself an enemy to all. Even in the Reign of TIBERIUS there were Romans who thought themselves as good as him; CNEIUS PISO, for example, scarce gave place to him, and despised his sons, as men far beneath himself. But

[h] Tertio gradu primores civitatis scripserat; plerique invisos sibi, sed jactantia gloriaque apud posteros.

his haughty ſpirit coſt him his life; for though TIBERIUS uſed him as a proper inſtrument to thwart and overthrow GERMANICUS, he afterwards turned that very ſervice to the deſtruction of PISO.

AFFECTION can never accompany a ſubmiſſion which is forced, nor men ſubmit willingly to a Power which they think they have themſelves a right to exerciſe. Hence the compliments and praiſes of theſe eminent Romans towards the Emperors, are generally by TACITUS derived from Flattery; though ſometimes neceſſary, and ſometimes well intended; neceſſary, when uſed for their own preſervation; and well intended, when employed to inſtil into the Prince virtuous leſſons of Government. MARCUS TERENTIUS was perhaps juſtifiable, when in defence of his life, which was at ſtake, he made that high-flown compliment to TIBERIUS; "To thee the Gods have granted "the ſupreme diſpoſal of things, and to us have "left the glory of obedience." The Senators alſo did well in magnifying ſome popular Acts of NERO, that his youthful mind being thus incited by the Glory ariſing from light things, might court it in things which were greater. And THRASEA PETUS was juſtifiable, when in his ſpeech about ANTISTIUS the Prætor, arraigned for Treaſon for lampooning the Emperor, he extolled that Prince's mercy, in order to make him merciful.

BUT as that which is only good in ſome certain degrees and exigences, ſeldom ſtops there; ſo this ſame Flattery, no wiſe blameable under ſome circumſtances, grew ſcandalous and exceſſive; it kept pace with all the phrenzy and cruelties of theſe outrageous and inhuman Tyrants; and by it their cruelties and phrenzy were encouraged. The more miſchievous and vile they were, the more they were adored. Dread of their fury had ſeized the ſouls of men; nor was any remedy ſought againſt their fury

but

but that of Flattery. Men of ſlaviſh minds always began the deteſtable rout; their example drew others after them; the lovers of liberty found it impoſſible to reſiſt the many, and unſafe to diſtinguiſh themſelves by oppoſition. Intereſt ſwayed ſome, example others, fear all, and at laſt it became a common ſtrife who ſhould be foremoſt in the race to Servitude. All public ſpirit, all regard to the glory and good of Rome, the inſeparable characteriſtic of the old free Romans, was now loſt and forgot; it was converted into fear and anxiety of every man for himſelf. This will ever be the caſe when a Prince, armed with ſufficient Powers, ſets up his own intereſt againſt that of the State; particulars having no longer any thing to do with the public, will ſtudy only to ſecure themſelves.

Sect. III. *The exceſſive Power of the Imperial freed Slaves; with the ſcandalous Submiſſion and Honours paid them by the Romans.*

AS Tyranny produces abject fear and anxiety in particulars for themſelves, ſo from this ſelfiſh fear and anxiety come the beginning and progreſs of univerſal Servitude, the extinction of all Patriotiſm and honeſt zeal, the power of corruption, and the ſymptoms of a State haſtening to ruin and deſolation. All the good or evil which could befal any Roman, lay wholly in the breaſt and option of the Prince; and hence the ſtudy of every man to humour the Prince, or the Slaves who governed him; for governed he generally was by ſlaves the vileſt and moſt peſtilent; yes, the whole Empire, that Empire that contained a great ſhare of the Globe, and terrified almoſt the whole, was ſwayed, ſold, oppreſſed, and exhauſted by ſlaves bought from the chain and the oar. CLAUDIUS not only declared that af-

fairs

fairs adjudged by his Receivers ſhould be held equally valid with thoſe adjudged by himſelf, but got the ſame eſtabliſhed by a ſolemn Decree of Senate. Now theſe Receivers of the Emperors were his manumized Slaves, who under that title often governed Provinces; he raiſed the authority of theſe vermin to a pitch equal with that of the Sovereign and the Laws. FELIX Governor of Judea was a freed ſlave, the huſband of three Queens, and the brother of PALLAS another freed ſlave, who controlled the Emperor, lay with the Empreſs, and was maſter of the Empire; ſo that NERO ſaid pertinently of him, when he turned him out of office, "that PALLAS went to abdicate the Sovereignty."

BEHOLD the debaſement of the great and venerable Roman Senate! It is not enough that they flatter the Emperor, and heap upon him Powers and Honours ſo great and manifold, that at laſt they have none for themſelves, hardly any for him; they muſt likewiſe adore, and enrich, and exalt the fugitives and off-ſcourings of the earth, inſects naturally doomed to the vileſt offices of the kitchen, ſtable, and privies. The Romans, Lords of the World, muſt put their necks under the feet of the dregs of human race. For a contemptible project of that ſame PALLAS, about puniſhing Ladies who married ſlaves, BAREAS SORANUS Conſul elect, the firſt Magiſtrate in the Roman world, moved the Senate to reward him with the ornaments of Prætor, the next Civil Office in the State, and a preſent of near an hundred thouſand pounds. To this motion it was added by CORNELIUS SCIPIO, that PALLAS ſhould have public thanks, that he who was deſcended from the old Kings of Arcadia, ſhould to the ſervice of the public thus poſtpone that his ancient Nobility, and deign to be reckoned amongſt the Emperor's Miniſters. But CLAUDIUS averred, that

that PALLAS would reſt content with the honours of the Prætorſhip, and, rejecting the preſent, chuſe to live in his uſual poverty. The Decree paſſed, was engraved in braſs, and publicly hung up; a pompous Decree, in which a fellow, lately a bare-footed ſlave, now worth near eight millions, was magnified for obſerving the laudable ſelf-denial and parcimony of the primitive ages. Obſerve the ſtrange inverſion of all order and ſenſe! dignity debaſed; infamy exalted; how low the awful authority of the Senate deſcended! how vilely the function of a Conſul proſtituted! how ignominiouſly the glorious name of SCIPIO employed! how abominably the ornaments of Magiſtracy defiled! an ordinance of State, big with ſervitude and lies! what ſtupidity in the Emperor, what inſolence in the ſlave, and what a melancholy failure of all Virtue, Truth, and Liberty amongſt all degrees of men! It was, in truth, a compliment made to a ſlave by a body of ſlaves, as PLINY well obſerves. We may gueſs at the villainy and evil deeds of the man by the enormous Honours that were paid him, though we had no other rule or proof, as we have proofs enough. No ſuch violent court was ever paid to SENECA; and TIGELLINUS had much more weight and authority than BURRUS.

REAL goodneſs and merit beget in all good men real friendſhip and affection; and real affection is never ſo loud nor ſhewy as affection aſſumed. Where we ſincerely like and eſteem, we are not afraid of ſuſpicion in the perſon eſteemed, nor ſpend much breath and ceremony to convince him. But where we are conſcious of our own inſincerity, our profeſſions are pompous and wordy. It was abſolutely impoſſible that theſe vile Upſtarts ſhould love the Senate, or any great men, great in blood, or fortune, or virtue; or the Senate or any great Roman could love ſuch vile Upſtarts; but we ſee what diſ-

guiſes

guiſes fear and falſhood can put on! Impartial poſterity, which neither fears the Senate nor PALLAS, can perceive nothing in the Honours by them conferred upon him, but the infamy of both perpetuated. Nor was CLAUDIUS the only Emperor who was thus led in bondage by his franchiſed bondmen; others ſubmitted to the ſame vaſſalage, to the ſame infamous Counſellors; *Plerique principes* (ſays PLINY) *libertorum erant ſervi; horum conſiliis, horum nutu regebantur.* Was not the world finely governed, and humankind completely happy; when the univerſal Lord was ſwayed by the luſt and nod of creatures juſt redeemed from the infamy of whips and fetters? The mighty CÆSAR, to whom the Romans owed all their enſuing miſery and bondage, began the exaltation of ſuch ſons of earth; and, in contempt of cenſure, declared, that, "if he had employed Highwaymen "and Aſſaſſins to ſupport his grandeur, he would "in return have honoured them with the ſame fa-"vour." A true confeſſion, but methinks not very politic; we have ſeen already whether his worthy Succeſſors did not actually do ſo, and what were the *Inſtrumenta regni*, the bloody tools and machinery of abſolute Rule. POLYCLETUS, a manumized ſlave of NERO's, when ſent by his maſter to inſpect the State of Britain, travelled with ſuch an immenſe train, that he was a burden to great nations, even thoſe of Italy and Gaul.

Sect. IV. *The exceſſive Flattery of the Senate, how ill judged.*

THERE was no mean in the Flattery of the Senate. They might have been good Courtiers, without being ſo abandoned Courtiers. There are inſtances of their carrying queſtions againſt the ſpirit of the Court and the efforts of Favourites, in

the worſt Reigns. Thus, in ſpight of all the power and caballing of AGRIPPINA, they expelled TARQUITIUS PRISCUS, a creature of hers, from the Senate, in deteſtation of his baſe attack upon the life of STATILIUS TAURUS, in ſubſerviency to the Empreſs, who yearned after the Wealth and fine Gardens of that illuſtrious Senator. Thus too in the caſe of ANTISTIUS the Prætor, who had compoſed ſome virulent Verſes againſt NERO, and expoſed them at a great entertainment; though he was impleaded of Treaſon by COSSUTIANUS CAPITO ſon-in-law to that powerful minion TIGELLINUS, and though JUNIUS MARULLUS, the Conſul elect, moved that he might be doomed to die after the rigorous manner of antiquity; the Senate followed the milder motion of THRASEA PETUS for confiſcation and exile. Nor would they depart from the ſentence even after they had received NERO's Letter about it, though in it he manifeſted high indignation.

THEY might have made ſome other efforts of this kind, where they made none; on the contrary, they gave away their Liberties and Voices faſter than they could have been taken. But the honeſt boldneſs of THRASEA broke the bondage which hung upon the minds of others; ſo much can the example of one worthy man do even in an aſſembly devoted to corruption and ſervitude! It is true, THRASEA paid a ſevere after-reckoning, and it was the apprehenſion of that which ſtopped the mouths of others, or opened them only to fawn. But who would not chuſe the reputation, and integrity of a Patriot, that of a THRASEA, even at the expence of his fate; rather than the fortune and favour of the ſycophant VITELLIUS, with the abjectneſs of his life, and infamy of his name?

Sect. V. *The free Judgment of Posterity a powerful warning to Princes, to reign with moderation and to detest Flatterers. The Name and Memory of the Roman Tyrants how treated.*

ALL men have some vanity, and thence some fondness for fame; if they would acquire it, and avoid infamy, they must square their actions to the judgment of Posterity. With Posterity, little evasions, false colourings, and chicane will not pass for reasons, though they may with our cotemporaries, who are often influenced by friendships, often engaged in parties, often warmed and misled by passion and partiality. Death and Time destroy all artifices, dissipate all mists, and unveil mysteries; the intentions of men with all their motives and pursuits are then scanned and laid open. The flights of Flattery, will not then be termed fondness for the Prince, nor the efforts of Ambition miscalled public zeal. CLAUDIUS and PALLAS, TIBERIUS and SEJANUS, NERO and TIGELLINUS; men so caressed, applauded and worshipped during their life and power, men who then employed all tongues in their praises, do now fill, and have long filled the mouths of all men with detestation, and their hearts with abhorrence. What avail now their craft and subornations, their power and high posts? Does the awe of purple, or the violence of the sword, do Prætorian Guards and perverted Laws, secure their memory, as they did their persons? Do I, for example, fear their charges of Treason, or the vile breath of their Informers, while I treat them as sanguinary Monsters, as the Tyrants, Pests and Oppressors of the earth, as public Curses, and Murderers in cold blood?

THESE

THESE Tyrants and their Flatterers, though they pushed both Tyranny and Flattery as far as they would go, have not been able, with all their Arts and Terrors, to stifle the memory of men, nor restrain the speech. They are handed down to us under their proper titles. The *Emperor* NERO we seldom say; but the *Tyrant* NERO is in every one's mouth; and the idea of a sycophant ever accompanies the name of VITELLIUS. His great credit and offices are forgot, or remembered only to his infamy. What a check must History and the Censure of Posterity be to a Prince that has any reflection! Had TIBERIUS, CLAUDIUS, CALIGULA, and other Imperial Monsters considered what frightful lights they were like to be drawn in to future times, it would have spoiled their pleasure in tyrannizing, and made them hate their Flatterers, who persuaded them that all men, at least the best men, spoke of them as they themselves spoke. With regard to Fame and Posterity it had been better for these wretches that they had never been born, as well as happy for human-kind; yet no man was ever a greater drudge for Fame than NERO; *Erat illi æternitatis perpetuæque famæ cupido, sed inconsulta*, says SUETONIUS. Witness his laborious fatigues in the Theatre and Circus, continued day after day, and often nights and days, for the reputation of a good Singer, Harper, and Coachman. CALIGULA aspired to the like glory, and was a notable Fencer and assiduous Dancer, as well as a Charioteer[i]. Laudable Ambition for a Prince, and as just and high as that of many others!

TIBERIUS also wished and prayed for the praises and affectionate remembrance of posterity[k]. How

[i] Scenicas saltandi canendique artes studiosissime appeteret — Thrax & auriga.

[k] Ut quandocunque concessero, cum laude & bonis recordationibus facta atque famam nominis mei prosequantur.

well he ſucceeded, we all know. He is deteſted as one of the moſt dangerous, falſe, and deliberate Tyrants that ever afflicted men; nay, he was no ſooner known to be dead, than the people broke forth into joy and execrations; ſome cried, "Into "the Tiber with TIBERIUS: others beſought "mother earth and the infernal Gods to allot him "no manſion but amongſt the damned and ac-"curſed:" others threatened to drag his body with hooks to the charnel of malefactors. And when his corps was going to be removed from Miſenum to Rome, every one cried aloud, that it ſhould rather be carried to the town of Atella, to be in the Amphitheatre there thrown into a fire, till it were half burned. Such were the marks of remembrance he had, and deſerved, from the people! The other two are treated as frantic butchers, or rather as two mad dogs delighted with carnage and worrying, bent and active to kill and deſtroy. What is it to us that they were Princes and Emperors? Men of ſenſe find no magic in names, but regard Monſters as Monſters, whatever titles Fortune or Flatterers gave them, or they themſelves took.

IT is thus Tyrants ſuffer the vengeance of afterages; and terrible vengeance it is to ſuch as are tender of their Renown, and ſeek Immortality, as moſt Princes do; and indeed have it forced upon them, ſince they ſtand too high, and do too much not to be remembered. Hence they ought to be more afraid of future cenſure, which is generally well grounded and will certainly laſt, than of temporary praiſe, which is often falſe, conſequently fleeting, at beſt to be ſuſpected.

Sect. VI. *How lamentably Princes are debauched and misled by Flatterers.*

NOW if Tyrants are abhorred, how much abhorrence is due to Flatterers, who often change Princes into Tyrants, and make Tyrants worse than they would be? TIBERIUS assumed the Sovereignty with great diffidence; and his natural wariness would have probably made him mild against his nature, had not the Romans so readily offered him their necks and their persons to bondage. But when he found them devoted to Slavery, he used them like Slaves, and having nothing to fear from them, he only followed the vile bent of his own spirit[1].

DOMITIAN rejoiced when he found that AGRICOLA had left him coheir with his wife and daughter; he vainly thought it done out of judgment and choice, and in pure regard to his person. So much was he corrupted and blinded by continual Flattery, as to be utterly ignorant, that no Prince, but a bad one, was ever by a father tender of his issue and family, assumed into heirship with them, as PLINY the younger well observes.

NERO was in terrible agonies after he had murdered his Mother; he dreaded the soldiery, the Senate, and the people; but when, instead of danger and resentment, he met with flattering speeches from the Officers, flattering Decrees from the Senate, popular Processions, Applauses, public Devotions paid to all the Deities, and universal acquiescence; his native insolence became more swelled; and, from this general Servitude, assuming the pride of victory, he ascended the Capitol, offered sacrifices, and thenceforth surrendered himself to the full sway of all his exorbitant lusts. When he had caused these

[1] Rupto pudore & metu, suo tantum ingenio utebatur.

two noble Romans, PLAUTUS and SYLLA, to be assassinated, he wrote to the Senate without mentioning the execution, only that they were two men of turbulent spirits, and what mighty care it cost him to secure the State. Instantly the obsequious fathers degraded from the Senate these dead Senators, and ordained public Prayers and Sacrifices. NERO, upon the receiving of this Decree, and finding that all his brutal iniquities and acts of blood passed for so many feats of renown, grew emboldened to do a thing which even NERO till then durst not do, and turned away the virtuous OCTAVIA his wife, her by whom he held the Empire[m]. Nay, when soon after the Imperial butcher had ordered the blood of that illustrious Innocent to be shed, thanks and oblations were again presented to the Deities, by an ordinance of Senate. A particular, says TACITUS, which with this view I recount, that whoever reads the events of those times in this or any other History, may take it for granted, that as often as the Emperors commanded acts of cruelty, banishments and assassinations, so often thanks and sacrifices were decreed to the Gods; and those Solemnities which were of old the marks and consequences of public victories and public felicity, were now so many sad marks of public slaughter and desolation[n].

THIS was remarkably verified afterwards as well as now; when NERO, upon the discovery of PISO's conspiracy, had spilt rivers of blood, and slain men by heaps; the fuller the city was of executions and funerals, the fuller too were the Temples of sacrifices. One had lost a son, one a brother,

[m] Igitur accepto patrum consulto, postquam cuncta scelerum suorum pro egregiis accipi videt, exturbat Octaviam.

[n] Quod ad eum finem memoravimus, ut quicunque casus temporum illorum nobis vel aliis auctoribus noscent, præsumptum habeant, quotiens fugas & cædes jussit princeps, totiens grates deis actas; quæque rerum secundarum olim, tum publicæ cladis insignia fuisse.

or kinſman, or friend in this general butchery; and the greater their loſs, the more gayety they ſhewed, adorned their houſes with Laurel, frequented Temples with Thankſgiving, embraced the knees of the Tyrant, and worried his hand with kiſſes. NERO took all this for ſo many ſincere tokens of affection and joy; when, in truth, their Congratulations and Flattery were juſt in proportion to their ſevere ſorrow.

Sect. VII. *The peſtilent tendency of flattering Counſels, and the Glory of ſuch as are ſincere.*

WHAT a poiſonous thing is Flattery? By it Princes are miſled into a perſuaſion that all their meaſures of Oppreſſion, all their acts of Frenzy and Rage, are juſt meaſures of Government, that forced praiſe is real affection, that they themſelves are popular when they are abhorred; and thus they are kept from repenting or amending, becauſe, relying upon the aſſurances of Flatterers, they cannot find that they have done amiſs, or ſee any thing to be mended. The Flatterers of NERO ridiculed SENECA, and railed at him, and perſuaded that Prince he wanted no Tutors. The ſame did the Flatterers of COMMODUS in relation to the old Counſellors; which had been his father's. NERO and COMMODUS followed the advice of their Flatterers, and reigned miſchievouſly, and died tragically, and their memories are abhorred. Thus they are kept hoodwinked and ſecure, till the firſt thing they open their eyes upon, is their Throne tottering or overturned, and perhaps an executioner's knife at their breaſt; and even when things are come to that extremity, there will be thoſe to miſrepreſent and flatter, as in the caſe of GALBA; a few moments before he was maſſacred, he was ſoothed with falſe aſſurances of ſecurity [o].

[o] Quidam minora vero, ne tum quidem obliti adulationis.

How pernicious too is ſuch falſification even to thoſe that practiſe it; ſince though they mean it out of ſelfiſhneſs and for ſecurity, yet by ſanctifying upon all occaſions the Oppreſſion and Deſtruction of others, they do but invite their own! Whereas were matters laid honeſtly before Princes, that this meaſure is a Grievance, that an Oppreſſion, and that whatever is unjuſt to others is dangerous to themſelves, they would prefer caution with ſafety, to humour and wilfulneſs accompanied with peril; they would grow into a habit of doubting, deliberateing and enquiring; of ſubmitting their own judgment to that of others; of remembering that they are what they are for the ſake of their People, and that they ought to have no Will, nor Intereſt, but the public Will and the public Intereſt.

Had NERO purſued the good Rules of Government dictated by SENECA and BURRUS, and propoſed by himſelf in his firſt Speech to the Senate; had he avoided the counſels of that bloody and deteſtable ſycophant TIGELLINUS, and of others like him, he might have ended his reign with as much renown as he began it, and left a memory revered as much as it is now deteſted. And would the Confidents of Princes, inſtead of debaſing themſelves into the characters of Paraſites, inſtead of abuſing their truſt, and bringing infamy upon their maſters and themſelves; would they, inſtead of this, give upright counſel, ſuch as conduced to the good of all men, they would, beſides the praiſe of well-doing, take the beſt method to ſecure themſelves, their fortunes and families in the general ſecurity: or, ſhould they be rewarded with diſgrace, or even with death, they would have the approbation of their own Conſciences, the applauſes of the Living, and the praiſes of Poſterity. But while they ſooth the Prince in his jealouſies and violence, and encourage him in deſtroying ſuch as he, or ſuch as they fear or diſlike, they ſet him a leſſon and example

for

for turning the edge of his fury upon themſelves, whenever he becomes prompted by his humour or caprice; a caſe often happening, and always to be apprehended. The Courtiers and Flatterers of the Emperor CARACALLA, to humour him, concurred with him in the murder of his brother GETA; and, after that murder, though committed by his own hand, were themſelves murdered for their wicked complaiſance, and amongſt them LETUS his Favourite and Confident. Yet he was ſo far from remorſe for ſhedding his brother's blood, that he maſſacred every friend and adherent to his brother, to the number of twenty thouſand, in a ſhort time. TIBERIUS, of all his Friends, Confidents and Counſellors, ſcarce let one eſcape a violent end, unleſs where by a natural death they prevented it: and they who had been the Miniſters of his Tyranny, hardly ever failed to fall by it. He indeed protected them from the reſentment and proſecution of others; but he generally poured vengeance upon them himſelf[p]. VESCULARIUS ATTICUS and JULIUS MARINUS, were two of his moſt ancient intimates; they had accompanied him during his retirement at Rhodes, and never forſook him in his retreat at Capreæ; they had abetted his Tyranny, and aſſiſted him in his cruel Counſels, nor does it appear that they had ever offended him by any good Counſel. VESCULARIUS was his manager and inter-agent in the perfidious plot to deſtroy that noble Roman LIBO DRUSUS; and by the co-operation of MARINUS, SEJANUS had worked the overthrow of CURTIUS ATTICUS. Was not all this merit enough, at leaſt, to have redeemed their own lives? It was not; they fell themſelves victims to his cruelty, as to ſatiate his cruelty they had made others fall: *ad*

[p] Scelerum miniſtros, ut perverti ab aliis nolebat; ita plerumque ſatiatus, & oblatis in eandem operam recentibus, veteres & prægraves adflixit.

mortem aguntur : quo lætius acceptum, ſays TACITUS, *ſua exempla in conſultores recidiſſe* ; their tragical end was followed with the more joy, for that upon their own heads had thus recoiled the precedents of their own traiterous deviſing. In truth, theſe inſtruments of cruelty are generally abhorred by the Princes that uſe them. ANICETUS Admiral of the Gallies to NERO, conducted and perpetrated the murder of his mother AGRIPPINA, and for a ſhort ſpace continued in ſome ſmall favour with the Prince ; but was afterwards held in greater averſion ; for, ſays TACITUS, the Miniſters of evil Counſels are by Princes beheld as men whoſe looks continually upbraid them [q]. Such too was the fate of CLEANDER under COMMODUS, who loved him, was governed by him, and cut off his head. How differently related is the fate of BURRUS, ſuſpected to have been poiſoned by NERO [r]: Mighty and laſting was the ſorrow of Rome for his death, for the Romans remembered his virtues ; and a little before [s], While the calamities of the Public were growing daily more heavy and bitter, the reſources of the Public were diminiſhed, and BURRUS died. How nobly too is the tragedy of SENECA recounted ! it is too long to find room here.

I ſhall end this Diſcourſe with obſerving, that as Flattery is the effect of dread and falſhood ; as the moſt tyrannical Princes are moſt flattered, and men of the falſeſt minds are the greateſt Flatterers ; this conſideration ſhould be a leſſon to Princes and great men, to weigh the actions they do againſt the praiſes they receive ; and if they find themſelves righteous, they may conclude their panegyrics to be ſincere. Let them reflect upon their acts of benevolence or oppreſſion, and how they have uſed their people.

[q] Ut exprobrantes aſpiciuntur.

[r] Civitati grande deſiderium ejus manſit per memoriam virtutis.

[s] Graveſcentibus in dies publicis malis, ſubſidia minuebantur, conceſſitque vita Burrus.

They

They would alſo do well to examine what ſort of men they are who praiſe them; whether men of virtue and honour, lovers of truth, lovers of their Country, and of human-kind; or whether they are thoſe unlimited Sycophants, whoſe cuſtom and rule it is to extol at random all the ſayings and doings of Princes, worthy and unworthy [t].

DISCOURSE IX.

Upon COURTS.

Sect. I. *Of Freedom of Speech; and how reaſonable it is.*

TO the foregoing Diſcourſe upon Flattery, I thought it might not be unſuitable to ſubjoin another upon Courts, the place where that peſtilent and unmanly practice is wont chiefly to prevail.

DURING thoſe Reigns which I have been deſcribing, when Power was eſtabliſhed in Terrors, and Subjection converted into Abaſement, ſmall was the wonder that reſtraint upon ſpeech was no inconſiderable link in the public chain, and care taken that ſuch as preſumed to breathe aught but vaſſalage, ſhould not breathe at all. This was wretched policy, barbarous, and impoſſible to be practiſed. The paſſions are not to be extinguiſhed but with life; and to forbid people, eſpecially a ſuffering people, to ſpeak, is to forbid them to feel.

IT is not indeed to be expected that men ſhould be ſuffered to meet together tumultuouſly, in order to publiſh their mutual Diſcontents and Wrongs, and to inflame one another; but complaints uttered in their families, or dropped occaſionally, or com-

[t] Quibus omnia principis, honeſta atque inhoneſta laudare mos eſt.

municated to a friend, can never affect Authority. The more men expreſs of their hate and reſentment, perhaps the leſs they retain; and ſometimes they vent the whole that way; but theſe paſſions, where they are ſmothered, will be apt to feſter, to grow venomous, and to diſcharge themſelves by a more dangerous organ than the mouth, even by an armed and vindictive hand. Leſs dangerous is a railing mouth, than a heart filled and enflamed with bitterneſs and curſes; and more terrible to a Prince ought to be the ſecret execrations of his people than their open revilings, or than even the aſſaults of his enemies. Of all the blood ſpilt under TIBERIUS and the following Tyrants for Words (and for no greater cauſe a deluge was ſpilt) how ſmall a part conduced to their ſecurity? none that I remember; but every drop was an indelible ſtain upon their perſons and upon their Government; every drop derived hatred, and conſequently weakneſs and danger, upon it. Rigorous puniſhment for ſmall faults, or for ſuch as in the common opinion paſs for none, is a mark of ill politics; it makes the ſpirit of the Adminiſtration look hideous and dreadful, and it renders every man who finds himſelf liable to the like faults, a capital enemy. Surely it ought to be a maxim in Government, that errors which can have no conſequences, ought to have no puniſhment.

OLIVER CROMWELL, who ſeems to have ſeen far into the heart of man, was little affected with the hard words and invectives of particulars, and as high as he carried Authority, left people to talk and rail. The ſame is true of the late Regent of France, one who well knew human nature, and the nature of power; it was then common to ſee Frenchmen ſwagger and ſtorm as freely as an old Roman would have done againſt an unpopular Magiſtrate. In truth, where no liberty is allowed to ſpeak of Governors, beſides that of praiſing them, their praiſes will be little believed. Their tender-

neſs

neſs and averſion to have their conduct examined, will be apt to prompt people to think their conduct guilty or weak, to ſuſpect their management and deſigns to be worſe than perhaps they are, and to become turbulent and ſeditious, rather than be forced to be ſilent. When nothing but incenſe and applauſe will be accepted or borne; all plain dealing, all honeſt counſel and true information, will be at an end, and baniſhed, to make room for deceitful adorations, for pleaſing and pernicious falſhoods. If Princes whoſe memory is diſliked, had allowed their ſubjects and co-temporaries to have ſpoken truth to them, or of them, probably Poſterity would not have ſpoke ſo much ill, as it is probable they would not then have deſerved it; and I am apt to believe, that it had been better for all of them to have permitted all that could have been ſaid, than to have miſſed hearing what it imported them to have heard; better to have heard the diſguſts and railings of their people, than that their people were armed againſt them, or revolted from them; a fate which has befallen ſome of them, who, having had Courtiers over-complaiſant, or ears over-tender, learnt that they were dethroned before they had learnt that they were not beloved; and found ſcarce any interval between the acclamations of Flatterers and the ſtrokes of an Executioner. Such is the genius of Courts, where ill tidings are generally concealed or diſguiſed; ſuch too often the ſilence and ſoothings of Courtiers, who tell only or chiefly what is pleaſing; and ſuch ſometimes the pride and impatience of Princes, that they will ſuffer nothing which ruffles their paſſions, to approach their underſtanding.

Sect. II. *The Spirit of Courtiers what; ſome good ones.*

IT is ſomething elſe than zeal for telling truth, that carries men to Court, and keeps them in it; to raiſe an intereſt, or to preſerve it, is the more prevailing

prevailing paſſion. And becauſe whoever ſets his foot there with any view to place and favour, is always ſure of competitors, be his perſon or pretences what they will, ever ſo conſiderable or inconſiderable; his chief care will be to conquer oppoſers, and ſecure himſelf; and as there ever will be ſome oppoſition, real or apprehended, that care will be conſtant. Hence the ſpirit of a Court, ſelfiſh, ſuſpicious and unfriendly; and hence the ſupple ſpirit of Courtiers, to love and hate, court and avoid, praiſe and perſecute the ſame perſon with notable ſuddenneſs, juſt as he is promoted or diſgraced, and can help or hurt, or is to be deprived of all capacity to do either. To be well with the ſubſiſting Power, with him who holds the reins of Authority, and diſtributes, or cauſes to be diſtributed the bleſſings and terrors of Power, is the main purſuit; his motions are chiefly watched, his affections and averſions are ſtudied and adopted; and thus a ſmile or a frown from the Throne, or from one who is next the Throne, is eagerly catched up, ſeizes the faces of a whole drawing-room in an inſtant, and is handed down, with ſignal uniformity, through all claſſes of men, from a Grandee to the loweſt Clerk in an Office.

A Court is a great Exchange, where one or a few have favours to diſpoſe of, where many reſort to procure them, and where all therefore ſtrive to outgo in the ways of pleaſing every one who has the ſame aim, and ſtudy every method to render themſelves acceptable. Hence their obſequious Countenances, Flattery, Inſinuations, and Zeal, ſome paſſions concealed, ſome diſguiſed, and others perſonated; hence too their attachment to ſuch as can help to promote them, and their neglect of ſuch as cannot; hence with them good fortune, however unworthily placed, always paſſes for merit, and abilities ever ſink with power; and hence their falſehood, ingratitude and courteous behaviour.

THAT

THAT this is true of the herd of Courtiers, I believe will be allowed. Without doubt there are exceptions, and men of great honour, disinterestedness and friendship are often to be found there; men who scorn treachery and baseness, and would risk all, rather than do a mean thing. Such were MANIUS LEPIDUS, SENECA, and BURRUS; such COCCEIUS NERVA and JULIUS AGRICOLA, and such were the Chancellor DE L'HOSPITAL, Chancellor HYDE, and the Earl of SOUTHAMPTON; all these great men were Courtiers, and lived in Courts full of corruption and dangerous designs; all practised some degrees of suppleness, submitted their opinions to the necessity of the times, and, by defeating many evil measures, were the Authors of much good, though not of all that they would.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU makes heavy complaints of the opposition which he found to his best designs from the credit and intrigues of Women, and the whispers and ill offices of malevolent Courtiers. These great men abovementioned were likewise often wronged; bad counsels which they had heartily opposed, were imputed to them; and, when they concurred with some excesses to obviate much greater, just allowances were not made, and their motives were spitefully construed. Thus the Chancellor DE L'HOSPITAL was severely censured by the Hugonots for passing the Edict of Romorantin, which bore hard upon them; though by that Edict he prevented their utter extirpation, and the misery of all France, by hindering the introduction and establishment of that monstrous and bloody Tribunal the Inquisition; in which design the Court and Parliament were already agreed, and I think the Edict for that detestable purpose was ready. For such signal and glorious service the Protestants first railed at him, and the Papists afterwards cursed him. Lord CLARENDON too was reproached

proached with the ſale of Dunkirk, and for many other exorbitancies which the ſincere heart of that upright Miniſter abhorred. Nor could the good counſels of SENECA ſecure him from much envy and defamation; and many great Miniſters, thought to be the Authors of evil counſels, have fallen into diſgrace, or periſhed, for daring to offer ſuch as were benevolent and upright [a].

Sect. III. *The Arts of Courtiers; their Cautiouſneſs, and its Cauſes.*

PLauſibleneſs and guiſes are inſeparable from Courts; men muſt not ſeem to underſtand all that they apprehend or know, no more than they muſt ſpeak all that they think or feel [b]. Princes often diſſemble with their Subjects, their Miniſters with them, and all with one another; and every one talks, as he appears, to the beſt advantage. Some diſſimulation there, is abſolutely neceſſary, and therefore lawful. Men are not obliged upon all occaſions to ſpeak the truth, though whatever they ſpeak upon any occaſion ought to be true. Nor ought any one to be blamed for hiding his paſſions and ſentiments, when the diſcovery would only ſerve to hurt himſelf. But few people in private life can be truſted with ſecrets, which publiſhed would leſſen one's peace or fame; and in Courts there are much fewer, perhaps none. Particular intereſts and paſſions are often ſhifting there; men who were once cloſe united, become widely divided; friendſhips old and long, are turned into bitter and vindictive enmity; and he who would once have riſqued his life for the preferment of his friend, would venture as much, upon a diſguſt, to bring him to a ſcaffold. This might be exemplified by a thouſand inſtances in all Times

[a] Eſt vulgus ad deteriora promptum.

[b] Intelligebantur artes, ſed pars obſequii in eo ne deprehenderentur.

and

and Hiſtories. Nothing keeps the paſſions more awake than the purſuit of power; nothing touches the pride of man more ſenſibly, than neglect or diſappointment in that purſuit, and nothing is more tender and ſuſpicious than pride. Few have got ſo much as not to aim at more, or have had ever ſo much aſſiſtance but they expect further, even where the ſame is unreaſonable or perhaps impoſſible; and from diſappointment enſues diſguſt. Too rarely ſeen is that Gratitude which looks backward, and generouſly ſubſiſts upon favours paſt, without freſh claims and aliment; how much more common is that which muſt be kept up by daily benefits, and, when bereft of ſuch food, expires? Nor is the ceaſing of gratitude the worſt that is to be apprehended from ſelfiſh and ungenerous men; the room of it is too often ſupplied by ſpite and revenge; and if it be natural to hate ſuch as we have injured, this hate muſt be great in proportion to the injury done; and what injury can be greater than that of being barbarous to benefactors?

THESE conſiderations are ſufficient to make ſuch as frequent Courts and know men, ſlow and wary in confiding, and to put them under conſiderable reſerves even where they confide moſt. No one cares to be at the mercy of a friend, that may be an enemy; hence, in the making of friendſhip any where, it ought to be one of the firſt conſiderations, whether there be any probable cauſes which threaten a rupture; whether the buſineſs of love, or power, or fame, or anger, or intereſt, be never likely to interfere, and produce the moſt bitter of all enmities, that of friends.

THIS warineſs at Court extends even to words and looks. The converſing with great men and great affairs, naturally produces ſecreſy and ſilence; for, ſince ſuch is the folly of the world, that whatever a great man ſays, however light or accidental, ſhall be deemed deep and myſterious, if it has the

the leaſt alluſion to the tranſactions of the times, and ſince they who hear it will be apt, through vanity, to quote it; great men ſeldom ſay any thing upon ſuch ſubjects; and even when they hear the talk and ſentiments of others, they take care that neither their anſwers, nor their countenance, ſhall betray their own. Sometimes a word thoughtleſsly dropped, or an unſeaſonable ſmile, or ſome mark of ſurprize, has given light into an important deſign, and marred it intirely. The like circumſpection they obſerve in their diſcourſe upon particulars, becauſe their diſcourſe may be eaſily altered and poiſoned by the malice or folly of ſuch as hear it; a practice as uſual at Court, as in any country village; and many a man has been diſgraced by his own words, whiſpered and altered by a virulent breath; nay, the very ſame thing reported with a different tone and action, has had the ſame effect; and where the alteration of the words was conſiderable, thoſe of them which were forged and criminal have been believed, becauſe the reſt that were true and innocent, were well atteſted.

I ſhall illuſtrate this by the ſtory of young NERO (the ſon of GERMANICUS) in the Court of TIBERIUS. It excellently ſhews the jealouſies of Princes, and the ſpirit of Courts. That young Prince was intirely beloved of the Roman People, who had adored his father; hence the diſtaſte and dark ſuſpicions of the Emperor, his great uncle and grandfather by adoption. SEJANUS, who had already poiſoned the Emperor's ſon DRUSUS, and was plotting the overthrow of the whole reigning Houſe, fed the hate and apprehenſions of the old Prince, by malignant reports and infuſions concerning the young, now the next in Succeſſion. This he did by the inter-agency of hollow whiſpers and tale-bearers, who related and blackened every thing that eſcaped NERO, who was alſo hard uſed and brow-beaten, on purpoſe to extort from him ſevere and unwary complaints, ſuch as might fill up the charge againſt him.

him. Moreover his domeſtics and retainers, impatient to ſee him in power that they might ſhine in its trappings, were continually exciting him to rouſe his courage and exert himſelf, to meet the zeal of the people, to gratify the paſſionate wiſhes of the army; as the only expedients to daunt and repulſe the inſolence of SEJANUS, who now deſpiſed him as a boy, and his grandfather as ſuperannuated.

THE young Prince, however naturally modeſt, was yet by ſo many inſtigations tranſported beyond the circumſpection which the ſtation that he was in, and the many eyes that were upon him, required; and thence gave vent to words, which, though they betrayed no ſign of any treaſonable purpoſe, yet, being ill-guarded and ſavouring of contumacy, were, by the ſpies purpoſely placed about him, carried inſtantly, well heightened and imbittered, to TIBERIUS. Nor, under all theſe imputations and aſperſions, was he warned or admitted to vindicate himſelf, but beſet, on the contrary, with ſeveral melancholy and boding appearances. Some of the Court carefully ſhunned to meet him; others juſt greeted him, and then inſtantly left him; many with whom he had begun a converſation, broke it off abruptly; while the creatures and adherents of SEJANUS looked on with a malicious laugh. TIBERIUS too always received him ſternly, or with a hollow and upbraiding ſmile; and, whether the youth ſpoke, or ſaid nothing, there were crimes in his words, crimes in his ſilence. Neither did his bed-chamber and the ſhades of night ſecure him from his Enemies and Accuſers, for even his reſtleſsneſs and watchings, nay, his ſighs and dreams, were by his wife divulged to her mother LIVIA, and by her to her adulterer SEJANUS. DRUSUS alſo, his younger brother, was, by this wicked politician, drawn to combine againſt him as one who ſtood between himſelf and the Empire, and was better beloved by their common mother AGRIPPINA; a freſh cauſe of emulation and prejudice. Yet at that

very

very time was SEJANUS laying a design against the life of this same DRUSUS, whom he knew to be of a spirit tempestuous and fiery, and thence the more obnoxious to snares. Thus he began the Tragedy of these two youths, and that of their mother; but before he had finished theirs, suffered his own, which was abundantly bloody, but abundantly just. Their brother CALIGULA was a better Courtier; he studied the temper and manner of TIBERIUS, and in all things conformed to it; but was particularly a complete scholar of his in dissimulation [c]. Upon the condemnation of his mother, upon the exile of his brothers, not a word, not a groan escaped him, nor any symptom of resentment or pity. The passions are no where more agitated than at Court; yet no where are the signs of perturbation more suppressed.

Sect. IV. *Of Slanderers and Tale-bearers in Courts. The Folly of Craft.*

THE occupation of slander and whispering, will, like other occupations, always thrive according to the encouragement given to it, and being easily exercised, will be ever engaging fresh adventurers. What requires less labour and conscience than to find out, or frame, or invenom a story to the prejudice of another, especially when he is not to be heard in his own defence, nor suffered to confront his Accuser, nor perhaps even knows that he has one? There is an endless appetite in mankind for Intelligence and secret History; and in proportion to that appetite, they who feed it are well received and encouraged. But of all places they fare best in Courts. Great men are in the power of such people much more than they themselves imagine or mean; these assiduous shadows of theirs, who have their ear, and know their tempers, watch their unwary moments, and observe when they are gay and

[c] Simulationum falsa in sinu avi perdidiscerat.

open, when disobliged and angry, when full of thought and business; and will be sure to improve the present temper and opportunity. They know the Characters of men; know whom their Patron loves, whom he dislikes, to whom he is altogether indifferent, with what is likely to be believed of each. They extoll some, decry others, flatter him, misrepresent all; and sooth, or alarm, or divert him, just as his humour and their drift requires. If with this they can play the droll, and make dry and malicious jests, they are accomplished in their way; but most villainous is that talent which is good for nothing but to do hurt; it is like death and poison, fit only to take away life. VATINIUS was a buffoon of this pestilent cast, and, from working in a stall, taken to Court, at first for jest and diversion; but having a malicious spirit and a sarcastical turn, soon became a terror to every worthy and illustrious man; insomuch that in wealth and favour, and in power to do mischief, he grew to exceed all the other Ministers of iniquity in NERO's Court.

IN all Courts there are many who rise into notice and preferment for no greater merit than that of officiousness, buffoonery and tale-bearing; and Courts are the places in the world where bad and worthless people can do the most harm; a Barber, a Porter, a Valet de Chambre, and even a Child, are all capable of doing notable mischief there. Those instruments, let them be ever so mean, will find some or other to hear them; these will find others; and a story that has run through a hundred hands, and can be traced to no original, or to a very low one, perhaps the idle Prattle of a Chambermaid, may, for all that, have no mean influence.

BUT whatever reason men have, upon all these accounts, to keep a guard upon their lips and behaviour at Court; there is still room for great frankness and candour, and no necessity of illusion and

deceiving, though it be often necessary to let people deceive themselves, and would be often imprudent and dangerous to undeceive them. It is certain, that in the transacting of great Affairs, the rules of morality admit of some relaxation; this is to be lamented, but not to be helped. Such frequently are the exigencies of a State, and such always the crookedness and depravity of the heart of man, that were you to deal openly, to tell all that you mean, all that you know, and all that you aim at, you would expose your Country to ruin, and yourself to scorn, perhaps to the block. The most that can be done is to save appearances, and be wary of what expressions are used; for, upon these occasions, and many others, men are not to be upbraided for their silence. I know some who have gone through nice Embassies, some who have concluded intricate Negotiations, others who have administered the highest Offices, and still preserved the character of high Honour, and untainted Veracity. This shews the thing to be possible; and a promise or assurance, just given to serve a turn, and therefore not observed afterwards, does often more injury to him who made it, than the serving that turn did good. Cardinal RICHELIEU was not liberal of money nor promises; but he always performed more than he undertook; hence the zeal and firm adherence of all who depended upon him. Cardinal MAZARIN denied nothing, performed nothing, was believed in nothing, and his ill faith was become proverbial; hence no man was ever more hated, no man in his station more despised; he could never rely upon any party, for he deceived all parties and all particulars; and nothing could support him but the blind obstinacy of the Queen Regent, and the mere weight of Royal Power armed in his defence; but in spite of the Queen and the Authority Royal, he was forced to run and sculk for his life. The Parliament set a price

upon

upon his head, and issued ordinances to the people to fall upon him as a public Enemy. Yet he had never carried Sovereign Power so high as his Predecessor, nor ever exerted it so terribly; but he had no faith nor honour, and therefore no personal friends. To this hour, RICHELIEU is considered as a Minister, who, though arbitrary and severe, was yet an elevated genius, and a man of veracity to particulars; MAZARIN, as a man not rigorous indeed, nor vindictive, but sordid, addicted to low cunning and lyes, and with all the eclat of a great Minister unable to hide the little tricking Italian.

CRAFTINESS is a despicable quality, and undoes itself; he who has it, and acts by it, can never disguise it long; and when it becomes apparent, it becomes impotent, arms every body against it, brings hatred or ridicule, at best is perfectly useless; and the man, even when he deals uprightly, is suspected to mean knavishly. What gained TIBERIUS by all his profound subtlety and wiles, but to have his best actions ill construed, and his sincerest professions to be disbelieved [d]? What gained PHILIP the second of Spain by that strange and intricate scene of false Politics, concerted to transfer his own guilt upon the head of his Minister ANTONIO PEREZ; but to bring home the just imputation of that guilt to his own door, and to produce full proof, where before there was only suspicion? Sincerity is very consistent with human prudence, and often a part of it, considering the reputation that always attends it; and men even in Courts may be very upright, without being unguarded; nor can Courtiers ever do business with one another without some openness and candour. I have seen it asserted somewhere, that people are oftner deceived by distrust than by

[d] Ad vana & totiens irrisa revolutus, de reddendâ Repub. &c. vero quoque & honesto fidem dempsit.

acts of confidence. I have obſerved as plain dealing in Courtiers as in any other ſort of men in the world. It is ridiculous to carry reſerve and deepneſs into every thing. I know not a more contemptible ſort of men than ſuch as mimic buſineſs and myſtery; I have ſeen ſome ſubaltern Courtiers look as important, demure and wary, as if they had carried great matters, and even the weight of the State upon their ſhoulders. This affectation ſerves to raiſe their credit amongſt their ſervants and artificers in town, and in the country amongſt their tenants and neighbours, and diverts better judges. There are others who really believe themſelves to be in ſecrets; who take ſhrugs and nods, mere words and ſhadows for real confidence and communication; and live in happy ignorance, under the conceit of high truſt and intelligence. Some few too there are, who, beſides deſpiſing the foppery of being thought truſted where they are not, are careful to hide it from the world when they are. 'Tis men of this turn who chiefly do credit to a Court; and whoever does it credit, does it ſervice.

Sect. V. *How much worthleſs People abound in Courts, and why.*

AS in a great family, where there are numerous domeſtics, in ſpite of all the care that can be taken to examine the Characters of ſervants when they are admitted, or to regulate and watch their behaviour afterwards, there will be ſome ſtill unworthy of their places, and a diſcredit to their maſter; how much more ſo muſt it be in a Court, where not only the officers, but even the offices are ſo numerous; where ſo many have a right to prefer or recommend, and where ſo many do both from ſtrange, wretched, and ſelfiſh motives, nay, often for conſiderations altogether diſhonourable and ſcandalous? It is therefore

fore no wonder, that though the politeſt men are always found at Court, ſo likewiſe are always a ſtrange rabble of creatures, ignorant, mercenary, ridiculous and diſagreeable, who owe their preferment to chance, whim, money, dirty ſervices, to names, affinities, nay, to impudence and folly; and one who has no pretences to any thing elſe, neither to education, nor capacity, nor honour, nor ſpirit, nor even to good looks and common ſenſe, ſhall find pretences to a place, and probably get one. Nor is this to be remedied; ſince he who gives it does not chuſe, but take, and has often ſtronger reaſons to oblige the recommender, than to reject the recommended. I have known a friend, nay, a relation of a great Miniſter, diſappointed twice of an Office which was even intended for him, but by potent interceſſion was beſtowed elſewhere; the firſt time, upon one whom the Miniſter knew not, whom the Recommender knew not, nor whom even the Lady who ſpoke for him knew; but one who for a ſum of money engaged a Gentleman's Valet de Chambre to engage the Lady's Woman whom the Valet courted, to engage her Lady whom ſhe governed, to engage the laſt Recommender, who undertook it, and ſucceeded. He who had the firſt pretences was again put by upon a vacancy, and a creature put in, whom the Miniſter was known to deſpiſe, and almoſt to loath; but ſacrificed his opinion, his averſion, and his friend to mediation not more honourably obtained. At ſo critical a juncture as that of a Rebellion, I have heard of one who by a Letter written with the ſame pen which he had uſed in correſponding with the Rebels, procured a handſome proviſion for his brother, who wiſhed the Rebels as well as he, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very public place by acts of diſaffection, and diſloyal healths. Nor in this inſtance was there any money or intrigue at all; the Recommender had only once told a hearty lye for a

great man in a nice case, and sworn to it; hence his merit and influence. For an act of honour or spirit, done to serve the Public, he might perhaps have found less regard, perhaps not so much as access; as befel some who did.

IT is certain, great men often prefer such as they dislike, and such as do them no credit, sometimes with their eyes open, frequently through misinformation, and in both cases through solicitation and importunity. Men of merit often want interest, often application and boldness; whereas one who has no one worthy qualification, is the more likely to have importunity and shamelessness. It has indeed been often a notable advantage to a man, that he had not sense enough to be ashamed nor baulked; nay, I have known such a negative accomplishment to be the making of his fortune. A rational man will take a rational answer, or even a trifling one, when he sees it meant for a rebuke or a refusal; or perhaps he has too much pride to press and beseech, or to ask above once; but he who has no understanding to mislead him from his interest; or to apprehend what is said to him; he who is incapable of a repulse, or to be ashamed of begging and teasing; but has an unchangeable front and unwearied nonsense, stands in a fair light to have his pretences considered. Though he cannot persuade, he can tire; and he finds the fruit and advantage of talents in the absolute want of them; he is despised and promoted; a little share of good sense and modesty, would have ruined him, and he might then have been neither disliked nor minded.

SUCH is the force of recommendation without reason, or against it; and such too the power of assiduity unincumbered with parts! There are strange inconsistencies in the make, and turn, and education of men. There are those who can calmly encounter death and terrors in any shape, yet shall tremble in

speaking

ſpeaking two or three words to a Secretary of State; a taſk which would not baulk a common Footman. Others can harangue readily and boldly before a great Aſſembly, yet are ſtruck dumb in the company of Women, a place where a Page, or an ignorant Beau, can be entertaining and eloquent. Some have talents, but not the uſe of them. Many have capacity, but want application; many are hurt by too much application not directed by capacity; ſeveral have good ſenſe and activity, and can apply both to ſerve a friend, but neither to do good to themſelves. In ſome you find excellent parts fruſtrated by predominant paſſions; in others eminent courage and ſpirit drowned and depreciated by a modeſty almoſt childiſh; and numbers there are who, under a notorious defect of ability, acquirements, and every amiable quality, are puſhed up as high as any of theſe could have puſhed them, perhaps much higher than all of them would. So that, in the odd aſſortment of human things, Fortune would ſeem to correſpond with the caprice and wantonneſs of Nature.

I have already owned that it is impoſſible to keep many worthleſs people out of a Court, conſidering how many ways there are to get in; but owing to ſuch is a good meaſure of the obloquy uſually thrown upon Courts and miniſters; as the falſhood, the low tricks and ſpirit of theſe Underlings, are all aſcribed to the genius of the place and of power; and under the character of inſincerity and ingratitude, it is uſual in popular diſcourſe and opinion, though it is really very unjuſt, to throw all Courtiers together. I even believe that there are ſome of them fooliſh and baſe enough to like the reputation of ſlipperineſs and deceiving, for the ſake of being thought good Courtiers. From the numbers too and little minds of ſuch, we may account for the general outcry and reproach which from that quarter uſually follow any worthy Miniſter fallen into diſgrace. They are for

the Powers that be; and though they be the work of his hands, were thrust into place by his late might, and are still basking in the Sun-shine which he let in upon them; yet they are ready not only to leave a falling house, but to help pull it down. It is the temper of Renegadoes. The celebrated SANCHO was first warmly in the interest of the injured BASIL, one who had lost his Mistress for no want of merit, but through the superior wealth of his rival GAMACHO; yet the savory skimmings and loaded ladles out of GAMACHO's kettles, so effectually turned the supple spirit of that courtly Squire, that, without more ceremony, he began to justify and extol the happy supplanter, and to rail plentifully at poor BASIL under misfortune and disgrace.

WHAT can Ministers expect, when they have raised such dust, but that with the first contrary wind, it will be blown into their eyes? Mean spirits, selfish and impudent, can never take the impressions of gratitude and honour; no more than such as are modest and generous can ever be ungrateful or base. Yet hard is the task to weed a Court of such; not only because the same interest that recommends, does likewise protect; but because there are so many Candidates ready to fill their places, and supported by so many Patrons and Intercessors, that more will be disobliged than can be gratified by the change; and after all perhaps the fresh comer may not prove the more deserving man. Neither can the great Officers easily cure the exorbitances and exactions of the inferior; especially when the same are become common and inveterate. All men, even the greatest men desire to live easy with those they have daily to do with, and will not care to incur the clamour and curses of Subalterns; who, though they are but small men, yet being numerous, and supported by all who are interested in corruption, are able by continual complaints

plaints and noiſe, to weaken the credit of the moſt puiſſant Miniſter, and to make him very uneaſy.

Sect. VI. *The remarkable Fickleneſs and Inſincerity of Courtiers.*

I Had once an opportunity of ſeeing the ſteadineſs and gratitude of Courtiers put to trial, upon an apprehenſion of a change in the miniſtry. I was ſtrictly curious in my obſervations and inquiries; and my diſcoveries were ſuch, as have fully confirmed me in all my former and preſent ſentiments of theſe people. There were ſome who gave proofs of ſignal friendſhip and conſtancy to the ſtanding Miniſtry; ſeveral were wary and ſilent, but many made prepoſterous haſte to ſhew their levity and ſelfiſhneſs; and, from the behaviour of moſt, there aroſe warning enough, even to greatneſs itſelf, to rely for its beſt ſecurity upon wiſdom and innocence.

A little before the death of TIBERIUS, then paſt hopes, he was reported to be dead. Inſtantly the Courtiers crowded about CALIGULA the next heir, with a torrent of congratulations and zeal; and he was going forth, thus attended, to aſſume the pomp and exerciſe of Sovereignty, when ſudden tidings came, that the Emperor, who had lain ſome time in a ſwoon, was revived, and calling for ſome refreſhment to ſtrengthen his ſpirits. Inſtant terror ſeized all; moſt of them diſperſed and fled; ſome aſſumed an air of mourning; many feigned utter ignorance. CALIGULA was ſtruck ſpeechleſs, and, from the higheſt hopes, expecting his laſt doom. MACRO only remained undaunted; he commanded the ancient Emperor to be ſmothered with a great weight of coverings, having firſt ordered every body to quit the chamber.

AMONGST the many good things, and excellent sense in the Memoirs of Cardinal DE RETZ, there occur frequent pictures of the Court, particularly upon the beginning of the Commotions in Paris. At the Palace Royal, and especially in the Cabinet, upon that occasion, every individual assumed a person, and acted a part. The Coadjutor acted the innocent and the dupe, but was not so. MAZARIN affected to appear resolute, but appeared more so than he was. By starts and intervals the Queen counterfeited great temper and gentleness; yet had been at no time more bitter and enraged. The Duke DE LONGUEVILLE feigned extreme affliction, yet felt a sensible joy, as he was the man in the world the most delighted with the beginnings of all affairs. The Duke of ORLEANS, in speaking to the Queen, shewed great warmth and vehemence, but presently after fell a whistling (a usual habit of his) with all the indolence in the world. The Marshal DE VILLEROY displayed gayety and unconcern, to make his Court to MAZARIN; but to the Coadjutor he owned, with tears in his eyes, that the State was upon the brink of a precipice. Mr. DE BEAUTRU and Mr. DE NOGENT, played the buffoons, to humour the Queen, and drolled upon the commotion; though both these men knew well, that, in all probability, this farce of theirs would too soon be followed by a Tragedy. The Abbé DE LA RIVIERE only, though the most notorious poltron of the age, was persuaded that this popular insurrection was but smoke; this he maintained stiffly to the Queen, and this pleased her. To fill up the complement of Actors, the Marshal DE LA MEILLERAIE, who had hitherto joined with the Coadjutor in representing the terrors and consequences of the tumult, all on a sudden changed his past part, and took that of the Champion, with a different tone and other sentiments; in an instant

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he was all rage, and contempt, and defiance. *Mem.* DE RETZ, vol. 1. p. 122.

IN ſhort, the Queen and the Cardinal took every one who told them truth, for a certain enemy to themſelves, and for a promoter, at leaſt a ſecret well-wiſher, of the revolt. When this was the reward of plain-dealing, who would venture his place and favour by dealing plainly? Thus, for want of honeſt information, and ſincere adviſers, and by ſuſpecting or diſbelieving ſuch as were ſo, the State had nigh periſhed. The whole detail in DE RETZ is full of curious incidents, full of ſtrong and juſt reflections; as is almoſt the whole Book.

DISCOURSE X.

Of Armies and Conqueſt.

Sect. I. *The Burden and Danger of maintaining great Armies.*

TOO many Princes are infatuated with falſe notions of Glory, and thence delight in War. Without doubt it is true Glory to excel in war, where war is neceſſary; but in the whole courſe of Hiſtory, where one has been ſo, twenty have been otherwiſe; and to engage in it from the wantonneſs of ambition, or for the ſake of Laurel, or through peeviſhneſs and humour, is to riſque the blood, and treaſure, and people, and being of a State, for the foppery of falſe Heroiſm: or to ſacrifice the ſame to the ſelfiſh and inglorious view of making a Country (either that which conquers, or that which is conquered, or both) the prey of the Hero. For ſuch has been generally the logic of the Sword, that becauſe it has ſaved, it may

therefore oppreſs and enthral, and for defending a part, take the whole. Wars beget great Armies; Armies beget great Taxes; heavy Taxes waſte and impoveriſh the Country, even where Armies commit no violences; a caſe ſeldom to be ſuppoſed, becauſe it has ſeldom happened. But where great Armies are, they muſt be employed, and do miſchief abroad, to keep them from doing it at home; ſo that the people muſt be exhauſted and oppreſſed to keep the men of the ſword in exerciſe.

THE great Turk, to keep the ſwords of the Janizaries from his own throat, is forced to plague his neighbours, even where he earns nothing but blows and diſgrace; and thence increaſes the danger which he would avert; for, as by his Armies he makes all men ſlaves, he himſelf is a ſlave to his Armies, and often their victim; or, to eſcape himſelf, is frequently forced to ſatiate their fury by the blood of his braveſt Officers, and beſt Counſellors. If it be the Glory of his Monarchy, that he can put the greateſt men and all men to death, without reaſon, or form, or proceſs; he is ſubject in his own perſon to the ſame lawleſs and expeditious butchery, from his own outrageous ſlaves, who being not accuſtomed to receive any Law from him, give him none, whenever he is in their power, which is as often as they think fit; and he who is a Prince of ſlaves, is adjudged by ſlaves, and dies like the meaneſt ſlave. What is there to ſave him? His people who are oppreſſed, want the inclination, and being unarmed, the power. So that he lives in perſonal ſervitude to thoſe who are the inſtruments of public Servitude; and as others muſt die to pleaſe him, ſo muſt he to pleaſe them. It is the Law of retaliation, and operates as often as its cauſes operate, namely, caprice, or rage, or fear. This is the bleſſing of being abſolute, and unfettered by human conſtitutions; the ſame ſword which is lifted up for you,

at the command of whim or paſſion, is with the like wantonneſs lifted up againſt you; and if you reign in blood, you muſt not think it ſtrange to die in it.

Sect. II. *Great Armies the beſt diſciplined, whether thence the leſs formidable to a Country. Their Temper and Views.*

IN regard to public Liberty, Armies the beſt diſciplined are not leſs to be dreaded than the worſt, but I think, more; ſince their relaxation of diſcipline takes away from their union and ſufficiency; it renders them weaker and leſs equal to mighty miſchief; but where they are ſtrict and united, the higheſt iniquities are not too big for them. Diſorderly Troops may rob particulars, ravage towns, and haraſs a Country; but if you would ſubdue Nations, commit univerſal ſpoil, and enſlave Empires, your forces muſt be under the beſt regulations. It was with an Army victorious and brave, and conſequently well diſciplined, that AGATHOCLES ſlaughtered all the Nobles of Syracuſe, and brought that illuſtrious State (the nobleſt of all the Greek Cities) under bondage. CROMWELL's conqueſt of his Country was made by Troops the moſt ſober and beſt diſciplined that this, or perhaps any other nation, had ever ſeen. And it was with the beſt of all the Roman Armies, that CÆSAR eſtabliſhed himſelf Tyrant of Rome.

SOLDIERS know little elſe but booty, and blind obedience; whatever their intereſt, or rapacity dictates, they generally will do; and whatever their officers command, they muſt do. It is their profeſſion to diſpute by force, and the ſword; they too ſoon learn their own power, and where it is an overbalance for the Civil Power, it will always controul the

the Civil Power, and all things[a]. They find readily somewhat to say; the strongest is ever the best disputant, when he carries his reasons upon the point of his sword[b]. They have done great services, they have suffered great wrongs, and will therefore reward and redress themselves. It is the reasoning of CÆSAR[c]. It is nothing to the purpose to say, that an Army listed amongst the natives, especially the officers being natives, and many of them men of fortune, will never hurt or oppress their Country; for such were CROMWELL's Army, such were CÆSAR's, and many other enslaving Armies; besides Armies are soon modelled, and Officers who are obnoxious, are soon changed.

No Government can subsist but by force, and where-ever that force lies, there it is that Government is or soon will be. Free States therefore have preserved themselves, and their Liberties, by arming all their people, because all the people are interested in preserving those Liberties; by drawing out numbers of them thus armed, to serve their Country occasionally, and by dissolving them (when that occasion was over) into the mass of the people again; by often changing the chief Officers, or, if they continued the same, by letting their commissions be temporary, and always subject to the controul of the supreme Power, often to that of other co-ordinate Power, as the Dutch Generals are to the Deputies. It is indeed but rare, that States who have not taken such precaution, have not lost their Liberties; their Generals have set up for themselves, and turned

[a] Suâ in manu sitam rem Romanam; suis victoriis augeri Rempublicam.

[b] Preces erant, sed quibus contradici non posset.

[c] Hæc voluerunt: tantis rebus gestis, C. Cæsar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem.

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the Arms put into their hands against their Masters. This did MARIUS, SYLLA, CÆSAR, DIONYSIUS, AGATHOCLES, CHARLES MARTEL, OLIVER CROMWELL, and many others; and this they all did by the same means: it is still frequently done in the Eastern Monarchies; and by the same means all the Christian Princes of Europe, who were arbitrary, became so. For as the experience of all ages shews us, that all men's views are to attain dominion and riches, it is ridiculous to hope, that they will not use the means in their power to attain them, and madness to trust them with those means. They will never want pretences, either from their own safety, or the public Good, to justify the measures which have succeeded; and they know well, that the success will always justify itself; that great numbers will be found to sanctify their power; most of the rest will submit to it, and in time will think it just and necessary; perhaps at last believe it to be obtained miraculously, and to have been the immediate act of Heaven.

Sect. III. *Princes ruling by military Power, ever at the Mercy of military Men.*

AS by these means private men often come at Sovereign Power; so limited Princes often become arbitrary; but one mischief is inseparable from this sort of Government; they generally lose their Authority by the same method they get it. For, having attained it by violence, they are obliged to keep it by violence; and that cannot be done but by engaging in the interest of their Oppression a body of men, strong enough to maintain it; and it will for the most part happen, that as these men have no interest but their own in serving a Tyrant, so when that interest ceases, and they can serve themselves better in destroying him, they seldom fail of

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doing it. In fact we find, that in all the great despotic Governments in the world the Monarchs are slaves to their soldiery, and they murder and depose their Princes just according to their caprices. The General sets up any of the Princes of the blood, whom he thinks most for his interest, and oftentimes upon the death of the Possessor they are all set up, by one part of the Army or other, (if one cannot get all the rest into his power, and murder them) and the Civil War continues, till one has slaughtered all his rivals.

If this is not done in the modern absolute Governments of Europe, it is because despotic Power is not so thoroughly established there, and the people have yet some share of Property, and consequently of Power; but still they do it as much as they dare; in some instances they have set up themselves, and in almost all have been the principal engines and instruments in working about Revolutions, according to their own inclinations and disgusts. Of this we had many instances in our own Country, within the compass of not many years.

How much easier is it to corrupt a few leading Officers, often necessitous, generally ambitious, than to persuade a whole Kingdom, if they are well governed, to destroy themselves? Some will be disobliged, because not preferred to their wishes, or because others are preferred before them; they will differ according to their countries or their interests about the person to be their General, and to have the power of preferring or recommending Officers; and that part which is disappointed shall be a faction against that which succeeds. Where-ever Commissions are venal, there will be no difficulty of buying those, who are disaffected, into them, if they can disguise their disaffection till a proper opportunity. In a Country where factions abound, and those at the helm can find any account in keeping measures with

with a contrary faction, Officers will be put in to oblige that faction, ſometimes to gratify friends or favourites; at different times, others will be diſcarded, to oblige one party, or to mortify the other. New men, by private recommendation or money, ſhall ſupercede old Officers; this will create new diſſatisfactions and diſguſts, as ſoon as they dare ſhew them. When the Adminiſtration is changed, and another party gets uppermoſt, all thoſe things ſhall be done over again; ſo that at laſt an Army ſhall be a medley of all the factions of a Kingdom; and all their preferments and expectations depending upon the ſucceſs of thoſe factions; each individual will take every ſafe opportunity to advance his own; and for the moſt part one or other of theſe factions, ſometimes all, are ready to join in ſhuffling the cards anew; the ſure prelude of a Civil War.

THIS is and ever muſt be the caſe of all Countries which ſubſiſt by ſtanding Armies. For there are few inſtances in Hiſtory, to be given of Armies who did not play their own game, in times of diſtreſs; few inſtances of diſobliged or unpreferred Officers, who did not change ſides; too many have made their peace by ſome remarkable act of treachery; very often they have done it only from the motives of ambition and avarice. I wiſh that we never had had inſtances amongſt ourſelves of any who have done the ſame; or even of Generals who played a double game. What OLIVER CROMWELL, MONK, and very many both of the King's and of the Parliament Officers did in the Civil War, we all know, as well as what King JAMES's Army did more lately: I wiſh we equally knew what intrigues of this kind have been carrying on ſince. In Civil Wars amongſt men of the ſame Country, the communication is ſo eaſy between friends, relations and former acquaintance, that there is a very ready tranſition from one ſide to another;

and a little ſucceſs, ſmall intrigues, and a few advantages generally make that tranſition.

Sect. IV. *Inſtances of the Boldneſs and Fury of the Roman Soldiery.*

IT is aſtoniſhing from what light and wanton motives, by what vile and contemptible inſtruments, Armies are often inſtigated to violence and ravages. The ſedition of that in Pannonia, after the death of AUGUSTUS, was raiſed by one common ſoldier, inflamed by another; rapine and maſſacres were committed or defended by almoſt all; they murdered their Officers; even their General had like to have been murdered, upon the credit of an impudent lie told by one of theſe vile incendiaries, who yet could ſcarce alledge any other grievance than that they had not too much pay, and too little diſcipline. Nor was the inſurrection, excited by theſe two fellows, reſtrained to the Pannonian Legions only, but extended to thoſe in Germany, who waxed into fury rather greater, and outraged all things human and divine.

IT was one common ſoldier who gave the Empire to CLAUDIUS, by ſaluting him Emperor, while the poor daſtardly wretch was lurking in a corner, and expecting death inſtead of Sovereignty. Under GALBA two private Centinels undertook to transfer the Empire to another, and actually transferred it. It is ſhocking to reflect with what eagerneſs theſe blood-thirſty aſſaſſins haſtened to murder that good old Prince, for no charge of miſgovernment, nor for defrauding them of their pay: but becauſe he would not exhauſt the Public to glut them with bounties. They were ſuch abandoned Ruffians, that they ſought to kill MARIUS CELSUS, purely becauſe as he was an able and virtuous man, they

they judged him an enemy to themſelves who delighted only in blood, and wickedneſs, and ſpoil. It would require a volume to recount the behaviour, the treacherous and inhuman exploits of theſe ſons of violence thenceforward; their murdering and promoting of Emperors, ſometimes two or three, ſometimes more, once thirty at a time; their ſelling the Empire for money; their beſieging and threatning to maſſacre the Senate; their burning the Capitol, ſetting fire to the Imperial City, pillaging and butchering its inhabitants, and uſing them like ſlaves and captives; with other inſtances of their inſolence, barbarity, and miſrule. In the third and fourth Volumes of this Work much of this will be ſeen, recounted by TACITUS.

THE Gothic Governments were military in their firſt ſettlement; the General was King, the Officers were the Nobles, and the Soldiers their Tenants; but by the nature of the ſettlement, out of an Army a Country Militia was produced. The Prince had many occaſional troops, but no ſtanding troops; hence he grew not abſolute, like the Great Turk; who having cantoned out the conquered Countries amongſt his horſemen, muſt by doing it have loſt his arbitrary Power, but that he kept a large body of men in arms, called the Janizaries.

GREAT BRITAIN has preſerved its Liberties ſo long, becauſe it has preſerved itſelf from great ſtanding Armies; which, where-ever they are ſtrong enough to maſter their Country, will certainly firſt or laſt maſter it. Some troops we muſt have for guards and gariſons, enough to prevent ſudden Inſurrections, and ſudden Revolutions. What numbers are ſufficient for this, the experience of paſt times, and the ſenſe of our Parliaments, have ſhewn.

Sect. V. *The Humour of conquering, how injudicious, vain, and destructive.*

THE Athenians began the ruin of their State, by a mad and expensive War upon Sicily; and from an ambition of conquering a people who had never offended them, exposed themselves to the attacks of the Lacedemonians, to the revolt of their own subjects, to domestic disorders, and the change of their Government. And though upon the recalling of ALCIBIADES, they won some victories, and for a while made some figure; they were at last conquered intirely by LYSANDER, their walls thrown down, the States subject to them set at liberty, and they themselves subjected to the domination of thirty Tyrants. They never after recovered their former Glory. The Lacedemonians fell afterwards into the same warlike folly, and their folly had the same fate. By lording over Greece they drew upon themselves a combination of Greek Cities, which together (especially the Thebans under the famous EPAMINONDAS) despoiled them of their Authority, soon after their triumph over Athens. The Thebans too abused their good fortune; they were equally fond of fighting and conquest, and by it drew another confederacy against them. In truth, every one of these States had been so long weakening themselves, and one another, by their propensity to War, that at last they fell under servitude to the Kings of Macedon, a Country formerly depending upon, or rather under vassalage to Athens and Sparta.

THESE States acted like some of the Princes of our time; by trusting to their own superior Prowess, they invaded their neighbours, and taught them Art enough to beat themselves. Thus the Muscovite, by

by falling upon the late King of Sweden, yet in his minority, roufed a tempeft that had well nigh overturned his Throne; and thus that King, by refufing the moft honourable conditions of peace, and by urging his fate and revenge too far, taught the Ruffians that bravery and difcipline which nothing could ever teach them before; faw his own brave Army utterly routed by forces that he defpifed; himfelf driven from his dominions, and a fugitive in a Country of Infidels; and his Provinces cantoned out amongft enemies, who, before he had tempted his good fortune to leave him, would have been glad to have compounded with him for a moiety of their own dominions.

CHARLES Duke of Burgundy had his head fo turned with gaining the battel of Montl'hery, that he never liftened afterwards to any counfel, but that of his own headftrong humour; nor ceafed plunging himfelf into Wars, till in that againft the Switzers, who had given him no juft provocation, he loft his Army, his dominions, and his life. If PHILIP the fecond had kept his oath with the Low Countries, he might have preferved his Authority over them all. But nothing lefs would humour his pride than the fubduing of their Liberties and Confcience; and in defence of their Confcience and Property, he drove them to the ufe of Arms, which a people employed in trade and manufacture, as they were, had no lift to, nor fkill in. Every body knows the iffue; he loft the feven Provinces and their Revenue for ever, with many millions of money, and almoft half a million of lives thrown away to recover them. By his mighty and boafted Armada defigned to conquer England, what elfe did he conquer but his own Power at fea? He had prepared, he had been for fome years preparing, a naval force mighty as his own arrogance; but it all proved to be only meafures taken for baffling his arrogance, and for deftroying

ſtroying the maritime force of Spain; and all the while that he was vainly meditating the deſtruction of England, he was in reality taking the part of England againſt himſelf, and, with all his might, weakening its greateſt enemy. Had he huſbanded that mighty ſtrength; had he employed it at times, and in parcels, againſt theſe dominions, he might have had ſome ſucceſs; but he combined againſt his own hopes.

How fooliſh is the reaſoning of paſſion! It leads men to throw away ſtrength to gain weakneſs. Even where theſe ſons of violence ſucceed, they may be juſtly ſaid to acquire nothing, beyond the praiſe of miſchief. What is the occupation and end of Princes and Governors, but to rule men for their good, and to keep them from hurting one another? Now what Conqueror is there who mends the condition of the conquered? ALEXANDER the Great, though he well knew the difference between a limited and a lawleſs Monarchy, did not pretend, that his invaſion of Perſia was to mend the condition of the Perſians. It was a pure ſtruggle for dominion; when he had gained it, he aſſumed the Throne upon the ſame arbitrary terms upon which their own Monarchs had held it, nor knew any Law but his will. The ſubject only felt the violence of the change, without any benefit or relaxation from ſlavery. His Glory therefore is all falſe and deceitful, as is all Glory which is gained by the blood of men, without mending the ſtate of mankind. This ſpirit of fighting and conquering continued in his Succeſſors, who plagued the earth as he had done, and weltered in the blood of one another, till they were almoſt all deſtroyed by the ſword or poiſon, with the whole family of ALEXANDER. It was no part of the diſpute amongſt them, which of them could beſtow moſt happineſs upon the afflicted world, about which they

they ſtrove, but who ſhould beſt exalt himſelf, and enſlave all.

THE State of Carthage after many Countries conquered, but not bettered by her Arms, was almoſt diſſolved by her own barbarous Mercenaries, and at laſt conquered and deſtroyed by the Romans; who were in truth the moſt generous conquerors that the world has known: and moſt Countries found the Roman Government better than their own. This continued for ſome time, till their Provincial Magiſtrates grew rapacious, and turned the Provinces into ſpoil. Rome itſelf periſhed by her conqueſts, which being made by great Armies, occaſioned ſuch power and inſolence in their Commanders, and ſet ſome Citizens ſo high above the reſt, an inequality pernicious to free States, that ſhe was enſlaved by ingrates whom ſhe had employed to defend her. Rome vanquiſhed foreign nations; foreign luxury debauched Rome, and traiterous Citizens ſeized upon their mother with all her acquiſitions. All her great blaze and grandeur, ſerved only to make her wretchedneſs more conſpicious, and her chains more intenſely felt. Upon her thraldom there enſued ſuch a ſeries of Tyranny and miſery, treachery, oppreſſion, cruelty, death and affliction, in all ſhapes; that her agonies were ſcarce ever ſuſpended till ſhe finally expired. When her own Tyrants, become through Tyranny impotent, could no longer afflict her, for protection was none of their buſineſs; a hoſt of Barbarians, only known for ravages, and acts of inhumanity, finiſhed the work of deſolation, and cloſed her civil doom. She has been ſince racked under a Tyranny more painful, as it is more ſlow; and more baſe, as it is ſcarce a domination of men; I mean her vaſſalage to a ſort of beings of all others the moſt mercileſs and contemptible, Monks and Spectres.

Sect.

Sect. VI. *The Folly of conquering further urged and exemplified.*

THE Turks, like other Conquerors, know not when to leave off. They ſacrifice the people to gain more territories; and the more they conquer, the greater is their loſs. They laviſh men and treaſure, to gain waſte ground. What is the uſe of earth and water, where there are no Inhabitants for theſe elements to ſupport? The ſtrength of a Government conſiſts in numerous ſubjects induſtrious and happy; not in extent of territory deſolate or ill peopled, or peopled with inhabitants poor and idle. It is incredible what a profuſion of wealth and lives their attempts upon Perſia have coſt them, always with fatal ſucceſs, even under their wiſeſt and moſt warlike Princes; and at a time when their Empire flouriſhed moſt. Yet theſe attempts are continued, at a ſeaſon when their Affairs are at the loweſt; their Provinces exhauſted, their people and revenue decayed, their ſoldiery diſorderly, and all things conſpiring to the final diſſolution of their Empire.

THOSE who will be continually exerting their whole ſtrength, whether they be ſocieties or particular men, will at laſt have none to exert. The Turks have been for ages waſting their vitals to widen their extremities, and to extend their limbs; which, by being unnaturally ſtretched, are quite disjointed and benumbed for want of nouriſhment from the ſeat of life; and muſt therefore, like mortified members, ſoon drop off; they have been long ſpinning out their own vitals. Now if they had conquered Perſia, what benefit would the conqueſt have derived to the Perſians? None at all; but on the contrary, freſh oppreſſion, and probably perſecution; ſince the Turks deem them Heretics for the colour of their caps, and for their obſtinate refuſal

refusal to change one name for another in the list of Mahomet's Successors.

THUS these Barbarians destroy themselves to destroy others; and Christian Princes imitate these Barbarians. The Spaniard, to secure to himself the possession of America, destroyed more lives than he had subjects in Europe; and his mighty Empire there, with his mountains of treasure, bears indeed an awful sound; yet it is allowed that he has lost much more than he got, besides the crying guilt of murdering a large part of the globe. His conquests there, together with his expulsion of the Moors at home, have dispeopled Spain; and the inhabitants who remain trusting to their American wealth, are too proud and lazy to be industrious; so that most of their gold goes to other nations for the manufactures wanted in the Spanish West-Indies. Hence multitudes and diligence (and diligence often creates multitudes, as by multitudes diligence is created) are better than mountains of gold, and will certainly attract such mountains; though others have the name and first property. Had he kept the industrious Moors, and expelled the barbarous Inquisitors; encouraged Liberty and Trade, and consequently Liberty of Conscience, Spain would have been a more powerful nation, and he consequently a greater King, than all his wide and guilty conquests have made him. Sir WALTER RALEIGH says, that the Low Countries alone did, for revenue, equal his West-Indies. Notwithstanding his many Kingdoms, his Empire in both Hemispheres, and that the sun never sets upon all his dominions at once, the small Republic of Holland, small in compass of territory, has been an overmatch for him.

A late neighbouring Prince was a busy Conqueror. But did his People and Country gain by his conquests? He drained them of men and money by

millions, only to add to their poverty ſervitude and wretchedneſs, and from their chains and miſery derived his own Glory. Nor do I know any reaſon why a Prince, who reduces his People, his Nobles, and all degrees of men in his Dominions, to poverty and littleneſs, ſhould have the title of Great, unleſs for the greatneſs of the evils which he brought upon his own Kingdom and all Europe. Let the late and preſent condition of that Monarchy declare, what advantages that noble Country owes to his Glory and Victories. Had it not been for his wanton Wars and oppreſſive Taxes, there is no pitch of felicity which the goodneſs of their ſoil and climate, the number and induſtry of the natives, their many manufactures, and the advantage of their ſituation, might not have raiſed them to. But all was ſacrificed to the Ambition and Bigotry of one. How many reſources that Kingdom has within itſelf; and to what happineſs it is capable of riſing under a juſt and gentle Adminiſtration, is manifeſt from the ſuddenneſs with which it recovered itſelf under the good Government of HENRY the fourth; how many millions it paid, how many put into the Exchequer; and what a flouriſhing condition it was arrived to, after ſo fierce, ſo long, and ſo conſuming a Civil War, and after two ſuch profuſe and profligate Reigns, as that of CHARLES the Ninth, and that of HENRY the Third. But what avails all this, when one ſhort Edict, and the maggot of a minute, can diſſipate all its wealth and all its happineſs?

I might here diſplay what ridiculous cauſes do often pique and awaken the vanity and ambition of Princes, and prompt them to laviſh lives and treaſure, and utterly undo thoſe whom they ſhould tenderly protect. For a beaſt of burden, or even for the tooth of a beaſt; for a miſtreſs, for a river, for a ſenſeleſs word haſtily ſpoken, for words that had

a foolish meaning, or no meaning at all; for an empty sepulchre or an empty title; to dry the tears of a coquette, to comply with the whims of a pedant, or to execute the curses of a bigot; important Wars have sometimes been waged, and nations animated to destroy one another; nor is there any security against such destructive follies, where the sense of every man must acquiesce in the wild passion of one; and where the interest and peace, and preservation of a State, are found too light to ballance his rage or caprice. Hence the policy of the Romans to tame a people not easy to be subdued; they committed such to the domination of Tyrants. Thus they did in Armenia, and thus in Britain[e]. And these instruments did not only enslave their subjects, but by continual fighting with one another, consume them.

NECESSARY Wars are accompanied with evils more than enough; and who can bear or forgive calamities courted and sought? The Roman State owed her greatness in a good measure to a misfortune; it was founded in War, and nourished by it. The same may be said of the Turkish Monarchy. But States formed for peace, though they do not arrive to such immensity and grandeur, are more lasting and secure; witness Sparta and Venice. The former lasted eight hundred years, and the other has lasted twelve hundred, without any Revolution; what errors they both committed, were owing to their attempts to conquer, for which they were not formed; though the Spartans were exceeding brave and victorious; but they wanted the *Plebs ingenua*, which formed the strength of the

[e] Quædam civitates regi Cogiduno donatæ; vetere ac jampridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis & reges.

Roman

Roman Armies; as the Janizaries, a militia formerly excellently trained and disciplined, formed those of the Turk. With the latter, fighting and extending their dominions, is an article of their Religion, as false and barbarous in this as in many of its other principles, and as little calculated for the good of men.

THE

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK I.

The SUMMARY.

ENumeration of the ſeveral changes in the Government of Rome. The State of Rome under AUGUSTUS; *his politicks, death and character; with the arts and diſſimulation of* TIBERIUS. *Revolt of the Legions in Pannonia, and in Germany; the Conduct of* GERMANICUS *upon that occaſion, and alſo againſt the common enemy, with his ſucceſs and victories. The death and character of* JULIA, *daughter of* AUGUSTUS: *Plays inſtituted in his honour.* GERMANICUS *makes another expedition againſt the German nations, and ſubdues them; frees* SEGESTES *from the violence of* ARMINIUS, *and is for his exploits ſaluted* Imperator; *continues the war in Germany, recovers and buries the remains of* VARUS's *Legions. The difficulties which befel* CÆCINA *in his march, with his bravery and ſucceſs in overcoming them. The Law of violated Majeſty, greatly extended and ſeverely executed. An Inundation from the Tiber. Licentiouſneſs of the Theatres, and the inſolence of Players, checked by a Decree of Senate. Meaſures propoſed for reſtraining the overflowing of the Tiber, but oppoſed by ſeveral Communities of Italy.* TIBERIUS *ſeldom changes the Governors of Provinces, and why. His dark and crafty conduct upon the Election of Magiſtrates at Rome.*

KINGS were the original Magiſtrates of Rome. LUCIUS BRUTUS founded Liberty and the Conſulſhip. Dictators were choſen only in preſſing exigencies. Little more than two years prevailed the ſupreme power of the Decemvirate; and the conſular juriſdiction of the military Tribunes, not very many. The domination of CINNA was but ſhort; that of SYLLA not long. The authority of POMPEY and CRASSUS was quickly ſwallowed up in CÆSAR; that of LEPIDUS and ANTHONY in AUGUSTUS. The Common-wealth, then long diſtreſſed and exhauſted by civil diſſenſions, fell eaſily into his hands, and over her he aſſumed ſovereign dominion, ſoftened with the popular title of *Prince of the Senate*. But the ſeveral revolutions in the ancient free ſtate of Rome, and all her happy or diſaſtrous events, are already recorded by Writers of ſignal renown. Nor, even in the reign of AUGUSTUS, were there wanting Authors of diſtinction and genius to have compoſed his ſtory, till by the prevailing ſpirit of flattery and abaſement, they were checked. As to the ſucceeding Princes, TIBERIUS, CALIGULA, CLAUDIUS and NERO; the dread of their tyranny, whilſt they yet reigned, falſified their hiſtory; and after their fall, the freſh deteſtation of their cruelties inflamed their Hiſtorians. Hence my own deſign of recounting briefly certain incidents in the reign of AUGUSTUS, chiefly towards his latter end, and of entering afterwards more fully into

into that of Tiberius and the other three, unbiassed by any resentment, or any affection, the influences of such personal passions being far from me.

When after the fall of Brutus and Cassius there remained none to fight for the Commonwealth, and her arms were no longer in her own hands; when Sextus Pompeius was utterly defeated in Sicily, Lepidus bereft of his command, Marc Anthony slain; and of all the chiefs of the late Dictator's party, only Octavius his nephew was left; he put off the invidious name of Triumvir, and stiling himself Consul, pretended that the jurisdiction attached to the Tribuneship was his highest aim, as in it the protection of the populace was his only view. But when once he had secured the Soldiery by liberality and donations, gained the People by store of provisions, and charmed all by the blessings and sweetness of publick peace, he began by politick gradations to exalt himself, and with his own power to consolidate the authority of the Senate, jurisdiction of the Magistrate, and weight and force of the Laws; usurpations, in which he was thwarted by no man; all the most determined Republicans had fallen in battle, or by the late sanguinary Proscriptions; and for the surviving Nobility, they were covered with wealth, and distinguished with publick honours, according to the measure of their debasement, and promptness to bondage. Add, that all who in the loss of publick freedom had gained private fortunes, pre-

ferred a ſervile condition, ſafe and poſſeſſed, to the revival of ancient Liberty with perſonal peril. Neither were the Provinces averſe to the preſent Revolution; ſince, under the Government of the People and Senate, they had lived in conſtant fear and miſtruſt, from the raging competition amongſt our Grandees, as well as from the rapine and exactions of our Magiſtrates. In vain too had been their appeal to the Laws, which were utterly enfeebled and borne down by violence, by parties; nay, even by ſubornation and money.

Moreover, AUGUSTUS, to fortify his domination with collateral bulwarks, raiſed his ſiſter's ſon CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, a perfect youth, to the dignity of Pontiff and that of Edile; preferred MARCUS AGRIPPA to two ſucceſſive Conſulſhips, a man in truth meanly born, but an accompliſhed ſoldier, and the companion of his victories; and (MARCELLUS, the husband of JULIA, ſoon after dying) choſe him for his ſon-in-law. Even the ſons of his wife, TIBERIUS NERO and CLAUDIUS DRUSUS, he dignified with high military titles and commands; though his houſe was yet ſupported by deſcendants of his own blood. For into the JULIAN family and name of the CÆSARS he had already adopted LUCIUS and CAIUS, the ſons of AGRIPPA; and though they were but children, neither of them ſeventeen years old, vehement had been his ambition to ſee them declared Princes of the Roman Youth, and even deſigned to the Conſulſhip; while openly he

was

was protesting against admitting these early honours. Presently upon the decease of AGRIPPA, were these his children snatched away, either by their own natural, but hasty fate, or by the deadly fraud of their step-mother LIVIA; LUCIUS on his journey to command the armies in Spain, CAIUS in his return from Armenia, ill of a wound. And as DRUSUS, one of her own sons, had been long since dead, TIBERIUS remained sole candidate for the succession. Upon this object centered all princely honours; he was by AUGUSTUS adopted for his son, assumed Collegue in the Empire, partner in the jurisdiction tribunitial, and presented under all these dignities to the several armies; instances of grandeur which were no longer derived from the secret schemes of his mother, as in times past, while her husband had unexceptionable heirs of his own, but thenceforth bestowed at her open suit. For as AUGUSTUS was now very aged, she had obtained over him such absolute sway, that for her pleasure he banished into the Isle of Planasia his only surviving grandson AGRIPPA POSTUMUS, destitute, in truth, of laudable accomplishments, in his temper untractable, and stupidly conceited of his mighty strength, but branded with no misdemeanour or transgression. The Emperor had withal set GERMANICUS, the son of DRUSUS, over eight legions quartered upon the Rhine, and obliged TIBERIUS to adopt him, though TIBERIUS had then a son of his own,

one of competent years. But it was the ſtudy of AUGUSTUS, to ſecure himſelf and the ſucceſſion by variety of ſtays and engraftments. War at that time there was none, except that in Germany, kept on foot rather to aboliſh the diſgrace ſuſtained by QUINTILIUS VARUS, there ſlain with his army, than from any ambition to enlarge the Empire, or for any other valuable advantage. In profound tranquillity were affairs at Rome. To the Magiſtrates remained their wonted names; of the Romans the younger ſort had been born ſince the battle of Actium, and even moſt of the old during the civil wars: How few were then living who had ſeen the ancient free ſtate!

THE frame and œconomy of Rome being thus totally overturned, amongſt the Romans were no longer found any traces of their primitive ſpirit, or attachment to the virtuous inſtitutions of antiquity. But as the equality of the whole was extinguiſhed by the ſovereignty of one, all men regarded the orders of the Prince as the only rule of conduct and obedience; nor felt they any anxiety, while AUGUSTUS yet retained vigour of life, and upheld the credit of his adminiſtration with publick peace, and the imperial fortune of his houſe. But when he became broken with age and infirmities; when his end was at hand, and thence a new ſource of hopes and views was preſented, ſome few there were who began to reaſon idly about the bleſſings and recovery of

Liberty;

Liberty; many dreaded a civil war, others longed for one; while far the greater part were uttering their ſeveral apprehenſions of their future maſters; " that naturally ſtern and ſavage " was the temper of AGRIPPA, and by his pub- " lick contumely enraged into fury; and nei- " ther in age nor experience was he equal to " the weight of Empire. TIBERIUS indeed " had arrived at fulneſs of years, and was a di- " ſtinguiſhed captain, but poſſeſſed the inve- " terate pride entailed upon the CLAUDIAN " race; and many indications of a cruel na- " ture eſcaped him, in ſpite of all his arts to " diſguiſe it; beſides that from his early in- " fancy he was trained up in a reigning houſe, " and even in his youth inured to an accumu- " lation of power and honours, conſulſhips " and triumphs. Nor during the ſeveral years " of his abode at Rhodes, where, under the " plauſible name of retirement, a real baniſh- " ment was covered, did he exerciſe other oc- " cupation than that of meditating future ven- " geance, ſtudying the arts of treachery, and " practiſing ſecret and abominable ſenſualities. " Add to theſe conſiderations, that of his mo- " ther, a woman inſpired with all the tyranny " of her ſex; that the Romans muſt be under " bondage to a woman, and moreover en- " thralled by two youths, who would firſt com- " bine to oppreſs the State, then falling into " diſſenſion, rend it piece-meal."

WHILE the Public was engaged in these and the like debates, the illness of AUGUSTUS daily increased, and some strongly suspected the pestilent practices of his wife. For there had been, some months before, a rumour abroad, That AUGUSTUS, having singled out a few of his most faithful servants, and taken FABIUS MAXIMUS for his only companion, had sailed secretly over to the Island of Planasia, there to visit his Grandson AGRIPPA; that many tears were shed on both sides, many tokens of mutual tenderness shewn, and hopes from thence conceived, that the unhappy youth would be restored to his own place in his Grandfather's family: That MAXIMUS had disclosed it to MARTIA, she to LIVIA; and thence the Emperor knew that the secret was betrayed: That MAXIMUS being soon after dead (dead, as it was doubted, through fear, by his own hands) MARTIA was observed, in her lamentations and groans at his funeral, to accuse herself as the sad cause of her husband's destruction. Whatever truth was in all this, TIBERIUS was scarce entered Illyricum but he was hastily recalled by his mother's letters. Nor is it fully known whether, at his return to Nola, he found AUGUSTUS yet breathing, or already breathless. For LIVIA had carefully beset the palace, and all the avenues to it, with detachments of the guards; and good news of his recovery were from time to time given out. When she had taken all measures necessary in so great a conjuncture, in one and the same moment was

publiſhed the departure of AUGUSTUS, and the acceſſion of TIBERIUS.

THE firſt feat of this new reign was the murder of young AGRIPPA. The aſſaſſin, a bold and determined Centurion, found him deſtitute of arms, and little apprehending ſuch a deſtiny, yet was ſcarce able to diſpatch him. Of this tranſaction TIBERIUS avoided any mention in the Senate. He would have it paſs for done by the commands of AUGUSTUS; as if he had tranſmitted written orders to the Tribune who guarded AGRIPPA, "to ſlay him the inſtant he "heard of his Grandfather's deceaſe." It is very true, that AUGUSTUS had made many and vehement complaints of the young man's obſtinate and unruly demeanour, and even ſolicited from the Senate a Decree to authorize his baniſhment; but he had never hardened himſelf againſt the ſentiments of nature, nor in any inſtance dipt his hands in his own blood; neither is it credible that he would ſacrifice the life of his grandſon for the ſecurity and eſtabliſhment of his ſtep-ſon. More probable it is, that this haſty murder was purely the work of TIBERIUS and LIVIA; that the young Prince, hated and dreaded by both, fell thus untimely, to rid the one of his apprehenſions and a rival, and to ſatiate in the other the rancorous ſpirit of a ſtep-mother. When the Centurion, according to the cuſtom of the army, acquainted TIBERIUS, "that his com-"mands were executed"; he anſwered, "he "had commanded no ſuch execution, and the "Cen-

" Centurion muſt appear before the Senate, " and for it be anſwerable to them." This alarmed SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS, who ſhared in all his ſecret counſels, and had ſent the Centurion the warrant; he dreaded that he ſhould be arraigned for the aſſaſſination, and knew it equally perilous either to confeſs the truth, and charge the Emperor; or falſly to clear the Emperor, and accuſe himſelf. Hence he had recourſe to LIVIA, and warned her, " never to " divulge the ſecrets of the palace, never to " expoſe to publick examination the miniſters " who adviſed, nor the ſoldiers who executed. " TIBERIUS ſhould beware of relaxing the " Authority of the Prince, by referring all " things to that of the Senate; ſince it was " the indiſpenſable Prerogative of Sovereignty, " for all men to be accountable to one."

Now at Rome, Conſuls, Senators, and Roman Knights, were all ruſhing with emulation into bondage; the higher the quality of each, the more falſe and forward the men; all careful ſo to frame their faces, as to reconcile falſe joy for the acceſſion of TIBERIUS, with feigned ſadneſs for the loſs of AUGUSTUS. Hence they intermingled tears with gladneſs, wailings with gratulations, and all with ſervile flattery. SEXTUS POMPEIUS and SEXTUS APULEIUS, at that time Conſuls, took firſt the oath of fidelity to TIBERIUS, then adminiſtered it to SEIUS STRABO and CAIUS TURRANIUS, the former Captain of the Pretorian Guards, the other Intendant of the public ſtores. The oath was next

next given to the Senate, to the People, and to the Soldiery, all by the ſame Conſuls. For TIBERIUS affected to derive all publick tranſactions from the legal miniſtry of the Conſuls; as if the ancient Republick ſtill ſubſiſted, and he were yet unreſolved about embracing the ſovereign rule. He even owned in his Edict for ſummoning the Senate, that he iſſued it by virtue of the Tribunitial power, granted him under AUGUSTUS. The Edict too was ſhort, and unexceptionably modeſt. It imported, that "they were to conſider of the funeral "honours proper to be paid his deceaſed Fa-"ther; for himſelf he would not depart from "the corps; and further than this edict im-"plied, he claimed no ſhare in the public "adminiſtration." Yet from the moment AUGUSTUS was dead, he uſurped all the prerogatives of imperial State, gave the word to the Pretorian Cohorts, had ſoldiers about the palace, guards about his perſon, went guarded in the Street, guarded to the Senate, and bore all the marks of Majeſty. Nay, he writ Letters to the ſeveral Armies in the undiſguiſed ſtyle of one already their Prince; nor did he ever heſitate or ſpeak with ambiguity about it, but when he ſpoke to the Senate. The chief cauſe of his reſerve and obſcurity there proceeded from his fear of GERMANICUS. He dreaded that he, who was maſter of ſo many Legions of numberleſs Auxiliaries, and of all the Allies of Rome; he, who was the darling of the people, might wiſh rather to poſſeſs the Empire,

pire, than to wait for it. He likewiſe aimed at falſe glory, and would rather ſeem by the Commonwealth choſen and called to the Empire, than to have crept darkly into it by the intrigues of a woman, or by adoption from a ſuperannuated Prince. It was alſo afterwards found, that, by this abſtruſeneſs and counterfeit irreſolution, he meant to penetrate into the deſigns and inclinations of the great men; for his jealous ſpirit conſtrued all their words, all their looks, into crimes, and ſtored them up in his heart againſt a day of vengeance.

WHEN he firſt met the Senate, he would bear no other buſineſs to be tranſacted but that about the Funerals of AUGUSTUS. His laſt will was brought in by the Veſtal Virgins; in it TIBERIUS and LIVIA were appointed his heirs, LIVIA adopted into the JULIAN Family, and dignified with the name of AUGUSTA. Into the next and ſecond degree of heirſhip he adopted his grandchildren and their children; and in the third degree he named the great men of Rome, moſt of them hated by him; but out of vain-glory he named them, and for future renown. His legacies were not beyond the uſual bounds; only he left to the Roman people four hundred thouſand great Seſterces [a]; to the Populace or common ſort, thirty-five thouſand [b]; to every common Soldier of the Pretorian Guards a thouſand ſmall Seſterces [c],

[a] About a Million of Crowns.
[b] About eighty-ſeven thouſand five hundred Crowns.
[c] About twenty-five Crowns.

and

and to every Soldier of the Roman Legions three hundred [d]. The funeral Honours were next considered. The chief presented were these; ASINIUS GALLUS proposed, that "the "Funeral should pass through the Triumphal "gate;" LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS, "that the "Titles of all the Laws which he had made, "and the names of all the Nations which he "had conquered, should be carried before the "corps;" VALERIUS MESSALA added, "that "the Oath of Allegiance to TIBERIUS should "be renewed every Year"; and being asked by TIBERIUS, "whether at his instigation he "had made that motion? I spoke it as my "opinion, says MESSALA; nor will I ever be "determined by any but my own, in things "which concern the Commonweal; let who "will be provoked by my freedom." Only this new turn was wanting to compleat the prevailing flattery of the time. The Senators then concurred in a loud cry, "that upon their "own shoulders they must bear the body to "the pile." But TIBERIUS declined the offer from an arrogant shew of moderation. Moreover he cautioned the people by an Edict, "not "to disturb the funeral functions with a zeal "over-passionate, as they had those of JULIUS "CÆSAR; nor to insist that the Corps of AU-"GUSTUS should be burnt rather in the Fo-"rum, than in the field of Mars, which was "the place appointed." On the funeral day

[d] About seven Crowns and a half.

the

the Soldiers under arms kept guard; a mighty mockery to those who had either seen, or heard their fathers describe, the day when CÆSAR the Dictator was slain. Servitude was then new, its sorrows yet fresh and bitter; and liberty unsuccessfully retrieved by a deed, which, while it seemed impious to some, was thought altogether glorious by others, and hence tore Rome into tumults, and the violence of parties. They ridiculed the Grimace of "calling an aid of "soldiers to secure a peaceable burial to a "Prince, who had grown old in peace and "power, and even provided against a relapse "into liberty, by a long train of successors."

HENCE much and various matter of observation concerning AUGUSTUS. The superstitious multitude admired the fortuitous events of his fortune; "that the last day of his life, "and the first of his reign, was the same; that "he died at Nola, in the same village, in the "same house, and in the same chamber, where "his father OCTAVIUS died. They observed "to his glory, his many Consulships, equal in "number to those of VALERIUS CORVINUS "and of CAIUS MARIUS, joined together: "that he had exercised the power of the Tri-"bunesship seven and thirty years without in-"terruption: that he was one and twenty "times proclaimed *Imperator*; with many "other numerous honours repeated to him, "or created for him". Men of deeper discernment entered further into his Life, but differed about it. His admirers said, that "his "filial

" filial piety to his father CÆSAR, and the dis-
" tractions of the Republic, where the laws
" no longer governed, had driven him into a
" civil war; which, whatever be the first cause,
" can never be begun or carried on by just and
" gentle means. Indeed, to be revenged on
" the murderers of his father, he had made
" many great sacrifices to ANTHONY; many
" to LEPIDUS. But when LEPIDUS was be-
" come sunk and superannuated in sloth; when
" ANTHONY was lost headlong in sensuality,
" there was then no other remedy for the dis-
" tracted State, rent piece-meal by its chiefs,
" but the Sovereignty of one. AUGUSTUS,
" however, never had assumed to rule over
" his Country as King, or Dictator; but settled
" the Government under the legal name of
" *Prince of the Senate.* He had extended
" the Empire, and set for its bounds the di-
" stant Ocean, and rivers far remote; the se-
" veral parts and forces of the State, the Le-
" gions, the Provinces, the Navy, were all
" properly balanced and connected; the Citi-
" zens lived dutifully under the protection of
" the law, the Allies in terms of respect, and
" Rome itself was adorned with magnificent
" structures. Indeed in a few instances, he had
" exerted the arbitrary violence of power; and
" in but a few, only to secure the peace of the
" whole.

IN answer to all this, it was urged, that
" his filial piety, and the unhappy situation of
" the Republic, were pure pretences; but the

" ardent luſt of reigning, his true and only
" motive; with this ſpirit he had ſolicited into
" his ſervice, by bribery, a body of veteran ſol-
" diers; and, though a private youth, levied an
" Army. With this ſpirit he had debauched,
" and bought the Roman Legions under the
" Conſuls, while he was falſly feigning a coa-
" lition with POMPEY's republican party; that
" ſoon after, when he had procured from the
" Senate, or rather uſurped the honours and
" authority of the Pretorſhip; and when HIR-
" TIUS and PANSA, the two Conſuls, were
" ſlain, he ſeized both their Armies; that it
" was doubted whether the Conſuls fell by
" the enemy, or whether PANSA was not
" killed by pouring poiſon into his wounds,
" and HIRTIUS ſlain by his own ſoldiers; and
" whether the young CÆSAR was not the con-
" triver of this bloody treaſon; that by terror
" he had extorted the Conſulſhip in ſpite of
" the Senate; and turned againſt the Com-
" monwealth the very arms with which the
" Commonwealth had truſted him for her
" defence againſt ANTHONY. Add to all this
" his cruel Proſcriptions, and the Maſſacre of
" ſo many citizens; his ſeizing from the pub-
" lic, and diſtributing to his own creatures, ſo
" many lands and poſſeſſions; a violation of
" property not juſtified even by thoſe who
" gained by it. But, allowing him to dedi-
" cate to the Manes of the Dictator the Lives
" of BRUTUS and CASSIUS (though more to
" his honour, had it been to have poſtponed
" his

" his own perſonal hate to publick good), did
" he not betray the young POMPEY by an inſi-
" dious peace, betray LEPIDUS by a deceitful
" ſhew of friendſhip? Did he not next en-
" ſnare MARK ANTHONY, firſt by Treaties,
" thoſe of Tarentum and Brunduſium; the
" by a Marriage, that of his ſiſter OCTAVIA?
" And did not ANTHONY, at laſt, pay with his
" life the penalty of that ſubdolous alliance?
" After this, no doubt there was Peace, but a
" bloody Peace; bloody in the tragical defeat
" of LOLLIUS, and that of VARUS, in Ger-
" many; and at Rome, the VARRONES, the
" EGNATII, the JULII, (illuſtrious names!)
" were put to death." Nor was his dome-
ſtic life ſpared upon this occaſion. " He had
" arbitrarily robbed NERO of his wife big with
" child by her husband; and mocked the Gods
" by conſulting the Prieſts, whether Religion
" permitted him to marry her before her de-
" livery, or obliged him to ſtay till after. His
" minions, TEDIUS, and VEDIUS POLLIO, had
" lived in ſcandalous and exceſſive luxury; his
" Wife LIVIA, who wholly controuled him,
" had proved a cruel governeſs to the Com-
" monwealth, and to the Julian houſe a more
" cruel ſtep-mother. He had even invaded
" the incommunicable honours of the Gods,
" and, ſetting up for himſelf Temples like
" theirs, would, like them, be adored in the
" image of a Deity, with all the ſacred ſolem-
" nity of Prieſts and Sacrifices. Nor had he
" adopted TIBERIUS for his ſucceſſor, either

" out of affection for him, or from concern
" for the public welfare; but having disco-
" vered in him a spirit proud and cruel, he
" sought future glory from the blackest oppo-
" sition and comparison." For, AUGUSTUS, when, a few years before, he solicited the Senate to grant to TIBERIUS another term of the authority of the Tribuneship, though he mentioned him with honour, yet taking notice of his odd humour, behaviour, and manners, dropt some expressions, which, while they seemed to excuse him, exposed and upbraided him.

As soon as the funeral of AUGUSTUS was over, a Temple and divine worship were forthwith decreed him. The Senate then turned their supplications to TIBERIUS, to fill his vacant place; but received an abstruse answer, touching the greatness of the Empire, and his own distrust of himself. He said, that "no-
" thing but the divine genius of AUGUSTUS
" was equal to the mighty task; for himself,
" who had been called by him into a partici-
" pation of his cares, he had learnt by feeling
" them, what a daring, what a difficult toil
" was that of Government, and how perpetu-
" ally subject to the caprices of fortune; that
" in a State supported by so many illustrious
" Patriots, they ought not to cast the whole
" administration upon one; and more easy to
" be administered were the several offices of
" the Government by the united pains and
" sufficiency of many." A Speech much more
specious

ſpecious and ſounding than cordial and ſincere. TIBERIUS, even upon ſubjects which needed no diſguiſes, uſed words dark and cautious; perhaps from his diffident nature, perhaps from a habit of diſſembling. At this juncture indeed, as he laboured wholly to hide his heart, his language was the more carefully wrapt up in equivoques and obſcurity. But the Senators, who dreaded nothing ſo much as to ſeem to underſtand him, burſt into tears, plaints and vows. With extended arms they ſupplicated the Gods, invoked the image of AUGUSTUS, and embraced the knees of TIBERIUS. He then commanded the imperial Regiſter to be produced and recited. It contained a ſummary of the ſtrength and income of the Empire, the number of Romans and auxiliaries in pay, the condition of the navy, of the ſeveral Kingdoms paying tribute, and of the various provinces and their revenues, with the ſtate of the public expence, the iſſues of the exchequer, and all the demands upon the public. This Regiſter was all written by the hand of AUGUSTUS; and in it he had ſubjoined his counſel to poſterity, that the preſent boundaries of the Empire ſhould ſtand fixed without further enlargement. Whether this counſel was dictated by fear for the public, or by envy towards his ſucceſſors, is uncertain.

Now when the Senate was ſtooping to the vileſt importunity and proſtrations, TIBERIUS happened to ſay, that, " as he was unequal to " the weight of the whole government, ſo if

" they entrusted him with any particular part, " whatever it were, he would undertake it." Here ASINIUS GALLUS interposed. " I beg " to know, CÆSAR, says he, what part of the " government you desire for your share?" He was astonied with the unexpected question, and, for a short space, mute; but recovering himself, answered, that " it ill became his " modesty to chuse or reject any particular " branch of the administration, when he de- " sired rather to be excused from the whole." GALLUS, who from his looks inferred deep displeasure, again accosted him, and said, " By " this question I did not mean that you should " share that power which cannot be separated; " but to reason you into a confession, that the " Commonwealth is but one body, and can " be governed only by one soul." He added an encomium upon AUGUSTUS, and reminded TIBERIUS himself of his many victories, of the many civil employments which he had long and nobly sustained. Nor even thus could he mollify the wrath of TIBERIUS, who had long hated him, for that GALLUS had married VIPSANIA, daughter of MARCUS AGRIPPA, formerly wife to TIBERIUS, who thence suspected that he meant to soar above the rank of a subject, and possessed too the bold and haughty spirit of ASINIUS POLLIO his father.

LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS incurred his displeasure next, by a speech not much unlike that of GALLUS. It is true, that towards him TIBERIUS bore no old rancour; but ARRUNTIUS had

had mighty opulence, prompt parts, noble accomplishments, with equal popularity and renown; and hence was marked by him with a fell eye of suspicion. For, as AUGUSTUS, shortly before his decease, was mentioning those among the great men, who were capable of the supreme power, but would not accept it; or unequal to it, yet wished for it; or such as had both ambition and sufficiency; he had said, that "MARCUS LEPIDUS was qualified, but would reject it; ASINIUS would "be aspiring, but had inferior talents; and "that LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS wanted no sufficiency, and, upon a proper occasion, would "attempt it." That he spoke thus of LEPIDUS and ASINIUS, is agreed; but, instead of ARRUNTIUS, some writers have transmitted the name of CNEIUS PISO: and every one of these great men, except LEPIDUS, were afterwards cut off, under the imputation of various crimes, all darkly framed by TIBERIUS. QUINTUS HATERIUS, and MAMERCUS SCAURUS did also incense his distrustful spirit; the first by asking him, "How long, CÆSAR, wilt thou suffer "the Commonwealth to remain destitute of "a head?" SCAURUS, because he had said, "There was room to hope that the prayers of "the Senate would not prove abortive, since "he had not interposed the Tribunitial power, "and thence obstructed the motion of the "Consuls in his behalf." With HATERIUS he fell into instant rage. Towards SCAURUS his resentment was more deep and implacable,

and in profound ſilence he hid it. Wearied at laſt with public importunity and clamour, and with particular expoſtulations, he began to unbend a little; not that he would own his undertaking the Empire, but only avoid the uneaſineſs of perpetual ſolicitations and refuſals. It is certain, that HATERIUS, when he went next day to the Palace to implore pardon, and throwing himſelf at the feet of TIBERIUS embraced his knees, narrowly eſcaped being ſlain by the ſoldiers; becauſe TIBERIUS, who was walking, tumbled down, whether by chance, or whether his legs were entangled in the arms of HATERIUS. Neither was he a jot mollified by the danger which threatened ſo great a man, who was at length forced to ſupplicate AUGUSTA for protection; nor could even ſhe obtain it, but after the moſt laboured entreaties.

TOWARDS LIVIA likewiſe exorbitant was the flattering court of the Senate. Some were for decreeing her the general title of *Mother*; others the more particular one of *Mother of her Country*; and almoſt all propoſed, that to the name of TIBERIUS ſhould be added, *The Son of JULIA*. TIBERIUS urged in anſwer, that "public honours to women ought to be "adjudged with a ſparing hand; and that with "the ſame meaſure of moderation he would "receive ſuch as were preſented to himſelf." In truth, from envy and ſolicitude, leſt his own grandeur ſhould ſink as that of his mother roſe, he would not ſuffer ſo much as a Lictor to be

decreed

decreed her, and even forbad the raiſing her an Altar upon her late adoption, or paying her any ſuch ſolemnities. Yet, for GERMANICUS he asked the Proconſular power; and, to carry him that dignity, honourable deputies were ſent, as alſo to mollify his ſorrow for the death of AUGUSTUS. If for DRUSUS he demanded not the ſame honour, it was becauſe DRUSUS was preſent, and already Conſul deſigned. He then named twelve candidates for the Prætorſhip, the ſame number ſettled by AUGSUTUS; and, though the Senate requeſted him to increaſe it, he bound himſelf by an oath never to exceed.

THE privilege of creating Magiſtrates was now firſt tranſlated from the aſſemblies of the people to the Senate. For though the Emperor had before conducted all affairs of moment at his pleaſure; yet till that day, ſome were ſtill tranſacted by the Tribes, and carried by their bent and ſuffrages. Neither did the regret of the people for the ſeizure of theſe their ancient rights, riſe higher than ſome impotent grumbling. The Senate too liked the change, as by it they were releaſed from the charge of buying votes, and from the ſhame of begging them. And ſo moderate was TIBERIUS, that, of the twelve Candidates, he only reſerved to himſelf the recommendation of four, to be accepted without oppoſition or caballing. At the ſame time, the Tribunes of the people asked leave to celebrate, at their own expence, certain plays in honour of AUGUSTUS, ſuch as were to be

called after his name, and inserted in the calendar. But it was decreed, that out of the Exchequer the charge should be defrayed, and the Tribunes should in the Circus wear the triumphal robe; but to be carried in chariots was denied them. The annual celebration of these plays was, for the future, transferred to one of the Prætors, him in particular to whom should fall the jurisdiction of deciding suits between citizens and strangers.

THUS stood affairs at Rome when a sedition seized the Legions in Pannonia; without any fresh grounds, save that from a change of Princes they meant to assume a warrant for licentiousness and tumult, and from a civil war hoped great earnings and acquisitions. They were three Legions encamped together, all commanded by JUNIUS BLESUS, who upon notice of the death of AUGUSTUS, and the accession of TIBERIUS, had granted the soldiers a recess from their wonted duties for some days, as a time either of public mourning or festivity. From being idle they waxed wanton, quarrelsom, and turbulent; greedily listened to mutinous discourses; the most profligate amongst them had most credit with them, and at last they became passionate for a life of froth and riot, utterly averse to all military discipline and every fatigue of the camp. In the camp was one PERCENNIUS; formerly a busy leader in the embroilments of the theatre, and now a common soldier; a fellow of a petulant declaiming tongue, and, by inflaming parties in the

the playhouſe, well qualified to excite and infatuate a crowd. This incendiary practiſed upon the ignorant and unwary, ſuch as were ſolicitous what might prove their future uſage, now AUGUSTUS was dead. He engaged them in nightly confabulations, and, by little and little, incited them to violence and diſorders; and, towards the evening, when the ſobereſt and beſt affected were withdrawn, he aſſembled the worſt and moſt turbulent. When he had thus ripened them for ſedition, and other ready incendiaries were combined with him, he perſonated the character of a lawful Commander, and thus queſtioned and harangued them:

"WHY did they obey, like ſlaves, a few "Centurions, and a fewer Tribunes? When "would they be bold enough to demand re-"dreſs of their heavy grievances, unleſs they "ſnatched the preſent occaſion, while the Em-"peror was yet new, and his authority wavering, to prevail with him by petition, or by "arms to force him? They had already, by the "miſery of many years, paid dear for their "patient ſloth, and ſtupid ſilence, ſince, decrepid "with age, and maimed with wounds, after a "courſe of ſervice for thirty or forty years, "they were ſtill doomed to carry arms. Nor, "even to thoſe who were diſcharged, was "there any end of the miſery of warfare; they "were ſtill kept tied to the colours, and, under "the creditable title of Veterans, endured the "ſame hardſhips, and underwent the ſame la-"bours. But ſuppoſe any of them eſcaped ſo

"many

" many dangers, and ſurvived ſo many cala-
" mities, where was their reward at laſt? A
" long and weary march remained yet to be
" taken into countries far remote and ſtrange,
" where, under the name of lands given them
" to cultivate, they had inhoſpitable boggs to
" drain, and the wild waſtes of mountains to
" manure. Severe and ungainful of itſelf was
" the occupation of war; ten As's a day the
" poor price of their perſons and lives; out of
" this they muſt buy cloaths, and tents, and
" arms; out of this bribe the cruel Centurions,
" for a forbearance of blows, and occaſional
" exemption from hard duty. But ſtripes from
" their officers, and wounds from their ene-
" mies, hard winters and laborious ſummers,
" bloody wars and barren peace, were miſeries
" without end; nor remained there other cure
" or relief than to refuſe to liſt but upon con-
" ditions certain, and fixed by themſelves;
" particularly, that their pay be a Denarius or
" ſixteen As's a day, ſixteen years be the ut-
" moſt term of ſerving; when diſcharged, to
" be no longer obliged to follow the colours,
" but to have their reward, in ready money,
" paid them in the camp where they earned
" it. Did the Prætorian guards, they who had
" double pay, they who, after ſixteen years ſer-
" vice, were paid off and ſent home, bear ſe-
" verer difficulties, undergo ſuperior dangers?
" He did not mean to detract from the merit
" of their brethren the City guards; their own
" harder lot however was, to be placed amongſt
" horrid

" horrid and barbarous nations, nor could they
" look from their tents, but they saw the foe."

THE whole crowd received this harangue with shouts of applause; but from various instigations. Some displayed upon their bodies the impressions of stripes, others their hoary heads, many their vestments ragged and curtailed, with backs utterly bare; as did all, their various griefs in the bitterness of reproach. At length to such excessive fury they grew, that they proposed to incorporate the three Legions into one; nor by ought but emulation was the project defeated: for, to his own Legion, every man claimed the prerogative of swallowing and denominating the other two. They took another method, and placed the three Eagles of the Legions, with the Standards of the several Cohorts, all together, without rank or priority; then forthwith digged turf, and were rearing a Tribunal, one high enough to be seen at a distance. In this hurry arrived BLESUS, who, falling into sore rebukes, and by force interrupting particulars, called with vehemence to all; "Dip
" your hands rather in my blood. To murder
" your General, will be a crime less shameful
" and heinous, than to revolt from your Prince;
" for, determined I am, either to preserve the
" Legions in their faith and obedience, if you
" kill me not for my intended good office; or
" my death, if I fall by your hands, shall hasten
" your remorse."

FOR all this, turfs were accumulated, and the work was already breast-high, when, at last,

laſt, overcome by his ſpirit and perſeverance, they forbore. BLESUS was an able ſpeaker; he told them, "that ſedition and mutiny were "not the methods of conveying to the Em-"peror the pretenſions of the ſoldiers; their "demands too were new and ſingular; ſuch as "neither the ſoldiers of old had ever made to "the ancient Generals, nor they themſelves "to the deified AUGUSTUS: beſides, their claims "were ill-timed, when the Prince, juſt upon "his acceſſion, was already embarraſſed with "the weight and variety of other cares. If "however they meant to try to gain in full "peace thoſe conceſſions, which, even after "a civil war, the conquerors never claimed; "yet why trample upon duty and obedience, "why reject the laws of the army, and rules "of diſcipline? And if they meant to petition, "why meditate violence? They might at leaſt "appoint deputies; and in his preſence truſt "them with their pretenſions." Here they all cried out, "that the ſon of BLESUS, one of "their Tribunes, ſhould execute that deputa-"tion; and demand, in their name, that, after "ſixteen years ſervice, they ſhould be diſcharged. "They ſaid, they would give him new orders, "when he had ſucceeded in theſe." After the departure of the young officer, a moderate re-ceſs enſued. The ſoldiers however exulted to have carried ſuch a point: the ſending the ſon of their General, as the public advocate for their cauſe, was to them full proof, that they had gained, by force and terror, that which, by modeſty

modeſty and gentle means, they would never have gained.

In the mean time thoſe companies, which, before the ſedition began, were ſent to Nauportum, to mend roads and bridges, and upon other duties, no ſooner heard of the uproar in the camp, but they caſt off all obedience, tore away the enſigns, and plundered the neighbouring villages. Even Nauportum itſelf, which for greatneſs reſembled a municipal City, was plundered. The endeavours of the Centurions to reſtrain this violence, were firſt returned with mockery and contempt, then with invectives and contumelies, at laſt with outrage and blows. Their vengeance was chiefly bent againſt the Camp-Marſhal, Aufidienus Rufus: him they dragged from his chariot, and loading him with baggage, drove him before the firſt ranks. They then inſulted him, and asked in ſcorn, "whether he would gladly bear ſuch enor-"mous burdens; whether endure ſuch im-"menſe marches?" Rufus had been long a common ſoldier, then became a Centurion, and afterwards Camp-Marſhal; a ſevere reſtorer of primitive ſtrictneſs and diſcipline; an indefatigable obſerver of every military duty, which he exacted from others with the more rigour, as he had himſelf undergone them with all patience.

By the arrival of this tumultuous band, the ſedition was again awakened to its former outrage, and the Seditious roving abroad without controul, ravaged the county on every ſide.

Blesus,

BLESUS, for an example of terror to the reſt, commanded thoſe who were moſt laden with plunder, to be puniſhed with ſtripes, and caſt into priſon. For the General was ſtill dutifully obeyed by the Centurions, and by all the ſoldiers of any merit. But the criminals refuſed to ſubmit, and even ſtruggled with the guard who were carrying them off: They claſped the knees of the by-ſtanders, implored help from their fellows; now calling upon every individual, and conjuring them by their particular names; then appealed to them in a body, and ſupplicated the Company, the Cohort, the Legion, to which they belonged; warning and proclaiming, that the ſame ignominy and chaſtiſement hung over them all. With the ſame breath they heaped invectives without meaſure upon their General, and called upon heaven and all the Gods to be their witneſſes and avengers; nor left they ought unattempted to raiſe effectual hatred, compaſſion, terror, and every ſpecies of fury. Hence the whole body ruſhed to their relief, burſt open the priſon, unbound and reſcued the priſoners. Thus they owned for their brethren, and incorporated with themſelves, infamous revolters, and traitors convict and condemned.

HENCE the violence became more raging, and hence more ſedition from more leaders. There was particularly one VIBULENUS a common ſoldier, who, exalted on the ſhoulders of his comrades, before the tribunal of BLESUS, thus declaimed in the ears of a multitude already out-

outrageous, and eager to hear what he had to ſay. "To theſe innocents, ſays he, to theſe miſerable ſufferers, our fellow ſoldiers, you have indeed reſtored breath and liberty; but, who will reſtore life to my poor brother; who my poor brother to me? He was ſent hither by the German armies, with propoſitions for our common good; and for this, was laſt night butchered by the ſame BLESUS, who in the murder employed his gladiators, bloody men, whom he purpoſely entertains and arms for our common execution: where, oh BLESUS, haſt thou thrown his mangled corps? Even open enemies do not inhumanly deny burial to the ſlain. When I have ſatiated my ſorrow with a thouſand kiſſes, and a flood of tears, command me alſo to be murdered, that theſe our brethren may together bury my poor brother and me, ſlaughtered both as victims, yet both guiltleſs of any crime, but that of ſtudying the common intereſt of the Legions."

HE inflamed thoſe his complaints and expoſtulations, with affecting ſighs and lamentations, beat his breaſt, and tore his face. Then, thoſe who carried him, giving way, he throwed himſelf headlong at the feet of his companions; and thus proſtrate and ſupplicating, in them raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of commiſeration, and ſuch a ſtorm of vengeance, that one party of them ſeized and bound the General's gladiators; another, the reſt of his family; while many ran and diſperſed themſelves to ſearch for the

corps: and, had it not been quickly manifest that there was no corps to be found, that the slaves of BLESUS had upon the rack cleared themselves, and that VIBULENUS never had any brother; they had gone nigh to have sacrificed the General. As it was, they expulsed the Camp-Marshal and Tribunes, and, as they fled, plundered their baggage. They likewise put to death LUCILIUS the Centurion, whom they had sarcastically named *Cede alteram*, because when upon the back of a soldier he had broken one wand, he was wont to call for another, then a third. The other Centurions lurked in concealment, all but JULIUS CLEMENS, who, for his prompt capacity, was saved in order to manage the negociations of the Soldiers. Even two of the Legions, the eighth and the fifteenth, were ready to turn their swords upon each other; and had, but for the ninth. One SIRPICUS, a Centurion, was the subject of the quarrel: him the eighth required to be put to death; the fifteenth protected him; but the ninth interposed with entreaties to both, and with threats to those who would not listen to prayers.

TIBERIUS, however close and impenetrable, and ever labouring to smother all melancholy tidings, was yet driven by those from Pannonia, to dispatch his son DRUSUS thither, accompanied by the principal nobility, and guarded by two Prætorian cohorts; but charged with no precise instructions, only to adapt his measures to the present exigency. The cohorts

were ſtrengthened with an extraordinary addition of choſen men, with the greateſt part of the Prætorian horſe, and main body of the German, then the Emperor's guards. ÆLIUS SEJANUS, lately joined with his father STRABO in the command of the Prætorian bands, was alſo ſent, not only as governor to the young Prince, but, as his credit with the Emperor was known to be mighty, to deal with the revolters by promiſes and terrors. When DRUSUS approached, the Legions, for ſhew of reſpect, marched out to meet him, not with the uſual ſymptoms and ſhouts of joy, nor with gay enſigns and arms glittering, but in a dreſs and accoutrements hideous and ſqualid. In their countenances too, though compoſed to ſadneſs, were ſeen greater marks of ſullenneſs and contumacy.

As ſoon as he was within the camp, they ſecured the entrances with guards, and in ſeveral quarters of it placed parties upon duty. The reſt crouded about the Tribunal of DRUSUS, who ſtood beckoning with his hand for ſilence. Here, as often as they ſurveyed their own numbers, and met one another's reſentful looks, they uttered their rage in horrible cries: Again, when they beheld CÆSAR upon the Tribunal, awe and trembling ſeized them. Now, there prevailed an hollow and inarticulate murmur; next, a furious clamour; then, ſuddenly, a dead ſilence. So that, by a haſty ſucceſſion of oppoſite paſſions, they were at once diſmayed and dreadful. When, at laſt, the uproar

was ſtaid, he read his father's letters, who in them declared, "that he would take an affec-
" tionate care of the brave and invincible le-
" gions, by whom he had ſuſtained ſucceſs-
" fully ſo many wars; and, as ſoon as his grief
" was a little abated, deal with the Senate about
" their demands; in the mean time he had
" ſent them his ſon, on purpoſe to make them
" forthwith all the conceſſions, which could
" inſtantly be made them: the reſt were to be
" reſerved for the Senate, the proper diſtribu-
" tors of rewards and puniſhments by a right
" altogether unalienable."

THE aſſembly anſwered, that to JULIUS CLEMENS they had intruſted what to ſpeak in their name: he began with their demands, "to be
" diſcharged after ſixteen years ſervice, to have
" the reward which, for paſt ſervices upon that
" diſcharge, they claimed; their pay to be in-
" creaſed to a Roman Denarius; the veterans
" to be no longer detained under their enſigns."
When DRUSUS urged, that wholly in the judgment of the Senate and his father theſe matters reſted; he was interrupted by their clamours:
" To what purpoſe came he; ſince he could
" neither augment their pay, nor alleviate their
" grievances? and while every officer was al-
" lowed to inflict upon them blows and death,
" the ſon of their Emperor wanted power to
" relieve them by one beneficent action. This
" was the policy of the late reign, when TIBE-
" RIUS fruſtrated every requeſt of the ſoldiers,
" by referring all to AUGUSTUS; now DRUSUS
" was

" was come, with the ſame artifices to delude
" them. Were they never to have a higher
" viſit than from the children of their Prince?
" It was, indeed, unaccountable, that to the
" Senate the Emperor ſhould leave no part in
" the direction of the army, only the reward-
" ing of the ſoldiery. Ought not the ſame Se-
" nate to be conſulted as often as a battle was
" to be fought, or a private man to be pu-
" niſhed? or, were their recompences to be
" adjudged by many maſters, but their puniſh-
" ments to remain without any reſtraint or
" moderator whatſoever?"

At laſt, they abandoned the Tribunal, and with menaces and inſults fell upon all they met, belonging to Drusus either as guards or friends; meditating thus to provoke a quarrel, and an introduction to blood. Chiefly enraged they were againſt Cneius Lentulus, as one, for years and warlike renown, ſuperior to any about the perſon of Drusus, and thence ſuſpected to have hardened the Prince, and been himſelf the foremoſt to deſpiſe theſe outrages in the ſoldiery. Nor was it long after, that, as he was leaving Drusus, and, from the foreſight of danger, returning to the winter quarters, they ſurrounded him, and demanded, "whither
" he went? to the Emperor or Senate? there
" alſo to exerciſe his enmity to the legions, and
" oppoſe their intereſt?" and inſtantly aſſaulted him with ſtones. He was already covered with wounds and blood, and awaiting certain aſſaſ-

ſination, when the troops attending Drusus flew to his aſſiſtance, and ſaved him.

The following night had a formidable aſpect, and threatened the ſpeedy eruption of ſome tragical vengeance, when a phenomenon intervened and aſſwaged all. The Moon, in the midſt of a clear ſky, ſeemed to the ſoldiers ſuddenly to ſicken; and they who were ignorant of the natural cauſe, took this for an omen foreboding the iſſue of their preſent adventures. To their own labours they compared the eclipſe of the planet, and propheſied, "that, if to the diſtreſſed Goddeſs ſhould "be reſtored her wonted brightneſs and vi-"gour, equally ſucceſsful would be the iſſue "of theſe their ſtruggles." Hence they ſtrove to charm and revive her with ſounds, and, by ringing upon braſen metal, and an uproar of trumpets and cornets, made a vehement bellowing. As ſhe appeared brighter or darker, they exulted or lamented: but when gathering clouds had utterly bereft them of her ſight, and they believed her now buried in everlaſting darkneſs; then, as minds once throughly diſmayed are pliant to ſuperſtition, they bewailed "their own eternal ſufferings thus por-"tended, and that againſt their miſdeeds the "angry deities were contending." Drusus, who thought it behoved him to improve this diſpoſition of theirs, and to reap the fruits of wiſdom from the operations of chance; ordered certain perſons to go round, and apply to them

from

from tent to tent. For this purpose, he called and employed the Centurion JULIUS CLEMENS, and whoever else were by honest methods acceptable to the multitude. These insinuated themselves every-where, with those who kept watch, or were upon patrol, or guarded the gates, soothing all with hopes, and by terrors rousing them: "How long, said they, "shall we hold the son of our Emperor thus "besieged? Where will our broils and wild "contentions end? Shall we swear allegiance "to PERCENNIUS and VIBULENUS? Will "VIBULENUS and PERCENNIUS support us "with pay during our service, and reward us "with lands when dismissed? In short, shall "two common men dispossess the NEROS and "the DRUSI, and to themselves assume the "Empire of the Roman people? Let us be "wiser; and as we were the last to revolt, be "the first to relent. Such demands as com-"prize terms for all, are ever slowly accorded: "but particulars may, when they please, merit "instant favour, and instantly receive it." These reasonings alarmed them, and filled them with mutual jealousies. Presently the fresh soldiers forsook the Veterans, one Legion separated from another; then by degrees returned the love of duty and obedience. They relinquished the guard of the gates; and the Eagles and other ensigns, which in the beginning of the tumult they had thrown together, were now restored each to its distinct station.

DRUSUS, as ſoon as it was day, ſummoned an aſſembly, and though unskilled in ſpeaking, yet with a haughtineſs inherent in his blood, rebuked their paſt, and commended their preſent behaviour: "With threats and terrors, "he ſaid, it was impoſſible to ſubdue him; "but if he ſaw them reclaimed to ſubmiſſion, "if from them he heard the language of ſup-"plicants, he would ſend to his father to ac-"cept with a reconciled ſpirit the petitions of "the Legions." Hence, at their entreaty, for their deputy to TIBERIUS, the ſame BLESUS was again diſpatched, and with him LUCIUS APRONIUS, a Roman Knight, and intimate companion of DRUSUS, and JUSTUS CATONIUS, a Centurion of the firſt order. There followed great debates in the council of DRUSUS, while ſome adviſed "to ſuſpend all pro-"ceeding till the return of the deputies, and "by a courſe of courteſy the while to ſooth "the ſoldiers; others maintained, that reme-"dies more potent muſt needs be applied: "in a multitude was to be found nothing on "this ſide extremes; always imperious where "they are not awed, and to be deſpiſed with-"out danger when frightened. To their pre-"ſent terror from ſuperſtition was to be added "the dread of their General, by his dooming "to death the authors of the ſedition." Rather prompt to rigorous counſels was the genius of DRUSUS. VIBULENUS and PERCENNIUS were produced, and by his command executed. It is by many recounted, that in his

his own tent they were ſecretly diſpatched and buried; by others, that their bodies were ignominiouſly thrown over the entrenchments, for a public ſpectacle of terror.

SEARCH was then made for other remarkable incendiaries. Some were caught skulking without the camp, and there by the Centurions or Prætorian ſoldiers ſlain. Others were by their ſeveral companies delivered up, as a proof of their own fidelity. The conſternation of the ſoldiers was heightened by the precipitate acceſſion of winter, with rains inceſſant, and ſo violent, that they were unable to ſtir from their tents, or maintain common intercourſe, nay ſcarce to preſerve their ſtandards, aſſaulted continually by tempeſtuous winds and raging floods. Dread beſides of the angry Gods ſtill poſſeſſed them; "nor was it at random, they thought, that ſuch profane traitors were thus viſited with black eclipſes, and roaring tempeſts; neither againſt theſe their calamities was there other relief than the relinquiſhing of a camp by impiety contaminated and accurſed, and, after expiation of their guilt, returning to their ſeveral garriſons." The eighth legion departed firſt; then the fifteenth: the ninth, with earneſt clamours, preſſed for continuing there till the letters from TIBERIUS arrived; but when deſerted by the other two, their courage failed, and by following of their own accord, they prevented the ſhame of being forced. DRUSUS ſeeing order and tranquillity thus reſtored,

without ſtaying for the return of the Deputies, returned himſelf to Rome.

ALMOST at the ſame time, and from the ſame cauſes, the legions in Germany raiſed an inſurrection, with greater numbers, and thence with more fury. Paſſionate too were their hopes that GERMANICUS would never brook the rule of another, but yield to the ſpirit of the legions, who had force ſufficient to bring the whole Empire under his ſway. Upon the Rhine were two armies; that called the higher, commanded by CAIUS SILIUS, Lieutenant-General; the lower, by AULUS CÆCINA. The command in chief reſted in GERMANICUS, then buſy collecting the tribute in Gaul. The forces however under SILIUS, with cautious ambiguity, watched the ſucceſs of the revolt which others began: for the ſoldiers of the lower army had broken out into open outrages, which began from the fifth legion, and the one and twentieth, who drew after them the firſt and the twentieth. Theſe were altogether upon the frontiers of the Ubians, paſſing the campaign in utter idleneſs, or light duty: ſo that upon the news that AUGUSTUS was dead, the whole ſwarm of new ſoldiers lately levied in the city, men accuſtomed to the effeminacies of Rome, and impatient of every military hardſhip, began to poſſeſs the ignorant minds of the reſt with many turbulent expectations, "that now was preſented "the lucky juncture for Veterans to demand "intire diſmiſſion; the freſh ſoldiers, larger "pay;

" pay; and all, ſome mitigation of their mi-
" ſeries; as alſo to return due vengeance for
" the cruelties of the Centurions." Theſe were not the harangues of a ſingle incendiary, like PERCENNIUS amongſt the Pannonian legions; nor uttered, as there, in the ears of men, who, while they ſaw before their eyes armies greater than their own, mutinied with awe and trembling: But here was a ſedition of many mouths, filled with many boaſts, " that
" in their hands lay the power and fate of
" Rome; by their victories the Empire was
" inlarged, and from them the CÆSARS took,
" as a compliment, the ſurname of GERMA-
" NICUS."

NEITHER did CÆCINA ſtrive to reſtrain them. A madneſs ſo extenſive had bereft him of all his bravery and firmneſs. In this precipitate frenzy they ruſhed at once, with ſwords drawn, upon the Centurions, the eternal objects of their reſentment, and always the firſt victims to their vengeance. Them they dragged to the earth, and upon each beſtowed a terrible portion of ſixty blows; a number proportioned to that of Centurions in a legion. Then bruiſed, mangled, and half expiring, as they were, they caſt them all out of the camp, ſome into the ſtream of the Rhine. SEPTIMIUS, who had for refuge fled to the tribunal of CÆCINA, and lay claſping his feet, was demanded with ſuch imperious vehemence, that he was forced to be ſurrendered to deſtruction. CASSIUS CHEREA (afterwards famous to poſte-

rity

rity for killing CALIGULA) then a young man of undaunted ſpirit, and one of the Centurions, boldly opened himſelf a paſſage with his ſword through a crowd of armed foes ſtriving to ſeize him. After this no further authority remained to the Tribunes, none to the Camp-Marſhals. The ſeditious ſoldiers were their own officers; ſet the watch, appointed the guard, and gave all orders proper in the preſent exigency. Hence thoſe who dived deepeſt into the ſpirit of the ſoldiery, gathered a ſpecial indication how powerful and obdurate the preſent inſurrection was like to prove; for in their conduct were no marks of a rabble, where every man's will guides him, or the inſtigation of a few controuls the whole. Here, all at once they raged, and all at once kept ſilence; with ſo much concert and ſteadineſs, that you would have believed them under the ſovereign direction of one.

TO GERMANICUS the while, then receiving, as I have ſaid, the tribute in Gaul, news were brought of the deceaſe of AUGUSTUS, whoſe grand-daughter AGRIPPINA he had to wife, and by her many children. He was himſelf the grandſon of LIVIA, by her ſon DRUSUS the brother of TIBERIUS; but ever under heavy anxiety from the ſecret hate which his uncle and grandmother bore him; hate the more virulent, as its grounds were altogether unrighteous. For, dear and adored was the memory of his father DRUSUS amongſt the Roman people, and from him was firmly expected,

pected, that had he ſucceeded to the Empire, he would have reſtored public liberty. Hence their zeal for GERMANICUS, and of him the ſame hopes conceived; as from his youth he poſſeſſed a popular ſpirit, and marvellous affability, utterly remote from the comportment and addreſs of TIBERIUS, ever haughty and myſterious. The animoſities too between the ladies adminiſtered freſh fuel, while, towards AGRIPPINA, LIVIA was actuated by the deſpight natural to ſtep-mothers: and over-tempeſtuous was the indignation of AGRIPPINA; only that her known chaſtity, and love for her husband, always gave her mind, however vehement, a virtuous turn.

BUT GERMANICUS, the nearer he ſtood to ſupreme rule, the more vigour he exerted to ſecure it to TIBERIUS; to whom he obliged the Sequanians, a neighbouring people, as alſo the ſeveral Belgic cities, to ſwear preſent allegiance; and the moment he learnt the uproar of the legions, poſted thither. He found them advanced without the camp to receive him, with eyes caſt down, in feigned token of remorſe. After he entered the entrenchments, inſtantly his ears were filled with plaints and grievances, uttered in hideous and mixt clamours. Nay, ſome catching his hand, as if they meant to kiſs it, thruſt his fingers into their mouths, to feel their gums deſtitute of teeth; others ſhewed their limbs enfeebled, and bodies ſtooping under old age. As he ſaw the aſſembly mixt at random, he commanded them

them "to range themſelves into companies, "thence more diſtinctly to hear his anſwers; "as alſo to place before them their ſeveral "Enſigns; that the cohorts at leaſt might be "diſtinguiſhed." With ſlowneſs and reluctance they obeyed him. Then beginning with an encomium upon the "venerable memory "of AUGUSTUS," he proceeded to the "many "victories and many triumphs of TIBERIUS, "and with peculiar praiſes celebrated the glo-"rious and immortal deeds, which with theſe "very legions he had accompliſhed in Ger-"many;" he next boaſted the quiet ſtate of things, the conſent of all Italy, the loyal faith of both the Gauls; and every quarter of the Roman ſtate exempt from diſaffection and diſorders.

THUS far they liſtened with ſilence, at leaſt with moderate murmuring; but the moment he touched their ſedition, and queſtioned, "where now was the wonted modeſty of ſol-"diers? where the glory of ancient diſcipline? "whither had they chaſed their Tribunes, "whither their Centurions?" to a man, they ſtripped themſelves to the skin, and there expoſed the ſeams of their wounds, and bruiſes of their chaſtiſements, in the rage of reproach. Then in the undiſtinguiſhed voice of uproar, they urged, "the exactions for occaſional ex-"emptions; their ſcanty pay; and their rigo-"rous labours;" which they repreſented in a long detail; "ramparts to be reared; entrench-"ments digged, trees felled and drawn; fo-

"rage

" rage cut and carried; fuel prepared and " fetched;" with every other article of toil required by the exigencies of war, or to prevent idleneſs in the ſoldiery. Above all, from the Veterans aroſe a cry moſt vehement and furious: they enumerated thirty years or upwards undergone in the ſervice, " and be- " ſought, that, to men utterly ſpent, he would " adminiſter reſpite, nor ſuffer them to be " beholden to death for the laſt relief from " their toils; but diſcharge them from a war- " fare ſo laſting and ſevere, and grant them " the means of a comfortable receſs." Nay, ſome there were who required of him the money bequeathed them by AUGUSTUS; and towards GERMANICUS uttering zealous vows, with omens of happy fortune, declared their cordial attachment to his cauſe, if he would himſelf aſſume the Empire. Here, as if already ſtained with their treaſon, he leaped headlong from the Tribunal; but with ſwords drawn they oppoſed his departure, and threatened his life, if he refuſed to return: yet, with paſſionate proteſtations, that " he would rather die " than be a traitor," he ſnatched his ſword from his ſide, and aiming full at his breaſt, would have buried it there, had not thoſe who were next him ſeized his hand, and by force reſtrained him. A cluſter of ſoldiers in the extremity of the aſſembly, exhorted him, nay, what is incredible to hear, ſome particulars advancing nearer, exhorted him, *to ſtrike home.* In truth, one CALUSIDIUS, a common ſoldier, pre-

presented him his naked sword, and added, "it is sharper than your own;" a behaviour which to the rest, outrageous as they were, seemed savage, and of horrid example. Hence, the friends of GERMANICUS had time to snatch him away to his tent.

IT was here consulted what remedy to apply; for it was advised, that "ministers of sedition were preparing to be dispatched to "the other army, to draw them too into a "confederacy in the revolt; that the capital "of the Ubians was destined to be sacked; "and if their hands were once inured to plunder, they would break in, and ravage all "Gaul." This dread was augmented by another: the enemy knew of the sedition in the Roman army, and were ready to invade the Empire, if its barrier the Rhine were left unguarded. Now, to arm the allies and the auxiliaries of Rome, and lead them against the departing Legions, was to rouse a civil war: severity was dangerous; the way of largesses infamous; and alike threatning it was to the State, to grant the turbulent soldiers nothing, or yield them every thing. After revolving every reason and objection, the result was, to feign letters and directions from TIBERIUS, "that those who had served twenty years "should be finally discharged; such as had "served sixteen be under the ensign and privilege of Veterans, released from every duty, "but that of repulsing the enemy; and the le-

"gacy

" gacy which they demanded, ſhould be paid
" and doubled."

THE ſoldiers, who perceived, that, purely to evade preſent difficulty, the conceſſions were forged, inſiſted to have them forthwith executed; and inſtantly the Tribunes diſpatched the diſcharge of the Veterans. That of the money was adjourned to their ſeveral winter-quarters: but the fifth Legion, and the one and twentieth, refuſed to ſtir, till in that very camp they were paid; ſo that out of the money reſerved by himſelf and his friends for travelling expences, GERMANICUS was obliged to raiſe the ſum. CÆCINA, Lieutenant-General, led the firſt Legion and twentieth, back to the capital of the Ubians; an infamous march, when the plunder of their General's coffers was carried amidſt the Enſigns and Roman Eagles. GERMANICUS, the while, proceeding to the army in higher Germany, brought the ſecond, thirteenth and ſixteenth Legions to ſwear allegiance without heſitation: to the fourteenth, who manifeſted ſome ſhort ſuſpenſe, he made, unasked, a tender of their money, and a preſent diſcharge.

BUT a party of Veterans which belonged to the diſorderly Legions, and then in gariſon among the Chaucians, as they began a ſedition there, were ſomewhat quelled by the inſtant execution of two of their body; an execution commanded by MENNIUS, Camp-Marſhal, and rather of good example, than done by competent authority. The tumult

 however

however ſwelling again with freſh rage, he fled, but was diſcovered; ſo that, finding no ſafety in lurking, from his own bravery he drew his defence, and declared, "that to himſelf, who "was only their Camp-Marſhal, theſe their "outrages were not done, but done to the "authority of GERMANICUS their General, to "the Majeſty of TIBERIUS their Emperor." At the ſame time, braving and diſmaying all that would have ſtopped him, he fiercely ſnatched the colours, faced about towards the Rhine, and, pronouncing the doom of traitors and deſerters to every man who forſook his ranks, brought them back to their winter-quarters, mutinous, in truth, but not daring to mutiny.

IN the mean time the deputies from the Senate met GERMANICUS at the altar of the Ubians, whither in his return he was arrived. Two Legions wintered there, the firſt, and twentieth, with the ſoldiers lately placed under the ſtandard of Veterans; men already under the diſtractions of guilt and fear: and now a new terror poſſeſſed them, that theſe Senators were come armed with injunctions to cancel every conceſſion which they had by ſedition extorted; and, as it is the cuſtom of the crowd to be ever charging ſome body with the crimes ſuggeſted by their own falſe alarms, the guilt of this imaginary decree they laid upon MINUTIUS PLANCUS, a Senator of conſular dignity, and at the head of this deputation. In the dead of night, they began to clamour aloud for the purple ſtandard placed in the quarters of

of GERMANICUS; and rushing tumultuously to his gate, burst the doors, dragged the Prince out of his bed, and with menaces of present death, compelled him to deliver the standard. Then, as they roved about the camp, they met the Deputies; who having learnt the outrage, were hastening to GERMANICUS: upon them they poured a deluge of contumelies, and were devoting them to present slaughter; PLANCUS chiefly, whom the dignity of his character had restrained from flight; nor in this mortal danger had he other refuge than the quarters of the first Legion, where, embracing the Eagle, and other ensigns, he sought sanctuary from the religious veneration ever paid them. But, in spite of religion, had not CALPURNIUS the Eagle-bearer by force defeated the violent assault, in the Roman camp had been slain an Ambassador of the Roman people, and with his blood the inviolable altars of the Gods had been stained; a barbarity rare even in the camp of an enemy. At last, day returning, when the General, and the soldiers, and their actions could be distinguished, GERMANICUS entered the camp; and commanding PLANCUS to be brought, seated him by himself upon the tribunal: he then inveighed against the late "pernicious frenzy, which in it, he said, had "fatality, and was rekindled by no despite in "the soldiers, but by that of the angry Gods." He explained the genuine purposes of that Embassy, and lamented with affecting eloquence "the outrage committed upon PLANCUS, alto-

" gether brutal and unprovoked; the foul " violence done to the sacred person of an " Ambassador, and the mighty disgrace from " thence derived upon the Legion." Yet as the assembly shewed more stupefaction than calmness, he dismissed the Deputies under a guard of auxiliary horse.

DURING this affright, GERMANICUS was by all men censured, " that he retired not to the " higher army, whence he had been sure of " ready obedience, and even of succour against " the revolters. Already he had taken wrong " measures more than enough, by discharging " some, rewarding all, and other tender coun- " sels. If he despised his own safety; yet why " expose his infant-son, why his wife big with " child, to the fury of outrageous traitors, " wantonly violating all the most sacred rights " amongst men? It became him at least to re- " store his wife and son safe to TIBERIUS, and " to the state." He was long unresolved; besides AGRIPPINA was averse to leave him, and urged that " she was the grand-daughter of " AUGUSTUS, and it was below her spirit to " shrink in a time of danger." But, embracing her and their little son, with great tenderness and many tears, he prevailed with her to depart. Thus there marched miserably along a band of helpless women; the wife of a great commander fled like a fugitive, and upon her bosom bore her infant-son; about her a troop of other ladies, dragged from their husbands, and drowned in tears, uttering their heavy lamenta-

mentations. Nor weaker than theirs was the grief felt by all who remained.

THESE groans and tears, and this ſpectacle of woe, the appearances rather of a city ſtormed and ſacked, than of a Roman camp, that of GERMANICUS CÆSAR, victorious and flouriſhing, awakened attention and inquiry in the ſoldiers: leaving their tents, they cried, "Whence "theſe doleful wailings? what ſo lamentable! "ſo many ladies of illuſtrious quality, travelling "thus forlorn; not a Centurion to attend "them; not a ſoldier to guard them; their "General's wife amongſt them, undiſtinguiſhed "by any mark of her princely dignity; deſti-"tute of her ordinary train; frightened from "the Roman Legions, and repairing, like an "exile, for ſhelter to Treves, there to commit "herſelf to the faith of foreigners." Hence ſhame and commiſeration ſeized them, and the remembrance of her illuſtrious family, with that of her own virtues; the brave AGRIPPA her father; the mighty AUGUSTUS her grandfather; the amiable DRUSUS her father-in-law, her ſelf celebrated for a fruitful bed, and of ſignal chaſtity: add the conſideration of her little ſon, born in the camp, nurſed in the arms of the Legions, and by themſelves named CALIGULA, a military name from the boots which of the ſame faſhion with their own, in compliment to them, and to win their affections, he frequently wore. But nothing ſo effectually ſubdued them as their own envy towards the inhabitants of Treves. Hence they

all besought, all adjured, that she would return to themselves, and with themselves remain. Thus some stopped AGRIPPINA; but the main body returned with their intreaties to GERMANICUS; who, as he was yet in the transports of grief and anger, addressed himself on this wise to the surrounding crowd:

"To me neither is my wife or son dearer "than my father and the commonwealth. But "him doubtless his proper majesty will defend; "and the other armies will defend the Ro-"man State. As to my wife and children, "whom, for your glory, I could freely sacrifice; "I now remove them from your rage, that by "my blood alone may be expiated whatever "further mischief your fury meditates; and "that the murder of the great grandson of "AUGUSTUS, the murder of the daughter-in-"law of TIBERIUS, may not be added to mine, "nor to the blackness of your past guilt. For, "during these days of phrensy, what has been "too horrid for you to commit? What so sa-"cred that you have not violated? To this "audience what name shall I give? Can I call "you *Soldiers?* you who have beset with "arms the son of your Emperor, confined him "in your trenches, and held him in a siege? "*Roman citizens* can I call you? you who "have trampled upon the supreme authority "of the Roman Senate? Laws religiously ob-"served by common enemies, you have pro-"faned; violated the sacred privileges and "persons of Ambassadors; broken the laws "of

" of nations. The deified JULIUS CÆSAR
" quelled a ſedition in his army by a ſingle
" word; by calling all who refuſed to follow
" him, *Townſmen.* The deified AUGUSTUS,
" when, after the battle of Actium, the Legions
" lapſed into mutiny, terrified them into ſub-
" miſſion by the dignity of his preſence, and
" an awful look. Theſe, it is true, are mighty
" characters, whom I dare not emulate: but,
" as I inherit their blood, ſhould the armies
" in Syria and Spain contemn my authority,
" I ſhould think their behaviour ſtrange and
" baſe. Yet you are the firſt and the twentieth
" Legions, the former enrolled by TIBERIUS
" himſelf, the other his conſtant companions
" in ſo many battels, his partners in ſo many
" victories, and by him enriched with ſo many
" bounties! Is this the worthy return you
" make your Emperor, and late commander?
" And ſhall I be the author of ſuch tidings to
" him, in the midſt of congratulations and
" happy accounts from every province in the
" Empire, that his own new levies, as well as
" his own Veterans who long fought under
" him, theſe, not appeaſed by their diſcharge,
" and neither of them ſatiated with the money
" given them, are both ſtill combined in a
" furious mutiny? that here, and only here,
" the Centurions are butchered, the Tribunes
" driven away, the Ambaſſadors impriſoned;
" that with blood the camp is ſtained; that the
" rivers flow with blood; and that for me,

" his ſon, I hold a precarious life amongſt men
" thus raging and implacable?

" Why did you the other day, oh unſea-
" ſonable friends! ſnatch away my ſword, when
" I would have plunged it into my breaſt? He
" who offered me his own ſword, acted better,
" and was more my friend. I would then
" have fallen happy, as my death would have
" hid from mine eyes ſo many horrible crimes,
" ſince committed by my own army. You too
" would have choſen another General, who,
" though he would have left my death unpu-
" niſhed, yet would have ſought vengeance
" for that of VARUS, and the three Legions.
" For the Gods are too juſt to permit that
" the Belgians, however generouſly they offer
" their ſervice, ſhall reap the credit and renown
" of retrieving the glory of the Roman name,
" and of reducing in behalf of Rome the Ger-
" man nations her foes. I therefore here in-
" voke thy ſpirit now with the Gods, oh dei-
" fied AUGUSTUS; and thy image interwoven
" in the enſigns, and thy memory, oh deceaſed
" father, to vindicate theſe Legions from this
" foul infamy. They already feel the remorſes
" of ſhame, and a ſenſe of honour. Let them
" turn the tide of their civil rage to the de-
" ſtruction of their common enemy. And for
" you, my fellow ſoldiers, in whom I now
" behold other countenances, and minds hap-
" pily changed; if you mean to reſtore to the
" Senate its Ambaſſadors, to your Emperor
" your

" your ſworn obedience, to me my wife and
" ſon; fly the company of incendiaries, ſepa-
" rate the ſober from the ſeditious. This will
" be a faithful ſign of remorſe, this a firm
" pledge of fidelity."

THESE words ſoftened them into ſupplicants: they confeſſed that all his reproaches were true; they beſought him to puniſh the guilty and malicious, to pardon the weak and miſled, and to lead them againſt the enemy; to recal his wife, to bring back his ſon, nor to ſuffer the foſterling of the Legions to be given in hoſtage to the Gauls. Againſt the recalling of AGRIPPINA he alledged the advance of winter, and her approaching delivery; but ſaid, that his ſon ſhould return, and that to themſelves he left to execute what remained further to be executed. Inſtantly, with changed reſentments, they ran, and, ſeizing the moſt ſeditious, dragged them in bonds to CAIUS CETRONIUS, commander of the firſt Legion, who judged and puniſhed them in this manner. The Legions, with their ſwords drawn, ſurrounded the Tribunal; from thence the priſoner was by a Tribune expoſed to their view, and if they proclaimed him guilty, caſt headlong down, and executed even by his fellow-ſoldiers, who rejoiced in the execution, becauſe by it they thought their own guilt to be expiated: nor did GERMANICUS reſtrain them, ſince on themſelves remained the cruelty and reproach of the ſlaughter committed without any order of his. The Veterans followed the ſame example of vengeance, and

were ſoon after ordered into Rhetia, in appearance to defend that province againſt the invading Suevians; in reality, to remove them from a camp, ſtill horrible to their ſight, as well in the remedy and puniſhment, as from the memory of their crime. GERMANICUS next paſſed a ſcrutiny upon the conduct and characters of the Centurions: before him they were cited ſingly; and each gave account of his name, his company, country, the length of his ſervice, exploits in war, and military preſents, if he had been diſtinguiſhed with any. If the Tribunes, or his Legion, bore teſtimony of his diligence and integrity, he kept his poſt; upon concurring complaint of his avarice or cruelty, he was degraded.

THUS were the preſent commotions appeaſed; but others as great ſtill ſubſiſted, from the rage and obſtinacy of the fifth and twenty-firſt Legions. They were in winter-quarters ſixty miles off, in a place called the *Old Camp*, and had firſt began the ſedition: nor was there any wickedneſs ſo horrid that they had not perpetrated; nay, at this time, neither terrified by the puniſhment, nor reclaimed by the reformation of their fellow ſoldiers, they perſevered in their fury. GERMANICUS therefore determined to give them battle, if they perſiſted in their revolt, and prepared veſſels, arms, and troops, to be ſent down the Rhine.

BEFORE the iſſue of the ſedition in Illyricum was known at Rome, tidings of the uproar in the German Legions arrived. Hence the city

was

was filled with much terror, and hence against TIBERIUS many complaints, " that while with " feigned consultations and delays he mocked " the Senate and People, once the great bodies " of the estate, but now bereft of power and " armies, the soldiery were in open rebellion, " one too mighty and stubborn to be quelled " by two Princes so young in years and autho- " rity. He ought at first to have gone him- " self, and awed them with the majesty of " imperial power; as doubtless they would have " returned to duty, upon the sight of their Em- " peror, a Prince of consummate experience, " the sovereign disposer of rewards and seve- " rity. Did AUGUSTUS, even under the pres- " sures of old age and infirmities, take so many " journies into Germany? and should TIBE- " RIUS, in the vigour of his life, when the " same, or greater occasions called him thither, " sit lazily in the Senate, to watch Senators, " and cavil at words? He had fully provided " for the domestic servitude of Rome; he " ought next to cure the licentiousness of the " soldiers, to restrain their turbulent spirits, " and reconcile them to a life of peace." .

BUT all these reasonings and reproaches moved not TIBERIUS. He was determined not to depart from the Capital, the centre of power and affairs, nor expose to chance or peril his person and empire. In truth, many and contrary difficulties pressed and perplexed him: " the German army was the stronger; " that of Pannonia nearer; the power of both

" the Gauls supported the former; the latter
" was at the gates of Italy. Now, to which
" should he repair first? and would not the last
" visited be enraged, by being postponed? But
" by sending one of his sons to each, the equal
" treatment of both was maintained; as also
" the majesty of the supreme power, which
" from distance ever derived most reverence.
" Besides, the young Princes would be ex-
" cused, if to their father they referred such
" demands as were improper for them to
" grant; and if they disobeyed GERMANICUS
" and DRUSUS, his own authority remained to
" appease or punish them. But if once they
" had contemned their Emperor himself, what
" other resource was behind?" However, as if he had been upon the point of marching, he chose his attendants, provided his equipage, and prepared a fleet: but by various delays and pretences, sometimes that of the winter, sometimes business, he deceived for a time even the wisest men, much longer the common people, and the provinces for a great while.

GERMANICUS had already drawn together his army, and was prepared to take vengeance on the seditious: but judging it proper to allow space for trial whether they would follow the late example, and, consulting their own safety, do justice upon one another; he sent letters to CÆCINA, "that he himself approached, with a
" powerful force; and, if they prevented him
" not, by executing the guilty, he would put
" all indifferently to the slaughter." These letters

letters CÆCINA privately read to the principal Officers, and ſuch of the camp as the ſedition had not tainted; beſought them, "to redeem "themſelves from death, and all from infamy; "urged that in peace alone reaſon was heard, "and merit diſtinguiſhed; but in the rage of "war, the blind ſteel ſpared the innocent no "more than the guilty." The Officers having tried thoſe whom they believed for their purpoſe, and found the majority ſtill to perſevere in their duty, ſettled, in concurrence with the General, the time for falling with the ſword upon the moſt notoriouſly guilty and turbulent. Upon a particular ſignal given, they ruſhed into their tents, and butchered them; void as they were of all apprehenſion; nor did any but the Centurions and executioners know whence the maſſacre began, or where it would end.

THIS had a different face from all the civil ſlaughters that ever happened: it was a ſlaughter not of enemies upon enemies, nor from different and oppoſite camps, nor in a day of battle; but of comrades upon comrades, in the ſame tents where they eat together by day, where they ſlept together by night. From this ſtate of intimacy, they fly into mortal enmity; friends launched their darts at friends: wounds, outcries, and blood were open to view; but the cauſe remained hid: wild chance governed the reſt, and ſeveral innocents were ſlain. For the criminals, when they found againſt whom all this fury was bent, had alſo betaken themſelves

ſelves to their arms. Neither did CÆCINA, nor any of the Tribunes, intervene to ſtay the rage: ſo that the ſoldiers had full permiſſion of vengeance, with a licentiouſneſs and ſatiety of killing. GERMANICUS ſoon after entered the camp now full of blood and carcaſſes, and, lamenting with many tears, that "this was "not a remedy, but cruelty and deſolation," commanded the bodies to be burnt. The minds of the reſt, ſtill tempeſtuous and bloody, were tranſported with ſudden eagerneſs to attack the foe; as the beſt expiation of their tragical fury: nor otherwiſe, they thought, could the ghoſts of their butchered brethren be appeaſed, than by receiving in their own profane breaſts a chaſtiſement of honourable wounds. GERMANICUS fell in with the ardour of the ſoldiers, and laying a bridge upon the Rhine, marched over twelve thouſand Legionary ſoldiers, twenty-ſix cohorts of the allies, and eight regiments of horſe; men all untainted in the late ſedition.

THE Germans rejoiced, not far off, at this vacation of war, occaſioned firſt by the death of AUGUSTUS, and afterwards by inteſtine tumults in the camp. But the Romans by a haſty march paſſed through the Cæſian woods, and levelling the barrier formerly begun by TIBERIUS, pitched their camp upon it. In the front and rear they were defended by a paliſade, on each ſide by a barricade of the trunks of trees felled. From thence, beginning to traverſe gloomy foreſts, they ſtopped to conſult which of

of two ways they ſhould chuſe, the ſhort and frequented, or the longeſt and leaſt known, and therefore unſuſpected by the foe. The longeſt way was choſen; but in every thing elſe diſpatch was obſerved: for, by the ſcouts, intelligence was brought, that the Germans did, that night, celebrate a feſtival, with great mirth and revelling. Hence CÆCINA was commanded to advance with the cohorts without their baggage, and to clear a paſſage through the foreſt: at a moderate diſtance followed the Legions: the clearneſs of the night facilitated the march; and they arrived at the villages of the Marſians, which they preſently inveſted with guards. The Germans were even yet under the effects of their debauch, ſcattered here and there, ſome in bed, ſome lying by their tables; no watch placed, no apprehenſion of an enemy. So utterly had their falſe ſecurity baniſhed all order and care; and they were under no dread of war, without enjoying peace, other than the deceitful and lethargic peace of drunkards.

THE Legions were eager for revenge; and GERMANICUS, to extend their ravage, divided them into four battalions. The country was waſted by fire and ſword fifty miles round; nor ſex nor age found mercy; places ſacred and prophane had the equal lot of deſtruction, all razed to the ground, and with them the temple of Tanfana, of all others the moſt celebrated amongſt theſe nations. Nor did all this execution coſt the ſoldiers a wound, while they only

only ſlew men half aſleep, diſarmed, or diſperſed. This ſlaughter rouſed the Bructerans, the Tubantes, and the Uſipetes; and they beſet the paſſes of the foreſt, through which the army was to return; an event known to GERMANICUS, and he marched in order of battle: the auxiliary cohorts and part of the horſe led the van, followed cloſe by the firſt Legion; the baggage was in the middle; the twenty-firſt Legion cloſed the left wing, and the fifth the right; the twentieth defended the rear; and after them marched the reſt of the allies. But the enemy ſtirred not, till the body of the army was entered the wood: they then began lightly to inſult the front and wings; and, at laſt, with their whole force fell upon the rear. The light cohorts were already diſordered by the cloſe German bands, when GERMANICUS riding up to the twentieth Legion, and exalting his voice; "this was the ſeaſon, he cried, "to obliterate the ſcandal of ſedition: hence "they ſhould fall reſolutely on, and convert "into ſudden praiſe their late ſhame and "offence." Theſe words inflamed them: at one charge they broke the enemy, drove them out of the wood, and ſlaughtered them in the plain. In the mean while, the front paſſed the foreſt, and fortified the camp. The reſt of the march was uninterrupted, and the ſoldiers, truſting to the merit of their late exploits, and forgetting at once paſt faults and terrors, were placed in winter-quarters.

THE

THE tydings of these exploits affected TIBERIUS with gladness and anguish. He rejoiced that the sedition was suppressed; but, that GERMANICUS had, by discharging the Veterans, by shortening the term of service to the rest, and by largesses to all, gained the hearts of the army, as well as earned high glory in war; proved to the Emperor matter of torture. To the Senate, however, he reported the detail of his feats, and upon his valour bestowed copious praises, but in words too pompous and ornamental to be thought dictated by his heart. It was with more brevity that he commended DRUSUS, and his address in quelling the sedition of Illyricum, but more cordially withal, and in language altogether sincere; and even to the Pannonian Legions he extended all the concessions made by GERMANICUS to his own.

THE same year died JULIA, for her lewdness long since banished by her father AUGUSTUS into the isle of Pandateria, and afterwards to the city of Rhegium upon the streights of Sicily. Whilst CAIUS and LUCIUS, her sons by AGRIPPA, yet lived, she was given in marriage to TIBERIUS; and despised him, as a man beneath her. Nor any motive so cogent as this had TIBERIUS for his retirement to Rhodes. When he came to the empire, she was already under the pressures of infamy and exile, and since the death of AGRIPPA POSTHUMUS, destitute of all hope and support. Yet such

ſuch multiplied diſtreſſes ſoftened not the Emperor, who, by a long train of miſeries, and continued want, cauſed her finally to periſh; as he ſuppoſed that in the diſtance of her baniſhment her tragical death would remain concealed. From the ſame root was derived his cruelty to SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, the deſcendent of a family eminently noble, himſelf of a lively wit and prevailing eloquence, but viciouſly applied. He, while JULIA was yet AGRIPPA's wife, had debauched her: neither with AGRIPPA ended their vicious league; but after ſhe was given to TIBERIUS, he ſtill perſiſted her adulterer, and towards her husband inſpired her with notable averſion and contumacy: The letters too by her written to her father, full of aſperity againſt TIBERIUS, and labouring his ruin, were thought to have been compoſed by GRACCHUS. He was therefore baniſhed to Cercina, an iſland in the African ſea, where, for fourteen years, he ſuffered exile. The ſoldiers diſpatched to the aſſaſſination found him upon a riſing by the ſhore, to himſelf preſaging nothing joyful from their arrival. Of them he only deſired a ſhort reſpite to ſend his laſt will in a letter to ALLIARIA his wife, and then extended his neck to the ſword of the aſſaſſins; a conſtancy in death not unworthy the Sempronian name: in his life he had degenerated. Some authors have related, that theſe ſoldiers were not ſent directly from Rome, but by LUCIUS ASPRENAS, Proconſul of

of Africa, by the policy and command of TIBERIUS, who in vain hoped to have caſt upon ASPRENAS the imputation of the murder.

THERE was likewiſe this year an admiſſion of new rites, by the eſtabliſhment of another College of Prieſts, one ſacred to the deity of AUGUSTUS; as formerly TITUS TATIUS, to preſerve the religious rites of the Sabines, had founded the fraternity of Titian Prieſts. To fill the ſociety, one and twenty the moſt conſiderable Romans were drawn by lot, and to them were added TIBERIUS, DRUSUS, CLAUDIUS, and GERMANICUS. The games in honour of AUGUSTUS, began then firſt to be embroiled by emulation among the players, and by the ſtrife of parties in their behalf. AUGUSTUS had countenanced theſe players, and their art, in complaiſance to MÆCENAS, who was mad in love with BATHYLLUS the comedian; nor to ſuch favourite amuſements of the populace had he any averſion himſelf; he rather judged it an acceptable courteſy to mingle with the multitude in theſe their popular pleaſures. Different was the temper of TIBERIUS, different his politics: to ſeverer manners, however, he durſt not yet reduce the people, ſo many years indulged in licentious gaieties.

IN the conſulſhip of DRUSUS CÆSAR and CAIUS NORBANUS, a triumph was decreed to GERMANICUS, while the war ſtill ſubſiſted. He was preparing with all diligence to proſecute it the following ſummer; but began much ſooner by a ſudden irruption early in

the ſpring into the territories of the Cattians; an anticipation of the campaign, which proceeded from the hopes given him of diſſenſion amongſt the enemy, cauſed by the oppoſite parties of ARMINIUS and SEGESTES; two men ſignally known to the Romans upon different accounts; the laſt for his firm faith, the firſt for faith violated. ARMINIUS was the incendiary of Germany; but by SEGESTES had been given repeated warnings of an intended revolt, particularly during the feſtival immediately preceding the inſurrection. He had even adviſed VARUS, "to ſecure him and ARMINIUS, "and all the other chiefs; for that the mul-"titude, thus bereft of their leaders, would "dare to attempt nothing; and VARUS have "time to diſtinguiſh crimes and ſuch as com-"mitted none." But by his own fate, and the ſudden violence of ARMINIUS, VARUS fell. SEGESTES, though by the weight and unanimity of his nation, he was forced into the war, yet remained at conſtant variance with ARMINIUS: a domeſtic quarrel too heightened their hate; as ARMINIUS had carried away the daughter of SEGESTES, already betrothed to another; and the ſame relations which amongſt friends prove bonds of tenderneſs, were freſh ſtimulations of wrath to an obnoxious ſon, and an offended father.

UPON theſe encouragements, GERMANICUS committed to the command of CÆCINA four Legions, five thouſand auxiliaries, and ſome bands of Germans, dwellers on this ſide the Rhine,

Rhine, drawn ſuddenly together; he led himſelf as many Legions, with double the number of allies, and erecting a fort in mount Taunus, upon the old foundations of one raiſed by his father, ruſhed full march againſt the Cattians; having behind him left LUCIUS APRONIUS, to ſecure the ways from the fury of inundations. For, as the roads were then dry, and the rivers low, events in that climate exceedingly rare, he had without check expedited his march, but againſt his return apprehended the violence of rains and floods. Upon the Cattians he fell with ſuch ſurprize, that all the weak, through ſex or age, were inſtantly taken or ſlaughtered. Their youth, by ſwimming over the Adrana, eſcaped, and attempted to force the Romans from building a bridge to follow them, but by dint of arrows and engines were repulſed; then having in vain tried to gain terms of peace, ſome ſubmitted to GERMANICUS; the reſt abandoned their villages and dwellings, and diſperſed themſelves in the woods. Mattium, the Capital of the nation he burnt, ravaged all the open country, and bent his march to the Rhine: nor durſt the enemy haraſs his rear; an uſual practice of theirs, when ſometimes they fly more through craft than affright. The Cheruſcans indeed were addicted to aſſiſt the Cattians, but terrified from attempting it by CÆCINA, who moved about with his forces from place to place; and, by routing the Marſians who had dared to engage him, reſtrained all their efforts.

SOON after arrived deputies from SEGESTES, praying relief against the combination and violence of his countrymen, by whom he was held besieged; as more powerful amongst them than his was the credit of ARMINIUS, since it was he who had advised the war. This is the genius of Barbarians, to judge that men are to be trusted in proportion as they are fierce, and in public commotions ever to prefer the most resolute. To the other deputies SEGESTES had added SEGIMUNDUS his son; but the young man faultered a while, as his own heart accused him; for that, the year when Germany revolted, he who had been by the Romans created Priest of the Altar of the Ubians, rent the sacerdotal Tiara, and fled to the revolters: yet, encouraged by the Roman clemency, he undertook the execution of his father's orders, was himself graciously received, and then conducted with a guard to the frontiers of Gaul. GERMANICUS led back his army to the relief of SEGESTES, and was rewarded with success. He fought the besiegers, and rescued him with a great train of his relations and followers; amongst them too were ladies of illustrious rank, particularly the wife of ARMINIUS, she who was the daughter of SEGESTES; a lady more of the spirit of her husband than that of her father; a spirit so unsubdued, that from her eyes captivity forced not a tear, nor from her lips a breath in the stile of a supplicant. Not a motion of her hands, nor a look escaped her; but, fast across her breast she held her arms,

arms, and upon her heavy womb her eyes were immoveably fixed. There were likewise carried Roman spoils taken at the slaughter of VARUS and his army, and then divided as prey amongst many of those who were now prisoners. At the same time, appeared SEGESTES, of superior stature; and, from a confidence in his good understanding with the Romans, undaunted. In this manner he spoke:

" This is not the first day, that to the Ro-
" man people I have approved my faith and
" adherence. From the moment I was by
" the deified AUGUSTUS presented with the
" freedom of the city, I have continued by
" your interest to chuse my friends, by your
" interest to denominate my enemies; from
" no hate of mine to my native country (for
" odious are traitors even to the party which
" they embrace) but, because the same mea-
" sures were equally conducing to the benefit
" of the Romans and of the Germans; and I
" was for peace rather than war. For this
" reason I applied to VARUS, the then General,
" with an accusation against ARMINIUS, who
" from me had ravished my daughter, and
" with you violated the faith of leagues. But
" growing impatient with the slowness and
" inactivity of VARUS, and well apprized how
" little security was to be hoped from the laws,
" I pressed him to seize myself, and ARMI-
" NIUS, and his accomplices; witness that fatal
" night, to me I wish it had been the last!
" More to be lamented than defended are the

" ſad events which followed. I moreover caſt
" ARMINIUS into irons, and was myſelf caſt
" into irons by his faction; and as ſoon as to
" you, CÆSAR, I could apply, you ſee I pre-
" fer old engagements to preſent violence;
" tranquillity to combuſtions; with no view
" of my own to intereſt or reward, but to
" baniſh from me the imputation of perfidi-
" ouſneſs. For the German nation too, I
" would thus become a mediator, if peradven-
" ture they will chuſe rather to repent than be
" deſtroyed: for my ſon I intreat you, have
" mercy upon his youth, pardon his error.
" That my daughter is your priſoner by force,
" I own: in your own breaſt it wholly lies,
" under which character you will treat her,
" whether as one who has conceived by AR-
" MINIUS, or as one by me begotten." The
anſwer of GERMANICUS was gracious: he pro-
miſed indemnity to his children and kindred,
and to himſelf a ſafe retreat in one of the old
provinces; then returned with his army, and,
by the direction of TIBERIUS, received the
title of *Imperator*. The wife of ARMINIUS
brought forth a male child, and the boy was
brought up at Ravenna. His unhappy conflicts
afterwards with the contumelious inſults of
fortune, will be remembered in their place.

THE deſertion of SEGESTES being divulged,
with his gracious reception from GERMANICUS,
affected his countrymen variouſly, with hope
or anguiſh, as they were prone or averſe to
the war. Naturally violent was the ſpirit of AR-
MINIUS,

MINIUS, and now, by the captivity of his wife, and by the fate of his child doomed to bondage though yet unborn, enraged even to distraction: he flew about amongst the Cheruscans, calling them to arms; to arm against SEGESTES, to arm against GERMANICUS: invectives followed his fury: " A blessed father this " SEGESTES, he cried! a mighty General, this " GERMANICUS! invincible warriors these Ro- " mans! so many troops have made prisoner " of a woman. It is not thus that I conquer: " Before me three Legions fell, and three Lieu- " tenant-Generals. Open and honourable is " my method of war, nor waged with big- " bellied women, but against men and arms; " and treason is none of my weapons. Still " to be seen are the Roman standards in the " German groves, there by me hung up, and " devoted to our country Gods. Let SE- " GESTES live a slave in a conquered province; " let him recover to his Son a foreign Priest- " hood: With the German nations he can " never obliterate his reproach, that through " him they have seen, between the Elb and " Rhine, rods and axes, and the Roman Toga. " To other Nations, who know not the Ro- " man domination, executions and tributes are " also unknown; evils which we too have cast " off, in spite of that AUGUSTUS now dead, " and enrolled with the deities, in spite too of " TIBERIUS his chosen successor. Let us not, " after this, dread a mutinous army, and a boy " without experience, their commander: but,

" if you love your country, your kindred, " your ancient liberty and laws, better than " tyrants and new colonies, let ARMINIUS " rather lead you to liberty and glory, than " the wicked SEGESTES to the infamy of bond- " age."

By these stimulations, not the Cheruscans only were roused, but all the neighbouring nations; and into the confederacy was drawn INGUIOMERUS, paternal uncle to ARMINIUS, a man long since in high credit with the Romans. Hence a new source of fear to GERMANICUS, who, to avoid the shock of their whole forces, and to divert the enemy, sent CÆCINA with forty Roman cohorts to the river Amisia, through the territories of the Bructerians. PEDO the Prefect led the cavalry by the confines of the Frisians. He himself embarked four Legions on the lake: and upon the bank of the said river the whole body met, foot, horse, and the fleet. The Chaucians, upon offering their assistance, were taken into the service; but the Bructerians, setting fire to their effects and dwellings, were routed by STERTINIUS, by GERMANICUS dispatched against them with a band lightly armed. As this party were engaged between slaughter and plunder, he found the Eagle of the nineteenth Legion, lost in the overthrow of VARUS. The army marched next to the furthest borders of the Bructerians, and the whole country between the rivers Amisia and Luppia, was laid waste. Not far hence lay the forest of Teuto-

burgium,

burgium, and in it the bones of VARUS and the Legions, by report ſtill unburied. Hence GERMANICUS became inſpired with a tender paſſion to pay the laſt offices to the Legions and their leader: The like tenderneſs alſo affected the whole army. They were moved with compaſſion, ſome for the fate of their friends, others for that of their relations, here tragically ſlain: They were ſtruck with the doleful caſualties of war, and the ſad lot of humanity. CÆCINA was ſent before to examine the gloomy receſſes of the foreſt, to lay bridges over the pools, and, upon the deceitful marſhes, cauſways. The army entered the doleful ſolitude, hideous to ſight, hideous to memory. Firſt they ſaw the camp of VARUS, wide in circumference; and the three diſtinct ſpaces allotted to the different Eagles, ſhewed the number of the Legions. Further they beheld the ruinous entrenchment, and the ditch nigh choaked up; in it the remains of the army were ſuppoſed to have made their laſt effort, and in it to have found their graves. In the open fields lay their bones all bleached and bare, ſome ſeparate, ſome on heaps, juſt as they had happened to fall, flying for their lives, or reſiſting unto death. Here were ſcattered the limbs of horſes, there pieces of broken javelins; and the trunks of trees bore the skulls of men. In the adjacent groves were the ſavage altars; where the Barbarians had made a horrible immolation of the Tribunes and principal Centurions. Thoſe who ſurvived the

ſlaughter,

ſlaughter, having eſcaped from captivity and the ſword, related the ſad particulars to the reſt: "Here the commanders of the Legions were "ſlain: There we loſt the Eagles: Here VA-"RUS had his firſt wound; there he gave him-"ſelf another, and periſhed by his own un-"happy hand. In that place too ſtood the "tribunal whence ARMINIUS harangued: In "this quarter, for the execution of his cap-"tives, he erected ſo many gibbets; in that "ſuch a number of funeral trenches were "digged; and with theſe circumſtances of "pride and deſpight he inſulted the enſigns "and Eagles."

THUS the Roman army buried the bones of the three Legions, ſix years after the ſlaughter; nor could any one diſtinguiſh, whether he gathered the particular remains of a ſtranger, or thoſe of a kinſman: But all conſidered the whole as their friends, the whole as their relations, with heightened reſentments againſt the foe, at once ſad and revengeful. In this pious office, ſo acceptable to the dead, GERMANICUS was a partner in the woe of the living; and upon the common tomb laid the firſt ſod: a proceeding not liked by TIBERIUS; whether it were that upon every action of GERMANICUS he put a perverſe meaning, or believed that the affecting ſpectacle of the unburied ſlain, would ſink the ſpirit of the army, and heighten their terror of the enemy; as alſo that "a General veſted, as Augur, with the "intendency of religious rites, became de-

"filed

" filed by assisting at the solemnities of the " dead."

ARMINIUS retiring into desart and pathless places, was pursued by GERMANICUS; who, as soon as he reached him, commanded the horse to advance, and dislodge the enemy from the post they had possessed. ARMINIUS, having directed his men to keep close together, and draw near to the woods, wheeled suddenly about, and to those whom he had hid in the forest, gave the signal to rush out. The Roman horse, now engaged by a new army, became disordered, and to their relief some cohorts were sent, but likewise broken by the press of those that fled; and great was the consternation so many ways increased. The enemy too were already pushing them into the morass; a place well known to the pursuers, as to the unapprized Romans it had proved pernicious, had not GERMANICUS drawn out the Legions in order of battle. Hence the enemy became terrified, our men reassured, and both retired with equal loss and advantage. GERMANICUS presently after returning with the army to the river Amisia, reconducted the Legions, as he had brought them, in the fleet. Part of the horse were ordered to march along the sea-shore to the Rhine. CÆCINA, who led his own men, was warned, that though he was to return through known roads, yet he should with all speed pass the causway, called *The Long Bridges*. It is a narrow track, between vast marshes, and formerly raised by

LUCIUS

LUCIUS DOMITIUS. The marshes themselves are of an uncertain soil, here full of mud, there of heavy sticking clay, or traversed with various currents. Round about are woods which rise gently from the plain, and were already filled with soldiers by ARMINIUS, who, by shorter ways, and a running march, had arrived there before our men, who were loaded with arms and baggage. CÆCINA, who was perplexed how at once to repair the causway decayed by time, and to repulse the foe, resolved at last to encamp in the place, that whilst some were employed in the work, others might maintain the fight.

THE Barbarians strove violently to break our station, and to fall upon the entrenchers; harassed our men, assaulted the works, changed their attacks, and pushed every-where. With the shouts of the assailants the cries of the workmen were confusedly mixed; and all things equally combined to distress the Romans; the place deep with ouze sinking under those who stood, slippery to such as advanced, their armour heavy, the waters deep, nor in them could they launch their javelins. The Cheruscans, on the contrary, were inured to encounters in the bogs; their persons tall, their spears long, such as could wound at a distance. At last the Legions, already yielding, were by night redeemed from an unequal combat; but night interrupted not the activity of the Germans, become by success indefatigable. Without refreshing themselves with sleep, they diverted all

all the courses of the springs which rise in the neighbouring mountains, and turned them into the plains; thus the Roman camp was flooded, the work, as far as they had carried it, overturned, and the labour of the poor soldiers renewed and doubled. To CÆCINA this year proved the fortieth of his sustaining as officer or soldier the functions of arms; a man in all the vicissitudes of war, prosperous or disastrous, well experienced, and thence undaunted. Weighing therefore with himself all probable events and expedients, he could devise no other than that of restraining the enemy to the woods, till he had sent forward the wounded men and baggage; for from the mountains to the marshes there stretched a plain, fit only to hold a little army. To this purpose the Legions were thus appointed; the fifth had the right wing, and the one and twentieth the left; the first led the van; the twentieth defended the rear.

A RESTLESS night it was to both armies, but in different ways: the Barbarians feasted and caroused; and with songs of triumph, or with horrid and threatning cries, filled all the plain and echoing woods. Amongst the Romans were feeble fires, sad silence, or broken words; they leaned drooping here and there against the pales, or wandered disconsolately about the tents, like men without sleep, but not quite awake. A frightful dream too terrified the General; he thought he heard and saw QUINCTILIUS VARUS, rising out of the marsh,

marſh, all beſmeared with blood, ſtretching forth his hand, and calling upon him; but that he rejected the call, and puſhed him away. At break of day, the Legions, poſted on the wings, through contumacy or affright, deſerted their ſtations, and took ſudden poſſeſſion of a field beyond the bogs; neither did ARMINIUS fall ſtraight upon them, however open they lay to his aſſault: but, when he perceived the baggage ſet faſt in mire and ditches; the ſoldiers about it diſorderly and embaraſſed; the ranks and enſigns in confuſion; and, as uſual in a time of diſtreſs, every one in haſte to ſave himſelf, but ſlow to obey his officer; he then commanded his Germans to break in: "Behold, he vehemently cried, behold again "VARUS and his Legions, ſubdued by the "ſame fate!" Thus he cried, and at the ſame time, with a ſelect body, broke quite through our forces; and chiefly againſt the horſe directed his havock: ſo that the ground becoming ſlippery, by their blood and the ſlime of the marſh, their feet flew from them, and they caſt their riders; then galloping and ſtumbling amongſt the ranks, they overthrew all they met, and trod to death all they overthrew. The greateſt difficulty was, to maintain the Eagles; a ſtorm of darts made it impoſſible to advance them, and the rotten ground impoſſible to fix them. CÆCINA, while he ſuſtained the fight, had his horſe ſhot, and having fallen, was nigh taken; but the firſt Legion ſaved him. Our relief came from the greedineſs of the enemy, who ceaſed

ceaſed ſlaying, to ſeize the ſpoil. Hence the Legions had reſpite to ſtruggle into the fair field, and firm ground: nor was here an end to their miſeries; a paliſade was to be raiſed, an entrenchment digged; their inſtruments too, for throwing up and carrying earth, and their tools for cutting turf, were almoſt all loſt; no tents for the ſoldiers; no remedies for the wounded; and their food all defiled with mire or blood; as they ſhared it in ſadneſs amongſt them, they lamented that mournful night, they lamented the approaching day, to ſo many thouſand men the laſt.

It happened that a horſe, which had broke his collar, as he ſtrayed about, became frightened with noiſe, and ran over ſome that were in his way: this raiſed ſuch a conſternation in the camp, from a perſuaſion that the Germans in a body had forced an entrance, that all ruſhed to the gates, eſpecially to the poſtern, as the furtheſt from the foe, and ſafer for flight. Cæcina, having found the vanity of their dread, but unable to ſtop them, either by his authority, or by his prayers, or indeed by force, flung himſelf, at laſt, croſs the gate. This prevailed; their awe and tenderneſs of their General, reſtrained them from running over his body; and the Tribunes and Centurions ſatiſfied them the while that it was a falſe alarm.

Then, calling them together, and deſiring them to hear him with ſilence, he minded them of their difficulties, and how to conquer them: "that for their lives they muſt be in-

" debted to their arms, but force was to be
" tempered with art; they must therefore keep
" close within their camp, till the enemy, in
" hopes of taking it by storm, advanced; then
" make a sudden sally on every side; and by
" this push they should break through the
" enemy, and reach the Rhine; but, if they
" fled, more forests remained to be traversed,
" deeper marshes to be passed, and the cruelty
" of a pursuing foe to be sustained." He laid before them the motives and fruits of victory, public rewards and glory, with every tender domestic consideration, as well as those of military exploits and praise. Of their dangers and sufferings he said nothing. He next distributed horses, first his own, then those of the Tribunes and leaders of the Legions, to the bravest soldiers impartially; that thus mounted they might begin the charge, followed by the foot.

AMONGST the Germans, there was not less agitation, from hopes of victory, greediness of spoil, and the opposite counsels of their leaders. ARMINIUS proposed, "to let the Romans
" march off, and to beset them in their march,
" when engaged in bogs and fastnesses." The advice of INGUIOMERUS was fiercer, and thence more applauded by the Barbarians: he declared
" for forcing the camp; for that the victory
" would be quick, there would be more cap-
" tives, and intire plunder." As soon therefore as it was light, they rushed out upon the camp, cast hurdles into the ditch, attacked and

grappled the paliſade: Upon it, few ſoldiers appeared, and theſe ſeemed frozen with fear: but as the enemy in ſwarms were climbing the ramparts, the ſignal was given to the cohorts; the cornets and trumpets ſounded, and inſtantly, with ſhouts and impetuoſity, they iſſued out, and begirt the aſſailants; "Here are no thickets, "they ſcornfully cried; no bogs; but an equal "field, and impartial Gods." The enemy, who imagined few Romans remaining, fewer arms, and an eaſy conqueſt, were ſtruck with the ſounding trumpets, with the glittering armour; and every object of terror appeared double to them who expected none. They fell like men who, as they are void of moderation in proſperity, are alſo deſtitute of conduct in diſtreſs. ARMINIUS forſook the fight unhurt; INGUIOMERUS grievouſly wounded: their men were ſlaughtered as long as day and rage laſted. In the evening the Legions returned, in the ſame want of proviſions, and with more wounds: but in victory they found all things, health, vigour, and abundance.

IN the mean time, a report had flown, that the Roman forces were routed, and an army of Germans upon full march, to invade Gaul: ſo that under the terror of this news there were thoſe, whoſe cowardice would have emboldened them to have demoliſhed the bridge upon the Rhine, had not AGRIPPINA reſtrained them from that infamous attempt. In truth, ſuch was the undaunted ſpirit of the woman, that at this time ſhe performed all the duties of a

General; relieved the neceſſitous ſoldiers, upon the wounded beſtowed medicines, and upon others cloaths. CAIUS PLINIUS, the writer of the German Wars, relates, that ſhe ſtood at the end of the bridge, as the Legions returned, and accoſted them with thanks and praiſes; a behaviour which ſunk deep into the ſpirit of TIBERIUS; "for that all this officiouſneſs of hers, "he thought, could not be upright; nor that "it was againſt foreigners only ſhe engaged "the army: to the direction of the Generals "nothing was now left, when a woman re-"viewed the companies, attended the Eagles, "and to the men diſtributed largeſſes, as if "before ſhe had ſhewn but ſmall tokens of "ambitious deſigns, in carrying her child (the "ſon of the General) in a ſoldier's coat about "the camp, with the title of CÆSAR CALIGULA. "Already in greater credit with the army was "AGRIPPINA than the leaders of the Legions, "in greater than their Generals, and a woman "had ſuppreſſed ſedition, which the authority "of the Emperor was not able to reſtrain." Theſe jealouſies were inflamed, and more were added by SEJANUS; one who was well skilled in the temper of TIBERIUS, and purpoſely furniſhed him with ſources of hatred, to lie hid in his heart, and be diſcharged with increaſe hereafter.

GERMANICUS, in order to lighten the ſhips in which he had embarked his men, and fit their burden to the ebbs and ſhallows, delivered the ſecond and fourteenth Legions to PUBLIUS

VITELLIUS, to lead them by land. VITELLIUS, at first, had an easy march on dry ground, or ground moderately overflowed by the tide; when suddenly the fury of the north wind swelling the ocean (a constant effect of the equinox) the Legions were surrounded and tossed with the tide, and the land was all on flood; the sea, the shore, the fields, had the same tempestuous face; no distinction of depths from shallows; none of firm from deceitful footing; they were overturned by the billows; swallowed down by the eddies; and horses, baggage, and drowned men encountered each other, and floated together. The several companies were mixed at random by the waves; they waded now breast-high; now up to their chin; and as the ground failed them, they fell, some never more to rise. Their cries and mutual encouragements availed them nothing against the prevailing and inexorable waves; no difference between the coward and the brave, the wise and the foolish; none between circumspection and chance; but all were equally involved in the invincible violence of the flood. VITELLIUS, at length, struggling into an eminence, drew the Legions thither, where they passed the cold night without fire, and destitute of every convenience; most of them naked, or lamed; not less miserable than men inclosed by an enemy: for even to such remained the consolation of an honourable death; but here was destruction, every way void of glory. The land returned with the day, and they marched

to the river Vidrus, whither GERMANICUS had gone with the fleet. There the two Legions were again embarked, when fame had given them for drowned; nor was their escape believed, till GERMANICUS and the army were seen to return.

STERTINIUS, who in the mean while had been sent before to receive SEGIMERUS, the brother of SEGESTES (a Prince willing to surrender himself) brought him and his son to the city of the Ubians: both were pardoned; the father freely, the son with more difficulty; because he was said to have insulted the corps of VARUS. For the rest, Spain, Italy, and both the Gauls strove with emulation to supply the losses of the army; and offered arms, horses, money, according as each abounded. GERMANICUS applauded their zeal; but accepted only the horses and arms, for the service of the war: with his own money he relieved the necessities of the soldiers; and to soften also by his kindness the memory of the late havock, he visited the wounded, extolled the exploits of particulars, viewed their wounds; with hopes encouraged some; with a sense of glory animated others; and by affability and tenderness confirmed them all in devotion to himself, and to his fortune in war.

THE ornaments of triumph were this year decreed to AULUS CÆCINA, LUCIUS APRONIUS, and CAIUS SILIUS, for their services under GERMANICUS. The title of *Father of his Country*, so often offered by the People to

TIBE-

TIBERIUS, was rejected by him: nor would he permit ſwearing upon his acts, though the ſame was voted by the Senate. Againſt it he urged "the inſtability of all mortal things; and that "the higher he was raiſed, the more ſlippery "he ſtood:" but for all this oſtentation of a popular ſpirit, he acquired not the reputation of poſſeſſing it. For he had revived the law concerning violated majeſty; a law which, in the days of our anceſtors, had indeed the ſame name, but implied different arraignments and crimes, namely thoſe againſt the State; as when an army was betrayed abroad, when ſeditions were raiſed at home; in ſhort, when the public was faithleſly adminiſtered, and the majeſty of the Roman people was debaſed. Theſe were actions, and actions were puniſhed, but words were free. AUGUSTUS was the firſt who brought libels under the penalties of this wreſted law, incenſed as he was by the inſolence of CASSIUS SEVERUS, who had in his writings wantonly defamed men and ladies of illuſtrious quality. TIBERIUS too, afterwards, when POMPEIUS MACER, the Prætor, conſulted him, "whether "proceſs ſhould be granted upon this law?" anſwered, "that the laws muſt be executed." He alſo was exaſperated by ſatirical verſes written by unknown authors, and diſperſed; expoſing his cruelty, his pride, and his mind unnaturally alienated from his mother.

IT will be worth while to relate here the pretended crimes charged upon FALANIUS and RUBRIUS, two Roman Knights of ſmall for-

tunes; that hence may be seen from what beginnings, and by how much dark art of TIBERIUS, this grievous mischief crept in; how it was again restrained[a]; how at last it blazed out and consumed all things[b]. To FALANIUS was objected by his accusers, that "amongst "the adorers of AUGUSTUS, who went in fra- "ternities from house to house, he had ad- "mitted one CASSIUS, a mimic and prostitute; "and having sold his gardens, had likewise "with them sold the statue of AUGUSTUS." The crime imputed to RUBRIUS was, "that "he had sworn falsly by the divinity of AU- "GUSTUS." When these accusations were known to TIBERIUS, he wrote to the Consuls, "that Heaven was not therefore decreed to "his father, that the worship of him might be "a snare to the citizens of Rome; that CAS- "SIUS the player was wont to assist with "others of his profession at the interludes con- "secrated by his mother to the memory of "AUGUSTUS: neither did it affect religion, "that his effigies, like other images of the "Gods, was comprehended in the sale of "houses and gardens. As to the false swearing "by his name, it was to be deemed the same "as if RUBRIUS had profaned the name of "Jupiter; but to the Gods belonged the "avenging of injuries done to the Gods."

NOT long after, GRANIUS MARCELLUS, Prætor of Bithynia, was charged with high

[a] Under that excellent Prince TITUS.
[b] Under that terrible tyrant DOMITIAN.

treason

treason by his own Quæstor CEPIO CRISPINUS; ROMANUS HISPO, the pleader, supporting the charge. This CEPIO began a course of life, which, through the miseries of the times and the bold wickedness of men, became afterwards famous. At first, needy and obscure, but of busy spirit, he made court to the cruelty of the Prince by occult informations; and presently, as an open accuser, grew terrible to every distinguished Roman. This procured him credit with one, hatred from all, and made a precedent, to be followed by others, who from poverty became rich; from being contemned, dreadful; and in the destruction which they brought upon others, found at last their own. He accused MARCELLUS of "malignant words "concerning TIBERIUS;" an inevitable crime! when the accuser, collecting all the most detestable parts of the Prince's character, alledged them as the expressions of the accused: for, because they were true, they were believed to have been spoken. To this HISPO added, "that "the statue of MARCELLUS was by him placed "higher than those of the CÆSARS; and that, "having cut off the head of AUGUSTUS, he "had in the room of it set the head of TIBE-"RIUS." This enraged him so, that breaking silence, he cried, "he would himself, in this "cause, give his vote explicitly, and under the "tye of an oath." By this he meant to force the assent of the rest of the Senate. There remained even then some faint traces of expiring liberty. Hence CNEIUS PISO asked

him; "In what place, CÆSAR, will you chuſe "to give your opinion? If firſt, I ſhall have "your example to follow: if laſt, I fear I may "ignorantly diſſent from you." The words pierced him, but he bore them, the rather as he was aſhamed of his unwary tranſport; and he ſuffered the accuſed to be acquitted of high treaſon. To try him for the public money, was referred to the proper judges.

NOR ſufficed it TIBERIUS to aſſiſt in the deliberations of the Senate only: he likewiſe ſate in the ſeats of juſtice; but always on one ſide, becauſe he would not diſpoſſeſs the Prætor of his chair; and by his preſence there, many ordinances were eſtabliſhed againſt the intrigues and ſolicitations of the grandees. But while private juſtice was thus promoted, public liberty was likewiſe overthrown. About this time PIUS AURELIUS the Senator, whoſe houſe, yielding to the preſſure of the public road and aqueducts, had fallen, complained to the Senate, and prayed relief; a ſuit oppoſed by the Prætors who managed the treaſury: but he was relieved by TIBERIUS, who ordered him the price of his houſe; for he was fond of being liberal upon honeſt occaſions; a virtue which he long retained, even after he had utterly abandoned all other virtues. Upon PROPERTIUS CELER, once Prætor, but now deſiring leave to reſign the dignity of Senator, as a burden to his poverty, he beſtowed a thouſand great ſeſterces*, upon ample information that

* About five and twenty thouſand Crowns.

CELER's

CELER's neceſſities were derived from his father. Others, who attempted the ſame thing, he ordered to lay their condition before the Senate; and from an affectation of ſeverity, was thus auſtere, even where he acted with uprightneſs. Hence the reſt preferred poverty and ſilence to begging and relief.

THE ſame year the Tiber, being ſwelled with continual rains, overflowed the level parts of the city; and the common deſtruction of men and houſes followed the returning flood. Hence ASINIUS GALLUS moved, "that the Sibylline "Books might be conſulted." TIBERIUS oppoſed it, equally ſmothering all inquiries whatſoever, whether into matters human or divine. To ATEIUS CAPITO, however, and LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS, was committed the care of reſtraining the river within its banks. The provinces of Achaia and Macedon, praying relief from their public burdens, were for the preſent diſcharged of their proconſular government, and ſubjected to the Emperor's Lieutenants. In the entertainment of gladiators at Rome, DRUSUS preſided: it was exhibited in the name of GERMANICUS, and his own; and at it he manifeſted too much luſt of blood, even of the blood of ſlaves: a quality terrible to the populace; and hence his father was ſaid to have reproved him. His own abſence from theſe ſhews, was variouſly conſtrued; by ſome aſcribed to his impatience of a crowd; by others to his reſerved and ſolitary genius, and his fear of an unequal compariſon with AUGUSTUS, who

who was wont to be a chearful ſpectator there. But, that he thus purpoſely furniſhed matter for expoſing the cruelty of his ſon there, and for raiſing him popular hate, is what I would not believe; though this too was aſſerted.

THE diſſenſions of the theatre, begun laſt year, broke out now more violently, with the ſlaughter of ſeveral, not of the people only, but of the ſoldiers, with that of a Centurion: nay, a Tribune of a Prætorian Cohort was wounded, whilſt they were ſecuring the magiſtrates from inſults, and quelling the licentiouſneſs of the rabble. This riot was canvaſſed in the Senate, and votes were paſſing for impowering the Prætors to whip the players. HATERIUS AGRIPPA, Tribune of the People, oppoſed it; and was ſharply reprimanded by a ſpeech of ASINIUS GALLUS. TIBERIUS was ſilent, and to the Senate allowed theſe empty apparitions of liberty. The oppoſition, however, prevailed, in reverence to the authority of AUGUSTUS, who, upon a certain occaſion, had given his judgment, "that players were "exempt from ſtripes:" nor would TIBERIUS aſſume to violate any words of his. To limit the wages of players, and reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of their partizans, many decrees were made: the moſt remarkable were, "that no "Senator ſhould enter the houſe of a Panto-"mime; no Roman Knight attend them abroad; "they ſhould ſhew no where but in the theatre; "and the Prætors ſhould have power to puniſh "with exile any inſolence in the ſpectators."

THE

THE Spaniards were, upon their petition, permitted to build a temple to AUGUSTUS, in the colony of Terragon; an example for all the provinces to follow. In answer to the People, who prayed to be relieved from the *Centesima*, a tax of one in the hundred, established at the end of the civil wars, upon all vendible commodities; TIBERIUS by an edict declared, "that upon this tax depended the fund for "maintaining the army: Nor even thus was "the Commonwealth equal to the expence, "if the Veterans were dismissed before their "twentieth year." So that the concessions made them during the late sedition, to discharge them finally at the end of sixteen years, as they were made through necessity, were for the future abolished.

IT was next proposed to the Senate, by ARRUNTIUS and ATEIUS, whether, in order to restrain the overflowing of the Tiber, the channels of the several rivers and lakes by which it was swelled, must not be diverted? Upon this question the deputies of several cities and colonies were heard. The Florentines besought, "that the bed of the Clanis might not be "turned into their river Arnus; for that the "same would prove their utter ruin." The like plea was urged by the Interamnates; "since "the most fruitful plains in Italy would be "lost, if, according to the project, the Nar, "branched out into rivulets, overflowed them." Nor were the Reatinians less earnest against stopping the outlets of the lake Velinus into

the

the Nar; "otherwiſe, they ſaid, it would break "over its banks, and ſtagnate all the adjacent "country: the direction of nature was beſt in all "natural things: it was ſhe that had appointed "to rivers their courſes and diſcharges, and "ſet them their limits as well as their ſources. "Regard too was to be paid to the religion "of our Latin allies, who, eſteeming the rivers "of their country ſacred, had to them dedi-"cated prieſts, and altars, and groves. Nay, "the Tiber himſelf, when bereft of his auxi-"liary ſtreams, would flow with diminiſhed "grandeur." Now, whether it were that the prayers of the colonies, or the difficulty of the work, or the influence of ſuperſtition prevailed; it is certain, the opinion of PISO was followed, that nothing ſhould be altered.

TO POPPEUS SABINUS was continued his province of Mœſia; and to it was added that of Achaia and Macedon. This too was part of the politics of TIBERIUS, to prolong governments, and maintain the ſame men in the ſame armies, or civil employments, for the moſt part, to the end of their lives; with what view, is not agreed. Some think, "that from an "impatience of returning cares, he was for "making, whatever he once liked, perpetual." Others, "that from the malignity of his invi-"dious nature, he regretted the preferring of "many." There are ſome who believe, "that "as he had a crafty penetrating ſpirit, ſo he "had an underſtanding ever irreſolute and "perplexed." So much is certain, that he never

never courted any eminent virtue, yet hated vice: from the best men he dreaded danger to himself; and disgrace to the public from the worst. This hesitation mastered him so much at last, that he committed foreign governments to some, whom he meant never to suffer to leave Rome.

CONCERNING the management of consular elections, either then, or afterwards, under TIBERIUS, I can affirm scarce any thing: such is the variance about it, not only amongst historians, but even in his own speeches. Sometimes, not naming the candidates, he described them by their family, by their life and manners, and by the number of their campaigns; so as it might be apparent whom he meant. Again, avoiding even to describe them, he exhorted the candidates, not to disturb the election by their intrigues, and promised himself to take care of their interests. But chiefly, he used to declare, "that to him none had signified their pretensions, but such whose names "he had delivered to the Consuls; others too "were at liberty to offer the like pretensions, "if they trusted to the favour of the Senate, "or their own merits." Specious words! but intirely empty, or full of fraud; and, by how much they were covered with the greater guise of liberty, by so much threatning a more hasty and devouring bondage.

THE

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK II.

The SUMMARY.

Commotions in the East. VENONES *King of the Parthians, his expulsion by* ARTABANUS, *and flight to Armenia, where he is chosen King, but dethroned by* SILANUS *at the motion of* ARTABANUS. TIBERIUS *designs to send* GERMANICUS *to the East, under feigned pretences. The exploits of the latter in Germany; he builds a fleet, defeats and ravages many nations there; and routs* ARMINIUS *in a great battle. The misfortune of his fleet in a tempest. The remarkable accusation, trial, and violent death of* LIBO DRUSUS, *charged with designs against the state. The poverty of* M. HORTALUS, *grandson of the famous orator* HORTENSIUS; *he applies for relief to the Senate;* TIBERIUS *opposes him, but complies with the inclination of the Fathers to assist him. A counterfeit* AGRIPPA POSTUMUS *raises great alarms, but is detected to have been one of his slaves, and put to death. The triumph of* GERMANICUS *over several nations in Germany. The story and death of King* ARCHELAUS: *His Kingdom reduced into a Roman Province. The contumacious behaviour of* CNEIUS PISO *and his wife* PLANCINA *to* GERMANICUS *in the East, supposed to be encouraged by* TIBERIUS *and his mother.* DRUSUS, *the Emperor's son, sent into Illyricum, and why. A great battle between*

ARMI-

ARMINIUS *and* MAROBODUUS, *two German Chiefs: The former conquers. Twelve noble cities in Asia destroyed by an earthquake.* TACFARINAS, *first a common soldier, then a robber, raises a war in Africa. The success of* CAMILLUS, *the Proconsul, against him.* GERMANICUS *enters Armenia, and establishes* ZENO *King there.* DRUSUS *encourages dissensions amongst the German nations.* MAROBODUUS, *exterminated by* CATUALDA, *flies into Italy, and continues there.* CATUALDA *suffers the like fate. War between two Kings of Thrace composed by seizing the aggressor.* GERMANICUS *visits Egypt, and views the antiquities there; returns to Asia, is insulted by* PISO, *sickens and dies: His amiable character: Suspicions about the cause of his death.* PISO *tries to gain the supreme command; is successfully opposed by the friends of* GERMANICUS, *and retires. Numerous honours decreed at Rome to* GERMANICUS. *Laws to restrain the lubricity of women. A new Vestal Virgin chosen in the place of* OCCIA *deceased.* ARMINIUS *fraudulently slain in Germany. His eminent character.*

DURING the consulship of SISENNA STATILIUS TAURUS, and LUCIUS LIBO, the Kingdoms and Roman provinces of the east, were involved in war, begun by the Parthians, who having sought and accepted a King from Rome, did afterwards, though he was of the race of the Arsacides, contemn him as a foreigner. This was VENONES, who had been given as an hostage to AUGUSTUS by PHRAHATES. For PHRAHATES, though he had defeated the Roman captains and armies, yet had courted AUGUSTUS with all the reverence of a dependent, and sent him, to bind their friendship, part of his offspring; not so much through fear of the Romans, as distrusting the ill faith of the Parthians.

AFTER

AFTER the death of PHRAHATES, and the ſucceeding Kings, ambaſſadors from the chief men of Parthia arrived at Rome, to call home VENONES his eldeſt ſon, in order to end their inteſtine ſlaughters. TIBERIUS found his own grandeur and glory in this embaſſy, and diſmiſſed him with great pomp and preſents. The Barbarians too received him with rapture and exultation; a ſpirit which commonly animates the people, where their governors are yet new and untried. But ſhame ſoon ſucceeded; ſhame "for the degeneracy of the "Parthians, to have thus ſent to another world "for a King, one debauched with the man-"ners and maxims of their enemies. The "imperial throne of the Arſacides, they ſaid, "was now deemed and given as a Roman pro-"vince. Where was the glory of thoſe brave "Parthians who ſlew CRASSUS, of thoſe who "exterminated MARC ANTHONY; if they "were reduced ſo low as to receive for the "Lord of Parthia a ſlave of CÆSAR's, inured "ſo many years to foreign bondage?" His own behaviour inflamed their diſdain: he abandoned the cuſtoms of his anceſtors; was ſeldom in the chace; took ſmall delight in horſes, travelled luxurioſly through their towns in a litter, and deſpiſed the Parthians feaſts. They ridiculed his Greek attendants, and the mean care of ſealing up his domeſtic moveables with his ſignet. But his eaſineſs of acceſs, his flowing courteſy (virtues unknown to the Parthians) were to them ſo many new

vices;

vices; and every part of his manners, the laudable and the bad, were ſubject to equal hatred, becauſe foreign from their own.

THEY therefore ſent for ARTABANUS, of the blood of the Arſacides, bred amongſt the Dahans. In the firſt engagement he was routed, but repaired his forces and gained the Kingdom. The vanquiſhed VENONES found a retreat in Armenia, a vacant throne, and a people wavering between the neighbouring powers of Parthia and of Rome: from us they were alienated by the fraud and iniquity of MARC ANTHONY, who having by ſhews and profeſſions of friendſhip, enſnared into his power ARTAVASDES, King of the Armenians, loaded him with chains, and at laſt put him to death. ARTAXIAS, his ſon, for his father's ſake, hating us, defended himſelf and his Kingdom by the protection and forces of the Arſacides. ARTAXIAS being ſlain by a conſpiracy of his kindred, TIGRANES was by AUGUSTUS ſet over the Armenians, and by TIBERIUS NERO put in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. But neither was the reign of TIGRANES laſting, nor that of his children, however aſſociated together, according to the mode and politics of the Eaſt, by the double ties of marriage and government. ARTAVASDES was next eſtabliſhed, by the appointment of AUGUSTUS, and then expelled; but at great expence of Roman blood.

CAIUS CÆSAR was then choſen to ſettle Armenia. By him ARIOBARZANES, by deſcent a Mede, was, for his graceful perſon and emi-

nent endowments, placed over the Armenians, with their own consent. ARIOBARZANES being killed by an accident, they would not bear the rule of his children, but tried the government of a woman, (her name ERATO) and quickly expulsed her. After this, unsettled and wavering, rather exempt from tyranny, than possessed of liberty, they received the fugitive VENONES for their King: but anon, when he saw himself threatened by ARTABANUS, small reliance on the Armenians, and no protection from the Romans without a war with the Parthians, he accepted the offer of CRETICUS SILANUS, Governor of Syria, who invited him thither; but when he came, set a guard upon him; leaving him still the name and luxury of royalty. What attempts VENONES made to escape from this mock-majesty, we will relate in its place.

5 THE commotions in the East happened not ungratefully to TIBERIUS, since thence he had a colour for separating GERMANICUS from his old and faithful Legions, for setting him over strange provinces, and exposing him at once to casual perils and the efforts of fraud. But he, the more ardent he found the affections of the soldiers, and the greater the hatred of his uncle, so much the more intent upon a decisive victory, weighed with himself all the methods of that war, with all the disasters and successes which had befallen him in it to this his third year. He remembered, "that the Germans "were ever routed in a fair battle, and upon "equal

" equal ground; that woods and boggs, ſhort
" ſummers, and early winters, were their chief
" reſources; that his own men ſuffered not ſo
" much from their wounds, as from tedious
" marches, and the loſs of their arms. The
" Gauls were weary of furniſhing horſes; long
" and cumberſom was his train of baggage,
" eaſily ſurprized, and with difficulty defended.
" But, if he entered the country by ſea, the
" invaſion would be eaſy, and the enemy un-
" apprized: beſides, the war would be earlier
" begun; the Legions and proviſions would
" be carried together, and the cavalry brought
" with ſafety, through the mouths and channels
" of the rivers, into the heart of Germany."

On that method therefore he fixed. Whilſt Publius Vitellius and Publius Cantius were ſent to collect the tribute of the Gauls; Silius, Anteius, and Cæcina, had the direction of building the fleet. A thouſand veſſels were thought ſufficient, and with diſpatch finiſhed: ſome were ſhort, ſharp at both ends, and wide in the middle, the eaſier to endure the agitations of the waves; ſome had flat bottoms, that without damage they might bear to run aground: ſeveral had helms at each end, that by ſuddenly turning the oars only, they might work either way. Many were arched over, for carrying the engines of war. They were fitted for holding horſes and proviſions, to fly with ſails, to run with oars; and the ſpirit and alacrity of the ſoldiers heightened the ſhew and terror of the fleet.

They were to meet at the Isle of Batavia, which was chosen for its easy landing, for its convenience to receive the forces, and thence to transport them to the war. For the Rhine flowing in one continual channel, or only broken by small islands, is, at the extremity of Batavia, divided, as it were, into two rivers; one running still through Germany, and retaining the same name and violent current, till it mixes with the ocean; the other washing the Gallic shore, with a broader and more gentle stream, is by the inhabitants called by another name, the Wahal, which it soon after changes for that of the Meuse, by whose immense mouth it is discharged into the same ocean.

WHILE the fleet sailed, GERMANICUS commanded SILIUS his Lieutenant, with a flying band to invade the Cattians; and he himself, upon hearing that the fort upon the river Luppia was besieged, led six Legions thither. But the sudden rains prevented SILIUS from doing more than taking some small plunder, with the wife and daughter of ARPUS, Prince of the Cattians; nor did the besiegers stay to fight GERMANICUS, but upon the report of his approach, stole off, and dispersed. As they had, however, thrown down the common tomb lately raised over the Varian Legions, and the old altar erected to DRUSUS; he restored the altar, and performed in person with the Legions, the funeral ceremony of running courses to the honour of his father. To replace the tomb was not thought fit; but, all the space between

between fort Aliſo and the Rhine, he fortified with a new barrier.

THE fleet was now arrived; the proviſions were ſent forward; ſhips were aſſigned to the Legions and the allies; and he entered the canal cut by DRUSUS, and called by his name. Here he invoked his father, "to be propitious to "his ſon attempting the ſame enterprizes; to "inſpire him with the ſame counſels, and ani-"mate him by his example." Hence he ſailed ſucceſsfully through the lakes and the ocean to the river Amiſia. At the town of Amiſia the fleet was left, upon the left ſhore, and it was a fault that it ſailed no higher; for he landed the army on the right ſhore; ſo that in making bridges many days were conſumed. The horſe and the Legions paſſed over without danger, as it was yet ebb; but the returning tide diſordered the rear, eſpecially the Batavians, while they played with the waves, and ſhewed their dexterity in ſwimming; and ſome were drowned. Whilſt GERMANICUS was incamping, he was told of the revolt of the Angrivarians behind him; and thither he diſpatched a body of horſe and light foot, under STERTINIUS, who with fire and ſlaughter took vengeance on the perfidious revolters.

BETWEEN the Romans and the Cheruſcans flowed the river Viſurgis, and on the banks of it ſtood ARMINIUS, with the other chiefs. He inquired whether GERMANICUS was come; and being anſwered that he was there, he prayed leave to ſpeak with his brother. This

brother of his was in the army, his name FLAVIUS, one remarkable for his lasting faith towards the Romans, and for the loss of an eye in the war under TIBERIUS. This request was granted. FLAVIUS stepped forward, and was saluted by ARMINIUS, who having removed his own attendants, desired that our archers, ranged upon the opposite banks, might retire. When they were withdrawn, "How came "you (says he to his brother) by that deformity in your face?" The brother having informed him where, and in what fight, was next asked, "what reward he had received?" FLAVIUS answered, "Increase of pay, the chain, "the crown, and other military gifts;" all which ARMINIUS treated with derision, as the vile wages of servitude.

HERE began a warm contest. FLAVIUS pleaded "the grandeur of the Roman Empire, the power of the Emperor, the Roman "clemency to submitting nations; the heavy "yoke of the vanquished; and that neither "the wife, nor son of ARMINIUS, was used "like a captive." ARMINIUS to all this opposed "the natural rights of their country, "their ancient liberty; the domestic Gods of "Germany; he urged the prayers of their common mother joined to his own, that he "would not prefer the character of a deserter, "that of a betrayer of his family, his countrymen and kindred, to the glory of being "their commander." By degrees they fell into reproaches; nor would the interposition of

of the river have restrained them from blows, had not STERTINIUS hasted to lay hold on FLAVIUS, full of rage, and calling for his arms and his horse. On the opposite side was seen ARMINIUS, swelling with ferocity and threats, and denouncing battle. For, of what he said, much was said in Latin; since, as the General of his countrymen, he had served in the Roman armies.

NEXT day, the German army stood embatteled beyond the Visurgis. GERMANICUS, who thought it became not a General to endanger the Legions, till, for their passage and security, he had placed bridges and guards, made the horse ford over. They were led by STERTINIUS, and by ÆMILIUS Lieutenant-Colonel of a Legion: and these two officers crossed the river in distant places, to divide the foe. CARIOVALDA, Captain of the Batavians, passed it where most rapid, and was by the Cheruscans, who feigned flight, drawn into a plain surrounded with woods, whence they rushed out upon him and assaulted him on every side; overthrew those who resisted, and pressed vehemently upon those who gave way. The distressed Batavians formed themselves into a ring, but were again broken, partly by a close assault, partly by distant showers of darts. CARIOVALDA, having long sustained the fury of the enemy, exhorted his men to draw up in platoons, and break through the prevailing host; he himself forced his way into their center, and fell with his horse under a shower

of darts, and many of the principal Batavians round him: the reſt were ſaved by their own bravery, or reſcued by the cavalry under STERTINIUS and ÆMILIUS.

GERMANICUS, having paſſed the Viſurgis, learnt from a deſerter, that ARMINIUS had marked out the place of battle; that more nations had alſo joined him; that they rendevouſed in a wood ſacred to HERCULES, and would attempt to ſtorm our camp by night. The deſerter was believed; the enemy's fires were diſcerned; and the ſcouts having advanced towards them, reported that they had heard the neighing of horſes, and the hollow murmur of a mighty and tumultuous hoſt. In this important conjuncture, upon the approach of a deciſive battle, GERMANICUS thought it behoved him to learn the inclinations and ſpirit of the ſoldiers, and deliberated with himſelf how to be informed without fraud: "for the "reports of the Tribunes and Centurions uſed "to be oftener pleaſing than true; his freed-"men had ſtill ſlaviſh ſouls, incapable of free "ſpeech; friends were apt to flatter; there was "the ſame uncertainty in an aſſembly, where "the counſel propoſed by a few, was wont "to be echoed by all. The minds of the "ſoldiery were then beſt known when they "were leaſt watched; when free and over "their meals, they frankly diſcloſed their "hopes and fears."

IN the beginning of night, he went out at the augural gate, with a ſingle attendant; himſelf

ſelf diſguiſed with the skin of a wild beaſt hanging over his ſhoulders; and chuſing ſecret ways, he eſcaped the notice of the watch, entered the lanes of the camp, liſtened from tent to tent, and enjoyed the pleaſing diſplay of his own popularity and fame; as one was magnifying the imperial birth of his General; another his graceful perſon; all, his patience, condeſcenſion, and the equality of his ſoul in every temper, pleaſant or grave. They confeſſed the gratitude due to ſo much merit, and that in battle they ought to expreſs it, and to ſacrifice at the ſame time to glory and revenge, theſe perfidious Germans, who for ever violated ſtipulations and peace. In the mean time, one of the enemy who underſtood Latin, rode up to the paliſades, and, with a loud voice, offered in the name of ARMINIUS, to every deſerter a wife and land, and, as long as the war laſted, an hundred ſeſterces a day. This contumely kindled the wrath of the Legions: "Let day "come, they cried, let battle be given. The "ſoldiers would ſeize and not accept the lands "of the Germans; take and not receive Ger-"man wives; they, however, received the offer "as an omen of victory, and conſidered the "money and women as their deſtined prey." Near the third watch of the night, they approached, and inſulted the camp, but without ſtriking a blow, when they found the ramparts covered thick with cohorts, and no advantage given.

GER-

GERMANICUS had the ſame night a joyful dream: he thought he ſacrificed, and, in place of his own robe beſmeared with the ſacred blood, received one fairer from the hands of his grandmother AUGUSTA; ſo that elevated by the omen, and by equal encouragement from the auſpices, he called an aſſembly, where he opened his deliberations concerning the approaching battle, with all the advantages contributing to victory; "That to the Roman "ſoldiers, not only plains and dales, but, with "due circumſpection, even woods and foreſts "were commodious places for an engagement. "The huge targets, the enormous ſpears of the "Barbarians, could never be weilded amongſt "thickets and trunks of trees, like Roman "ſwords and javelins, and armour adjuſted to "the ſhape and ſize of their bodies; ſo that "with theſe tractable arms they might thicken "their blows, and ſtrike with certainty at the "naked faces of the enemy; ſince the Germans were neither furniſhed with head-"piece nor coat of mail; nor were their "bucklers bound with leather, or fortified "with iron, but all bare basket-work, or "painted boards; and though their firſt ranks "were armed with pikes, the reſt had only "ſtakes burnt at the end, or ſhort and contemptible darts. For their perſons, as they "were terrible to ſight, and violent in the "onſet, ſo they were utterly impatient of "wounds, unaffected with their own diſgrace, "unconcerned for the honour of their Ge-

"neral,

" neral, whom they ever deſerted, and fled; " in diſtreſs cowards, in proſperity deſpiſers " of all divine, of all human laws. To con- " clude, if the army, after their fatigues at ſea, " and their tedious marches by land, longed " for an utter end of their labour; by this " battle they might gain it. The Elb was now " nearer than the Rhine; and if they would " make him a conqueror in thoſe countries " where his father and his uncle had con- " quered, the war was concluded." The ardour of the ſoldiers followed the ſpeech of the General, and the ſignal for the onſet was given.

NEITHER did ARMINIUS, or the other Chiefs, neglect to declare to their ſeveral bands, that " theſe Romans were the cowardly fugitives " of the Varian army, who, becauſe they could " not endure to fight, had afterwards choſen " to rebel: that ſome with backs deformed by " wounds; ſome with limbs maimed by tem- " peſts; forſaken of hope, and the Gods againſt " them, were once more preſenting their lives " to their vengeful foes. Hitherto a fleet, and " unfrequented ſeas, had been the reſources of " their cowardice againſt an aſſaulting or a pur- " ſuing enemy; but now that they were to " engage hand to hand, vain would be their " relief from wind and oars after a defeat. " The Germans needed only remember their " rapine, cruelty, and pride; and that to them- " ſelves nothing remained, but either to main-

" tain

"tain their native liberty, or by death to pre-
"vent bondage."

THE enemy thus inflamed, and calling for battle, were led into a plain called Idiſtaviſus: it lies between the Viſurgis and the hills, and winds unequally along, as it is ſtreightened by the ſwellings of the mountains, or enlarged by the circuits of the river. Behind roſe a foreſt of high trees, thick of branches above, but clear of buſhes below. The army of Barbarians kept the plain, and the entrances of the foreſt; only the Cheruſcans ſat down upon the mountain, in order to pour down from thence upon the Romans, as ſoon as they became engaged in the fight. Our army marched thus; the auxiliary Gauls and Germans in front, after them the foot archers, next four Legions, then GERMANICUS with two prætorian Cohorts, and the choice of the cavalry; then four Legions more, and the light foot with archers on horſeback, and the other troops of the allies; the men all careful to march in order of battle, and ready to engage as they marched.

As the impatient bands of Cheruſcans were now perceived deſcending fiercely from the hills, GERMANICUS commanded a body of the beſt horſe to charge them in the flank, and STERTINIUS with the reſt to wheel round to attack them in the rear, and promiſed to be ready to aſſiſt them in perſon. During this a joyful omen appeared; eight eagles were ſeen to fly toward the wood, and to enter it; a pre-

ſage

ſage of victory to the General! "Advance, he "cried, follow the Roman birds; follow the "tutelar Deities of the Legions." Inſtantly the foot charged the enemies front, and inſtantly the detached cavalry attacked their flank and rear. This double aſſault had a ſtrange event; the two diviſions of their army fled oppoſite ways; that in the woods ran to the plain; that in the plain ruſhed into the woods. The Cheruſcans between both, were driven from the hills, amongſt them ARMINIUS, remarkably brave, who with his hand, his voice, and diſtinguiſhed wounds, was ſtill ſuſtaining the fight. He had aſſaulted the archers, and would have broken through them; but the cohorts of the Retians, the Vindelicians, and the Gauls, marched to their relief: however, by his own ſpirit, and the vigour of his horſe, he eſcaped; his face beſmeared with his own blood to avoid being known. Some have related, that the Chaucians, who were amongſt the Roman auxiliaries, knew him, and let him go. The ſame bravery, or deceit, procured INGUIOMERUS his eſcape: the reſt were every where ſlain; and great numbers attempting to ſwim the Viſurgis, were deſtroyed in it, either purſued with darts, or ſwallowed by the current, or overwhelmed with the weight of the crowd, or buried under the falling banks. Some ſeeking a baſe refuge on the tops of trees, and concealment amongſt the branches, were ſhot in ſport by the archers, or ſquaſhed

as

as the trees were felled. This was a mighty victory, and to us far from bloody!

THIS ſlaughter of the foe, from the fifth hour of the day till night, filled the country for ten miles with carcaſſes and arms. Amongſt the ſpoils, chains were found, which, ſure of conquering, they had brought to bind the Roman captives. The ſoldiers proclaimed TIBERIUS *Imperator* upon the field of battle, and, raiſing a mount, placed upon it as Trophies, the German arms, with the names of all the vanquiſhed nations, inſcribed below.

THIS ſight filled the Germans with more anguiſh and rage, than all their wounds, paſt afflictions, and ſlaughters. They, who were juſt prepared to abandon their dwellings, and flit beyond the Elb, meditate war and graſp their arms. People, nobles, youth, aged, from all quarters, ruſh ſuddenly upon the Roman army in its march, and diſorder it. They next choſe their camp, a ſtreight and moiſt plain, ſhut in between a river and a foreſt; the foreſt too ſurrounded with a deep marſh, except on one ſide, which was cloſed with a barrier raiſed by the Angrivarians, between them and the Cheruſcans. Here ſtood their foot: their horſe were diſtributed and concealed amongſt the neighbouring groves, thence, by ſurprize, to beſet the Legions in the rear, as ſoon as they had entered the wood.

NOTHING of all this was a ſecret to GERMANICUS: he knew their counſels, their ſtations;

tions; what ſteps they purſued, what meaſures they concealed; and to the deſtruction of the enemy turned their own ſubtilty and devices. To SEIUS TUBERO, his Lieutenant, he committed the horſe and the field; the infantry he ſo diſpoſed, that part might paſs the level approaches into the wood; and the reſt force the rampart. This was the moſt arduous task, and to himſelf he reſerved it: the reſt he left to his Lieutenants. Thoſe who had the even ground to traverſe, broke eaſily in; but they who were to aſſail the rampart, were as grievouſly battered from above, as if they had been ſtorming a wall. The General perceived the inequality of this cloſe attack, and drawing off the Legions a ſmall diſtance, ordered the ſlingers to throw, and the engineers to play, to beat off the enemy. Immediately ſhowers of darts were poured from the engines, and the defenders of the barrier, the more bold and expoſed they were, with the more wounds they were beaten down. GERMANICUS, having taken the rampart, firſt forced his way, at the head of the Prætorian Cohorts, into the woods, and there it was fought foot to foot. Behind, the enemy were begirt with the moraſs; the Romans with the mountains, or the river; no room for either to retreat, no hope but in valour; no ſafety but in victory.

THE Germans had not inferior courage, but they were exceeded in the faſhion of arms and art of fighting. Their mighty multitude, hampered in narrow places, could not puſh nor recover

recover their long ſpears; nor practiſe in a cloſe combat, their uſual boundings and velocity of limbs. On the contrary, our ſoldiers, with handy ſwords, and their breaſts cloſely guarded with a buckler, delved the large bodies and naked faces of the Barbarians, and opened themſelves a way with a havock of the enemy. Beſides, the activity of ARMINIUS now failed him; either ſpent through his continual efforts, or ſlackened by a wound juſt received. INGUIOMERUS, was every-where upon the ſpur, animating the battle; but fortune, rather than courage, deſerted him. GERMANICUS, to be the eaſier known, pulled off his helmet, and exhorted his men, "to proſecute the ſlaughter; "they wanted no captives, he ſaid; only the "cutting off that people root and branch, "would put an end to the war." It was now late in the day, and he drew off a Legion to make a camp; the reſt glutted themſelves till night with the blood of the foe. The horſe fought with doubtful ſucceſs.

GERMANICUS, in a ſpeech from the tribunal, praiſed his victorious army, and raiſed a monument of arms, with a proud Inſcription, THAT THE ARMY OF TIBERIUS CÆSAR, HAVING VANQUISHED INTIRELY THE NATIONS BETWEEN THE RHINE AND THE ELB, HAD CONSECRATED THAT MONUMENT TO MARS, TO JUPITER, AND TO AUGUSTUS. Of himſelf he made no mention, either fearful of provoking envy, or that he thought it ſufficient praiſe to have deſerved it. He had next commanded

STER-

STERTINIUS, to carry the war amongst the Angrivarians; but they instantly submitted; and these supplicants, by yielding without articles, obtained pardon without reserve.

THE summer now declining, some of the Legions were sent back into winter-quarters, by land; more were embarked with GERMANICUS, upon the river Amisia, to go from thence by the ocean. The sea, at first, was serene, no sound or agitation, except from the oars or sails of a thousand ships; but, suddenly a black host of clouds poured a storm of hail; furious winds roared on every side, and the tempest darkened the deep, so that all prospect was lost; and it was impossible to steer. The soldiers too, unaccustomed to the terrors of the sea, in the hurry of fear disordered the mariners, or interrupted the skilful by unskilful help. At last, the south-wind mastering all the rest, drove the ocean and the sky. The tempest derived new force from the windy mountains and swelling rivers of Germany, as well as from an immense train of clouds; and contracting withal fresh vigour from the boisterous neighbourhood of the north, it hurled the ships, and tossed them into the open ocean, or against islands shored with sharp rocks, or dangerously beset with covered shoals. The ships, by degrees, with great labour, and the change of the tide, were relieved from the rocks and sands, but remained at the mercy of the winds; their anchors could not hold them; they were full of water, nor could all their pumps discharge

it; hence, to lighten and raiſe the veſſels ſwallowing at their decks the invading waves, the horſes, beaſts, baggage, and even the arms, were caſt into the deep.

By how much the German ocean is more outrageous than the reſt of the ſea, and the German climate excels in rigour, by ſo much this ruin was reckoned to exceed in greatneſs and novelty. They were engaged in a tempeſtuous ſea, believed deep without bottom, vaſt without bounds, or no ſhores near but hoſtile ſhores. Part of the fleet were ſwallowed up; many were driven upon remote iſlands, void of human culture, where the men periſhed through famine, or were kept alive by the carcaſſes of horſes, caſt in by the flood. Only the galley of GERMANICUS landed upon the coaſt of the Chaucians, where, wandring ſadly, day and night, upon the rocks and prominent ſhore, and inceſſantly accuſing himſelf as the author of ſuch mighty deſtruction, he was hardly reſtrained by his friends, from caſting himſelf deſperately into the ſame hoſtile floods. At laſt, with the returning tide, and an aſſiſting gale, the ſhips began to return, all maimed, almoſt deſtitute of oars, or with coats ſpread for ſails; and, ſome utterly diſabled, were dragged by thoſe that were leſs. He repaired them haſtily, and diſpatched them to ſearch the iſlands; and by this care many men were gleaned up, many were by the Angrivarians, our new ſubjects, redeemed from their maritime neighbours, and reſtored; and ſome, driven

into

into Great Britain, were ſent back by the little Britiſh Kings. Thoſe who had come from afar, recounted wonders at their return, "the "impetuoſity of whirlwinds; wonderful birds; "ſea-monſters of ambiguous forms between "man and beaſt;" ſtrange ſights; or the effects of imagination and fear.

THE noiſe of this wreck, as it animated the Germans with hopes of renewing the war, awakened GERMANICUS alſo to reſtrain them. He commanded CAIUS SILIUS, with thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, to march againſt the Cattians; he himſelf, with a greater force, invaded the Marſians, where he learnt from MALOVENDUS, their General, lately taken into our ſubjection, that the Eagle of one of VARUS's Legions, was hid under ground in a neighbouring grove, and kept by a ſlender guard. Inſtantly two parties were diſpatched; one, to face the enemy, and provoke them from their poſt; the other to beſet their rear, and dig up the Eagle; and ſucceſs attended both. Hence GERMANICUS advanced with greater alacrity, laid waſte the country, and ſmote the foe, either not daring to engage, or, where-ever they engaged, ſuddenly defeated; nor, as we learnt from the priſoners, were they ever ſeized with greater diſmay. "The Ro-"mans, they cried, are invincible; no cala-"mities can ſubdue them. They have wrecked "their fleet; their arms are loſt, our ſhores "are covered with the bodies of their horſes "and men: Yet they attack us with their uſual

" ferocity, with the ſame firmneſs, and with
" numbers, as it were, increaſed.

THE army was from thence led back into winter-quarters, full of joy to have balanced, by this proſperous expedition, their late misfortune at ſea; and by the bounty of GERMANICUS, their joy was heightened, ſince to each ſufferer he cauſed to be paid as much as each declared he had loſt; neither was it doubted but the enemy were humbled, and concerting meaſures for obtaining peace, and that the next ſummer would terminate the war. But TIBERIUS, by frequent letters urged him " to
" come home, there to celebrate the triumph
" already decreed him; he had already tried
" enough of events, and tempted abundant
" hazards. He had indeed fought great and
" ſucceſsful battles; but he muſt likewiſe re-
" member his loſſes and calamities, which,
" however owing to wind and waves, and no
" fault of the General, were yet great and
" grievous. He himſelf had been ſent nine
" times into Germany by AUGUSTUS, and
" effected much more by policy than arms: it
" was thus he had brought the Sigambrians
" into ſubjection, thus drawn the Suevians,
" and King MAROBODUUS, under the bonds
" of peace. The Cheruſcans too, and the other
" hoſtile nations, now the Roman vengeance
" was ſatiated, might be left to purſue their
" own national feuds." GERMANICUS beſought one year to accompliſh his conqueſt; but TIBERIUS aſſailed his modeſty with a new

bait, and freſh importunity, by offering him another Conſulſhip, for the adminiſtration of which he was to attend in perſon at Rome: he added, " that if the war was ſtill to be pro-
" ſecuted, GERMANICUS ſhould leave a field of
" glory to his brother DRUSUS, to whom there
" now remained no other; ſince the Empire
" had no-where a war to maintain but in Ger-
" many, and thence only DRUSUS could acquire
" the title of Imperator, and merit the trium-
" phal laurel." GERMANICUS perſiſted no longer, though he knew that this was all feigned and hollow, and ſaw himſelf invidiouſly torn away from a harveſt of ripe glory.

ABOUT this time, LIBO DRUSUS, of the Scribonian family, was arraigned for meditating attempts againſt the State. And, becauſe then firſt were deviſed thoſe peſtilent arts and impeachments, which for ſo many years devoured the Commonwealth, I will lay open with the more exactneſs the beginning, progreſs and iſſue of this affair. FIRMIUS CATUS the Senator, a cloſe confident of LIBO, traiterouſly miſled that youth, unwary as he was, and eaſy to be enſnared, with ſpecious deluſions; engaged him to try the predictions of the Chaldeans, the ſuperſtitious rites of Magicians, and the interpreters of dreams; and to flatter his hopes and ambition, was inceſſantly magnifying the nobility of his race; for that POMPEY was
" his great grand-father, SCRIBONIA, once the
" wife of AUGUSTUS, his aunt, the Cæſars his
" kinſmen; and his houſe full of images;"

tempted him to luxury and borrowing; was associated with him in his debauches, surety for his debts, and all to accumulate more matter for crimes and evidence.

When he found himself furnished with store of witnesses, and amongst them some of LIBO's slaves, who were also privy to the obnoxious conduct of their master, he sought admittance to the Emperor; having first by FLACCUS VESCULARIUS, a Roman Knight, intimate with TIBERIUS, represented to him LIBO as a criminal, as also a detail of his crimes. TIBERIUS slighted not his information, but denied him access, "for that the communication, he said, "might be still managed by the same FLAC-"CUS." In the mean time, he preferred LIBO to the Prætorship, entertained him at his table, shewed no strangeness in his countenance, no resentment in his words (so deeply had he smothered his vengeance); and, when he might have restrained all the dangerous speeches and practices of LIBO, he chose rather to permit them, in order to know and punish them: nor were they checked or made public, till one JUNIUS, who was dealt with to call up by charms the infernal shades, discovered this to FULCINIUS TRIO, a distinguished accuser, one greedy of renown in wickedness. Instantly TRIO marked out the doom of the accused, hastened to the Consuls, and of them demanded that the Senate might meet and adjudge him. Thus the fathers were forthwith summoned, and even apprized, that "upon an affair of "mighty

" mighty moment and horrible tendency to
" the State, they were to deliberate."

LIBO, the while, having changed his dreſs, went covered with mourning, from houſe to houſe, accompanied by Ladies of the nobleſt rank, and implored the mediation of his kindred, that they would protect him againſt impending ruin, and ſpeak in his behalf. But every one of them declined his ſuit, each upon a different pretence; yet, in reality, all from the ſame fear. The day the Senate ſat for his trial, vanquiſhed with dread, and ſinking under ſickneſs; or, as ſome relate, feigning it, he was borne in a litter to the court, and, leaning upon his brother, with ſupplicant hands and words, he accoſted and ſtrove to ſoften TIBERIUS, who received him with a countenance perfectly unmoved. It was the Emperor who next recited the charge againſt him, and the authors of the charge; but with ſuch wary moderation, that he might ſeem neither to ſoften nor ſharpen his crimes.

TO TRIO and CATUS, two other accuſers, FONTEIUS AGRIPPA and CAIUS VIBIUS, joined themſelves, and ſtrove who ſhould have the right to implead the accuſed. At laſt, when neither would yield, and LIBO was come unprovided with a pleader, VIBIUS undertook to maintain diſtinctly the ſeveral heads of the charge, and produced articles ſo extravagant, that amongſt the reſt it was one, how LIBO had conſulted the fortune-tellers, " whether he
" ſhould ever be maſter of opulence ſufficient

"to cover the great Appian road with money "as far as Brundusium." There were others of the same kind, foolish, chimerical, or (taken in tenderer sense) deserving pity. But there was one article formed upon a paper, containing the names of the Cæsars as well as those of some Senators, with mysterious characters, and malignant notes joined to them. This the accuser urged against LIBO, as written in his own hand. LIBO denied it, and hence it was proposed to examine by torture his conscious slaves. But, seeing it was forbid by an ancient law of the Senate, to put servants to the question, in a trial touching the life of their master, the crafty TIBERIUS invented a new law, to elude the old, and ordered these slaves to be sold to the public steward, that, by this expedient, evidence against LIBO might be racked from his servants, without violating the law. In this state of despondency, LIBO requested respite till the next day; and then returning to his own house, transmitted, by his kinsman PUBLIUS QUIRINUS, his last prayers to the Emperor, who replied, that "he must make "his request to the Senate."

HIS house was in the mean time encompassed with a band of soldiers, who with studied noise and terror were filling all the court, on purpose to create certain attention and alarm, just when LIBO sat down to the banquet, which, as the ultimate pleasure of his life, he had prepared. But, then feeling agonies instead of pleasure, he called for a minister of death, successively

ſively graſped the hands of his ſlaves, and into them, by turns, ſtrove to ſqueeze a ſword. But they, as they trembled and ſhunned the ſad task, through the hurry of fear and flight overturning the lamp that illuminated the table; in this ominous and tragical darkneſs, he gave himſelf two deadly ſtabs in the bowels. As he groaned and fell, his freedmen ſprang in, and the ſoldiers, ſeeing the ſlaughter perpetrated, retired. The charge againſt him was however puſhed in the Senate, with the ſame unrelenting eagerneſs. Yet TIBERIUS vowed, "that he "would have interceded for his life, notwith-"ſtanding his treaſon, if he had not thus haſtily "died by his own hands."

HIS eſtate was divided amongſt his accuſers; and thoſe of them who bore the rank of Senators, were, without the regular way of election, preferred to Prætorſhips. Then COTTA MESSALINUS propoſed, that "the image of LIBO "might not accompany the funerals of his "poſterity;" CNEIUS LENTULUS, that "none "of the SCRIBONII ſhould henceforth aſſume "the ſirname of DRUSUS;" and at the motion of POMPONIUS FLACCUS, days of thankſgiving were appointed. That "gifts ſhould be pre-"ſented to JUPITER, to MARS, and to the God-"deſs CONCORD; and that the thirteenth of "September, the day on which LIBO ſlew him-"ſelf, ſhould be an eſtabliſhed feſtival," were the votes of LUCIUS PUBLIUS, of ASINIUS GALLUS, of PAPIUS MUTILIUS, and of LUCIUS APRONIUS. I have related the votes and ſycophancy

phancy of these men, to shew that adulation is an inveterate evil in the state. Decrees of the Senate were likewise made for driving Astrologers and Magicians out of Italy; and one of the herd, LUCIUS PITUANIUS, was precipitated from the Tarpeian Rock. PUBLIUS MARCIUS, another, was by judgment of the Consuls, at the sound of trumpet, executed without the Esquiline Gate, according to the ancient form.

NEXT time the Senate sat, long discourses against the luxury of the city were made by QUINTUS HATERIUS, a Consular, and by OCTAVIUS FRONTO, formerly Prætor, and a law was passed "against using table-plate of solid "gold; and against men's debasing themselves "with gorgeous and effeminate silks." FRONTO went farther, and desired that "the quantities "of silver-plate, the expence of furniture, and "the number of domestics, might be limited." For it was yet common for Senators to depart from the present debate, and offer, as their advice, whatever they judged conducing to the interest of the Commonweal. Against him it was argued by ASINIUS GALLUS, "that "with the growth of the Empire, private "riches were likewise grown, and it was no "new thing for citizens to live according to "their conditions, but, indeed, agreeable to "the most primitive usage. The ancient FA-"BRICII, and the latter SCIPIOS, having dif-"ferent wealth, lived differently; but all suit-"ably to the several stages of the Common-

" wealth. Public poverty was accompanied
" with domeſtic; but, when the State roſe to
" ſuch a height of magnificence, the magnifi-
" cence of particulars roſe too. As to plate,
" and train, and expence, there was no ſtan-
" dard of exceſs or frugality, but from the for-
" tunes of men. The law, indeed, had made
" a diſtinction between the fortunes of Sena-
" tors and of Knights; not for any natural dif-
" ference between them; but that they who
" excelled in place, rank, and civil pre-emi-
" nence, might excel too in other particu-
" lars, ſuch as conduced to the health of the
" body, or to the peace and ſolacement of the
" ſoul; unleſs it were expected, that the moſt
" illuſtrious citizens ſhould ſuſtain the ſharpeſt
" cares, and undergo the heavieſt fatigues and
" dangers, but continue deſtitute of every alle-
" viation of fatigue, and danger, and care."
GALLUS eaſily prevailed, whilſt, under worthy names, he avowed and ſupported popular vices in an aſſembly engaged in them. TIBERIUS too had ſaid, " that it was not a ſeaſon for
" reformation; or, if there were any corrup-
" tion of manners, there would not be want-
" ing one to correct them."

DURING theſe tranſactions, LUCIUS PISO, after he had declaimed bitterly, in the Senate, againſt " the cabals and intrigues of the Forum,
" the corruption of the tribunals, and the in-
" humanity of the pleaders breathing conti-
" nual terror and impeachments," declared,
" he would intirely relinquiſh Rome, and re-
" tire

"tire into a quiet corner of the country, far "distant and obscure." With these words he left the Senate. TIBERIUS was provoked; and yet not only soothed him with gentle words, but likewise obliged PISO's relations, by their authority or entreaties to retain him. The same PISO gave soon after an equal instance of the indignation of a free spirit, by prosecuteing a suit against URGULANIA; a Lady whom the partial friendship of LIVIA had set at defiance with the laws. URGULANIA being carried, for protection, to the palace, despised the efforts of PISO; so that neither did she submit, nor would he desist, notwithstanding the complaints and resentments of LIVIA, that, in the prosecution, "violence and indignity were done "to her own person." TIBERIUS promised to attend the trial, and assist URGULANIA; but only promised in civility to his mother, for so far he thought it became him; and thus left the palace, ordering his guards to follow at a distance. People, the while, crowded about him, and he walked with a slow and composed air. As he lingered, and prolonged the time and way with various discourse, the trial went on; PISO would not be mollified by the importunity of his friends; and hence at last the Empress ordered the payment of the money claimed by him. This was the issue of the affair. By it PISO lost no renown; and it signally increased the credit of TIBERIUS. The power however of URGULANIA was so exorbitant to the State, that she disdained to appear

pear a witness in a certain cause before the Senate; and, when it had been always usual, even for the Vestal virgins to attend the Forum, and Courts of Justice, as oft as their evidence was required; a Prætor was sent to examine URGULANIA at her own house.

THE procrastination which happened this year in the public affairs, I should not mention, but that the different opinions of CNEIUS PISO and ASINIUS GALLUS about it, are worth knowing. Their dispute was occasioned by a declaration of TIBERIUS; "that he was "about to be absent." And it was the motion of PISO, "that for that very reason, the pro-"secution of public business was the rather "to be continued; since, as in the Prince's "absence, the Senate and Equestrian order "might administer their several parts, the same "would become the dignity of the Common-"wealth." This was a declaration for liberty, and in it PISO had prevented GALLUS, who now, in opposition, said, "that nothing sufficiently "illustrious, nor suiting the dignity of the "Roman people, could be transacted but under "the immediate eye of the Emperor, and "therefore the conflux of suitors, and the "affairs from Italy, and the provinces, must "by all means be reserved for his presence." TIBERIUS heard, and was silent, while the debate was managed on both sides with mighty vehemence; but the adjournment was carried.

A DEBATE too arose between GALLUS and the Emperor; for, GALLUS moved, "that the "Ma-

"Magistrates should be henceforth elected but "once every five years; that the legates of "the Legions, who had never exercised the "Prætorships, should be appointed Prætors; "and that the Prince should nominate twelve "candidates every year." It was not doubted but this motion had a deeper aim, and that by it the secret springs and reserves of imperial power were invaded. But TIBERIUS, as if he rather apprehended the augmentation of his authority, argued, "that it was a heavy task "upon his moderation, to chuse so many Ma-"gistrates, and to postpone so many candi-"dates; that disgusts from disappointments "were hardly avoided in yearly elections; "though, for their solacement, fresh hopes "remained of approaching success in the next; "now how great must be the hatred, how "lasting the resentment of such whose pre-"tensions were to be rejected beyond five "years? and whence could it be foreseen, that, "in so long a tract of time, the same men "would continue to have the same disposi-"tions, the same alliances and fortunes? even "an annual designation to power, made men "imperious; how imperious would it make "them, if they bore the honour for five years! "besides, it would multiply every single Ma-"gistrate into five, and utterly subvert the laws "which had prescribed a proper space for exer-"cising the diligence of the candidates, and "for solliciting as well as enjoying prefer-"ments."

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By this ſpeech, in appearance popular, he ſtill retained the ſpirit and force of the ſovereignty. He likewiſe ſuſtained by gratuities the dignity of ſome neceſſitous Senators. Hence it was the more wondered, that he received with haughtineſs and repulſe the petition of MARCUS HORTALUS, a young man of ſignal quality, and manifeſtly poor. He was the grandſon of HORTENSIUS the Orator; and had been encouraged by the deified AUGUSTUS with a bounty of a thouſand great ſeſterces [a], to marry for poſterity, purely to prevent the extinction of a family ſo eminently illuſtrious. The Senate were ſitting in the palace, and HORTALUS having ſet his four children before the door, fixed his eyes, now upon the ſtatue of HORTENSIUS, placed amongſt the Orators; then upon that of AUGUSTUS; and, inſtead of ſpeaking to the queſtion then debated, began on this wiſe: "Conſcript fathers, you ſee "there the number and infancy of my chil-"dren; not mine by my own choice, but in "compliance with the advice of the Prince. "Such too was the ſplendor of my anceſtors, "that it merited to be perpetuated in their "race. But, for my own particular, who, "marred by the revolution of the times, could "not raiſe wealth, nor engage popular favour, "nor cultivate the hereditary fortune of our "houſe, the fortune of Eloquence; I deemed "it ſufficient, if, in my narrow circumſtances,

[a] About twenty-five thouſand Crowns.

"I lived

"I lived no disgrace to myself, no burden to "others. Commanded by the Emperor, I "took a wife: behold the offspring of so "many Consuls; behold the descendants of "so many Dictators! nor is this remembrance "invidiously made, but made to move mercy. "In the progress of your reign, CÆSAR, these "children may arrive at the honours in your "gift. Defend them in the mean time from "want: they are the great grandsons of HORTENSIUS; they are the foster sons of AUGUSTUS."

THE inclination of the Senate was favourable, an incitement to TIBERIUS the more eagerly to thwart HORTALUS. These were in effect his words: "If all that are poor recur "hither for a provision of money to their "children, the public will certainly fail, yet "particulars never be satiated. Our ancestors, "when they permitted a departure from the "question, to propose somewhat more important to the state, did not therefore permit "it, that we might here transact domestic "matters, and augment our private rents; an "employment invidious both in the Senate "and the Prince; since, whether they grant "or deny the petitioned bounties, either the "people or the petitioners will ever be offended. But these, in truth, are not petitions; they are demands made against order, "and made by surprize. While you are assembled upon other affairs, he stands up, and "urges your pity, by the number and infancy

"of

" of his children; with the ſame violence, he " changes the attack to me, and, as it were, " burſts open the exchequer. But, if by po- " pular bounties we exhauſt it, by rapine and " oppreſſion we muſt ſupply it. The deified " AUGUSTUS gave you money, HORTALUS; " but without ſollicitation he gave it, and on " no condition that it ſhould always be given: " otherwiſe diligence will languiſh; ſloth will " prevail; and men having no hopes in re- " ſources of their own; no anxiety for them- " ſelves, but all ſecurely relying on foreign " relief, will become private ſluggards and " public burdens." Theſe and the like rea- ſonings of TIBERIUS were differently received; with approbation by thoſe whoſe way it is to extol, without diſtinction, all the doings of Princes, worthy and unworthy; by moſt, however, with ſilence, or low and diſcontented murmurs. TIBERIUS perceived it, and having pauſed a little, ſaid, " his anſwer was particu- " larly to HORTALUS; but, if the Senate thought " fit, he would give his ſons two hundred great " ſeſterces [b] each." For this all the Senators preſented their thanks; only HORTALUS ſaid nothing; perhaps through preſent awe, or perhaps poſſeſſed, even in poverty, with the grandeur of his ancient nobility. Nor did TIBERIUS ever ſhew farther pity, though the houſe of HORTENSIUS was fallen into ſhameful diſtreſs.

[b] About five thouſand Crowns.

THE ſame year, the boldneſs of a ſingle bondman had, but for early prevention, torn the ſtate with great combuſtions and civil arms. A ſlave of POSTHUMUS AGRIPPA, his name CLEMENS, having learnt the death of AUGUSTUS, conceived a deſign to ſail to Planaſia, and there releaſing AGRIPPA by art or force, to carry him to the armies in Germany. No ſlaviſh deſign! but, the ſlowneſs of the laden veſſel defeated his bold purpoſe; for AGRIPPA was already murdered. Hence he conceived views ſtill higher and more daring. He ſtole the funeral aſhes, and ſailing to Coſa, a promontory of Etruria, hid himſelf in deſart places, till his hair and beard were grown long; for, in age and perſon, he was not unlike his maſter. Then, a report ſpread by truſty emiſſaries and the aſſociates of the plot, "that AGRIPPA lived," began to thicken. It firſt crept abroad in dark whiſpers, as uſual in matters of dangerous tendency; but becoming ſoon a prevailing rumour, it filled the greedy ears of the credulous, or was encouraged by turbulent minds, ſuch as are ever fond of public agitations and changes. He himſelf, when he entered the neighbouring towns, did it in the gloom of the day; never to be ſeen publicly, nor long in the ſame place. But, as truth is ſtrengthened by obſervation and time; lies by haſte and uncertainty, he out-ran fame. Here he ſtaid not to be known; there he arrived before his name arrived.

It flew through Italy, in the mean time, "that, by the bounty of the Gods, AGRIPPA "was preſerved." It was even believed at Rome. His ſuppoſed arrival at Oſtia, was celebrated by great multitudes abroad; and in the city by clandeſtine cabals; whilſt divided cares diſtracted TIBERIUS, whether he ſhould ſuppreſs his ſlave by the power of the ſword, or ſuffer the empty credulity of the public to vaniſh with time. Now he thought that nothing was to be ſlighted; now that every thing was not to be dreaded, wavering between ſhame and fear. At laſt he committed the affair to SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS. CRISPUS choſe two of his creatures, (ſome ſay two ſoldiers) and directed them to go directly to him, to feign themſelves his adherents, men who were conſcious that he was the genuine AGRIPPA, to preſent him with money, and to promiſe him, without reſerve, their faith and fortunes. They inſtantly executed theſe orders, and afterwards ſpying him one night without guards, and being themſelves furniſhed with a proper band of men, they carried him to the palace, gagged and bound. To TIBERIUS, when he asked him, "how he was become AGRIPPA?" he is ſaid to have anſwered, "Juſt as you be-"came CÆSAR." But, to diſcover his accomplices, he could never be conſtrained. Neither dared TIBERIUS venture to execute him publicly, but ordered him to be diſpatched in a ſecret part of the palace, and his body to be carried privately away; and, though many

of the Prince's houſhold, many Knights and Senators, were ſaid to have ſupported him with money, and aſſiſted him with their Counſels; no enquiry followed.

AT the end of the year, a triumphal arch was raiſed near the Temple of Saturn, as a monument for the recovery of the Varian Eagles, under the conduct of GERMANICUS, and the auſpices of TIBERIUS. A Temple was dedicated to happy Fortune near the Tiber, in the Gardens bequeathed to the Roman people by CÆSAR the Dictator. A Chapel was conſecrated to the Julian family, and ſtatues to the deified AUGUSTUS, in the ſuburbs called Bovillæ. In the Conſulſhip of CAIUS CELIUS and LUCIUS POMPONIUS, the ſix and twentieth of May, GERMANICUS CÆSAR triumphed over the Cheruſcans, the Cattians, the Angrivarians, and the other nations as far as the Elb. In the triumph were carried all the ſpoils and captives, with the repreſentations of mountains, of rivers, and of battles; ſo that his conqueſts, becauſe he was reſtrained from compleating them, were taken for compleat. His own graceful perſon, and his chariot filled with his five children, heightened the ſhew and the delight of the beholders. Yet they were checked with ſecret fears; as they remembered, "that popular "favour had proved malignant to his father "DRUSUS; that his uncle MARCELLUS was "ſnatched, in his youth, from the burning "affections of the populace, and, that ever "ſhort-

" ſhort-lived and unfortunate were the favour-
" ites of the Roman people."

TIBERIUS diſtributed to the people in the name of GERMANICUS, three hundred ſeſterces [c] a man, and named himſelf his Collegue in the Conſulſhip. Nor even thus did he gain the opinion of tenderneſs and ſincerity. In effect, on pretence of inveſting the young Prince with freſh preferment and honours, he reſolved to alienate him from Rome; and, to accompliſh it, craftily framed an occaſion, or ſnatched ſuch a one as chance preſented. ARCHELAUS had enjoyed the Kingdom of Cappadocia now fifty years, a Prince under the deep diſpleaſure of TIBERIUS, becauſe in his retirement at Rhodes, the King had paid him no ſort of court nor diſtinction; an omiſſion which proceeded from no diſdain, but from the warnings given him by the confidents of AUGUSTUS; for that the young CAIUS CÆSAR, the preſumptive heir to the Sovereignty, then lived, and was ſent to compoſe and adminiſter the affairs of the Eaſt; hence the friendſhip of TIBERIUS was reckoned then dangerous. But when, by the utter fall of the family of the CÆSARS, he had gained the Empire, he enticed ARCHELAUS to Rome, by means of letters from his mother, who, without diſſembling her ſon's reſentment, offered the King his mercy, provided he came and in perſon implored it. He, who was either ignorant of the

[c] Seven Crowns and a half.

ſnare, or dreaded violence if he had appeared to perceive it, haſtened to the City; where he was received by TIBERIUS with great ſternneſs and wrath, and ſoon after accuſed as a criminal in the Senate. The crimes alledged againſt him were mere fictions; yet, as equal treatment is unuſual to Kings, and, to be treated like malefactors, intolerable; ARCHELAUS, who was broken with grief as well as agē, by choice or fate ended his life. His Kingdom was reduced into a province, and by its revenues TIBERIUS declared, the tax of the hundredth penny would be abated, and reduced it for the future to the two hundredth. At the ſame time died ANTIOCHUS, King of Comagena, as alſo PHILOPATER, King of Cilicia; and great combuſtions ſhook theſe nations; whilſt many of the people deſired the Roman Government, and many were addicted to domeſtic Monarchy. The provinces too of Syria and Judea, as they were oppreſſed with impoſitions, prayed an abatement of tribute.

THESE affairs, and ſuch as I have above related concerning Armenia, TIBERIUS repreſented to the Fathers, and, "that the com-
"motions of the Eaſt could only be ſettled by
"the wiſdom and abilities of GERMANICUS.
"For himſelf; his age now declined, and that
"of DRUSUS was not yet ſufficiently ripe." The provinces beyond the ſea were thence decreed to GERMANICUS, with authority ſuperior to all thoſe who obtained provinces by lot, or the nomination of the Prince. But,

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TIBERIUS had already taken care to remove from the government of Syria CRETICUS SILANUS, one united to GERMANICUS in domeſtic alliance, by having betrothed his daughter to NERO, the eldeſt ſon of GERMANICUS. In his room he had preferred CNEIUS PISO, a man of violent temper, incapable of ſubjection, and heir to all the ferocity and haughtineſs of his father PISO; the ſame who, in the civil war, aſſiſted the reviving party againſt CÆSAR in Africa, with vehement efforts, then followed BRUTUS and CASSIUS, but had at laſt leave to come home; yet diſdained to ſue for any public offices; nay, was even courted by AUGUSTUS to accept the Conſulſhip. His ſon, beſides his hereditary pride and impetuoſity, was elevated with the nobility and wealth of PLANCINA his wife. Scarce yielded he to TIBERIUS, and, as men far beneath him, deſpiſed the ſons of TIBERIUS. Neither did he doubt but he was ſet over Syria on purpoſe to defeat all the views of GERMANICUS. Some even believed, that he had to this purpoſe ſecret orders from TIBERIUS; as it was certain, that LIVIA directed PLANCINA to exert the ſpirit of the ſex, and by conſtant emulation and indignities, to perſecute AGRIPPINA. For, the whole court was rent, and their affections ſecretly divided between DRUSUS and GERMANICUS. TIBERIUS was partial to DRUSUS, as his own ſon by generation; others loved GERMANICUS; the more for the averſion of his uncle, and for being by his mother, of more

illuſtrious deſcent; as MARC ANTHONY was his grandfather, and AUGUSTUS his great uncle. On the other ſide, POMPONIUS ATTICUS, a Roman Knight, by being the great grandfather of DRUSUS, ſeemed thence to have derived a ſtain upon the images of the Claudian houſe. Beſides, AGRIPPINA, the wife of GERMANICUS, did in the fruitfulneſs of her body, and the reputation of her virtue, far excel LIVIA the wife of DRUSUS. Yet the two brothers lived in amiable dearneſs and concord, no wiſe ſhaken or eſtranged by the reigning contention amongſt their ſeparate friends and adherents.

DRUSUS was ſoon after ſent into Illyricum in order to inure him to war, and gain him the affections of the army. Beſides, TIBERIUS thought that the youth, who lived wantoning in the luxuries of Rome, would be reformed in the camp, and that his own ſecurity would be enlarged when both his ſons were at the head of the Legions. But, the pretence for ſending him was the protection of the Suevians, who were then imploring aſſiſtance againſt the power of the Cheruſcans. For, theſe nations, who ſince the departure of the Romans, ſaw themſelves no longer threatened with terrors from abroad, and were then particularly engaged in a national competition for glory, had relapſed, as uſual, into their old inteſtine feuds, and turned their arms upon each other. The two people were equally powerful, their two leaders equally brave, but differently eſteemed, as the title of King, had drawn

drawn upon MAROBODUUS the hate and aversion of his countrymen; whilst ARMINIUS, as a champion warring for the defence of liberty, was the universal object of popular affection.

HENCE not only the Cheruscans and their confederates, they who had been the ancient soldiery of ARMINIUS, took arms; but to him too revolted the Semnones and Langobards, both Suevian nations, and even subjects of MAROBODUUS; and by their accession he would have exceeded in puissance, but INGUIOMERUS with his band of followers deserted to MAROBODUUS; for no other cause than disdain, that an old man and an uncle like himself, should obey ARMINIUS a young man his nephew. Both armies were drawn out, with equal hopes; nor disjointed, like the old German battles, into scattered parties for loose and random attacks; for, by long war with us, they had learnt to follow their ensigns, to strengthen their main body with parties of reserve, and to observe the orders of their Generals. ARMINIUS was now on horseback viewing all the ranks: as he rode through them he magnified their passed feats; "their liberty recovered, the "slaughtered Legions; the spoils of arms "wrested from the Romans; monuments of "victory still retained in some of their hands." Upon MAROBODUUS he fell with contumelious names, as "a fugitive, one of no abilities in "war; a coward, who had sought defence "from the gloomy coverts of the Hercynian "wood, and then by gifts and sollicitations,

"courted

" courted the alliance of Rome; a betrayer
" of his country, a lifeguard-man of CÆSAR's,
" worthy to be exterminated with no less ho-
" stile vengeance than in the slaughter of
" QUINCTILIUS VARUS they had shewn. Let
" them only remember so many battles bravely
" fought; the events of which, particularly the
" utter expulsion of the Romans, were suffi-
" cient proofs with whom remained the glory
" of the war."

NEITHER did MAROBODUUS fail to boast himself, and depreciate the foe. " In the per-
" son of INGUIOMERUS, he said, (holding him
" by the hand) rested the whole renown of
" the Cheruscans; and from his counsels be-
" gan all their exploits that ended in success.
" ARMINIUS, a man of a frantic spirit, and a no-
" vice in affairs, assumed to himself the glory
" of another, for having by treachery sur-
" prized three Legions, which expected no foe,
" and their leader, who feared no fraud; a base
" surprize, revenged since on Germany with
" heavy slaughters, and on ARMINIUS himself
" with domestic infamy, while his wife and
" his son still bore the bonds of captivity. For
" himself; when attacked formerly by TIBE-
" RIUS at the head of twelve Legions, he had
" preserved unstained the glory of Germany,
" and on equal terms ended the war. Nor
" did he repent of the treaty, since it was still
" in their hands to wage, anew, equal war
" with the Romans, or save blood and main-
" tain peace." The armies, besides the incite-
ments

ments from these speeches, were animated by national stimulations of their own. The Cheruscans fought for their ancient renown, the Langobards for their recent liberty; and the Suevians and their King, on the contrary, were struggling for the augmentation of their monarchy. Never did armies make a fiercer onset, never had onset a more ambiguous event; for, both the right wings were routed, and hence a fresh encounter was certainly expected, until MAROBODUUS drew off his army and encamped upon the hills; a manifest sign that he was humbled; frequent desertions too leaving him at last naked of forces, he retired to the Marcomannians, and thence sent Embassadors to TIBERIUS, to implore succours. They were answered, "That he had no right to invoke "aid of the Roman arms against the Cheruf-"cans; since to the Romans, while they were "warring with the same foe, he had never "administered any assistance." DRUSUS was however sent away, as I have said, with the character of a negociator of peace.

THE same year, twelve noble cities of Asia were overturned by an earthquake. The ruine happened in the night, and the more dreadful as its warnings were unobserved. Neither availed the usual sanctuary against such calamities; namely, a flight to the fields; since those who fled, the gaping earth devoured. It is reported, "That mighty mountains subsided, "plains were heaved into high hills; and that "with flashes and eruptions of fire, the mighty "de-

"devastation was every where accompanied." The Sardians felt most heavily the rage of the concussion, and therefore most compassion; TIBERIUS promised them a hundred thousand great sesterces [d], and remitted their taxes for five years. The inhabitants of Magnesia under Mount Sipylus, were held the next in sufferings, and had proportionable relief. The Temnians, Philadelphians, the Egeatæans, Apollonians, with those called the Mostenians or Macedonians of Hyrcania, the cities too of Hierocæsarea, Myrina, Cyme and Tmolus; were all for the same term eased of tribute. It was likewise resolved to send one of the Senate to view the desolations, and administer proper remedies. MARCUS ALETUS was therefore chosen, one of Prætorian rank; because a Consular Senator then governing Asia, had another of the like quality been sent, an emulation between equals was apprehended, and consequently opposition and delays.

THE credit of this noble bounty to the public, he increased by private liberalities, which proved equally popular; the estate of the wealthy EMILLA MUSA, claimed by the exchequer, as she died intestate, he surrendered to EMILIUS LEPIDUS, to whose family she seemed to belong; as also to MARCUS SERVILIUS, the inheritance of PATULEIUS, a rich Roman Knight, though part of it had been bequeathed to himself; but he found SERVILIUS named

[d] Two hundred and fifty thousand Crowns.

sole

ſole heir in a former and well-atteſted will. He ſaid, ſuch was "the nobility of both, that "they deſerved to be ſupported." Nor did he ever accept to himſelf any man's inheritance, but where former friendſhip gave him a title. The wills of ſuch as were ſtrangers to him, and of ſuch as, from hate and prejudice to others, had appointed the Prince their heir, he utterly rejected. But, as he relieved the honeſt poverty of the virtuous, ſo he degraded from the Senate, (or ſuffered to quit it of their own accord) VIBIDIUS VARRO, MARIUS NEPOS, APPIUS APPIANUS, CORNELIUS SYLLA, and QUINTUS VITELLIUS, all prodigals, and only through debauchery indigent.

ABOUT this time, TIBERIUS finiſhed and conſecrated what AUGUSTUS began, the Temples of the Gods conſumed by age or fire; that near the great Circus, vowed by AULUS POSTHUMIUS the Dictator, to Bacchus, Proſerpina and Ceres; in the ſame place the Temple of Flora, founded by LUCIUS PUBLICIUS and MARCUS PUBLICIUS, while they were Ædiles; the Temple of Janus, built in the Herb-Market by CAIUS DUILLIUS, who firſt ſignalized the Roman power at ſea, and merited a naval triumph over the Carthaginians. That of Hope was dedicated by GERMANICUS. This Temple ATILIUS had vowed in the ſame war.

THE Law of violated Majeſty, in the mean time, waxed intenſe, and by it an accuſer impleaded APULEIA VARILIA, grand-niece to AUGUSTUS by his ſiſter; for that with opprobrious

brious words ſhe had reviled the deified AUGUSTUS, TIBERIUS and his mother; and being nearly allied to the Emperor, had ſtained by adultery the Cæſarean blood. Concerning the adultery, ſufficient proviſion was thought already made by the Julian Law; and the crimes of ſtate, TIBERIUS deſired, might be ſeparated: "If ſhe had uttered impious ſpeeches of AUGUSTUS, ſhe muſt be condemned; but, for "invectives againſt himſelf, he would not have "her called to any account." The Conſul asked him, "What would be his ſentiments, "if ſhe were convicted of defaming his mother?" To this he made no anſwer; but next ſitting of the Senate, he prayed too in her name, "That no words ſpoken againſt her, "might to any one be imputed for crimes;" and acquitted APULEIA of the treaſon; of her puniſhment too for adultery, he begged a mitigation, and prevailed, that, "by the example "of our anceſtors, ſhe ſhould be removed by "her kindred two hundred miles from Rome." MANLIUS her adulterer was interdicted Italy and Africa.

A debate at this time aroſe about ſubſtitueing a Prætor in the room of VIPSANIUS GALLUS, removed by death. GERMANICUS and DRUSUS (for they were yet at Rome) eſpouſed HATERIUS AGRIPPA, kinſman to GERMANICUS. Many, on the contrary, inſiſted, that the number of children ſhould decide it, and the candidate who had moſt be preferred; for this was the voice of the law. TIBERIUS rejoiced

to

to ſee the Senate engaged in a contention between his ſons and the laws. The law, without doubt, was vanquiſhed, yet not inſtantly, and by a ſmall majority; but with the ſame ſtruggle that laws were vanquiſhed when laws were in force.

THIS year a war began in Africa, conducted by TACFARINAS. He was a native of Numidia, and had ſerved amongſt the auxiliaries in the Roman armies, but deſerting the ſervice, gathered together, by the allurements of booty and rapine, at firſt a herd of vagabonds and men inured to robberies; then formed them, like an army, into regular companies of foot, and troops of horſe, under diſtinct ſtandards and colours. At length he was no longer eſteemed the leader of a diſorderly gang, but conſidered as General of the Muſulanians. This powerful people, borderers upon the deſarts of Africa, ſtill wild, and without towns, took arms, and drew into the war the neighbouring Moors. Theſe too had a General of their own, his name MAZIPPA; and between the two leaders the army was divided, that, whilſt TACFARINAS encamped with the beſt men, armed after the faſhion of Romans, and accuſtomed them to diſcipline and command, MAZIPPA, with a flying band, might make excurſions on every ſide, with fire, ſlaughter, and alarms. They had likewiſe forced the Cinithians into their meaſures, a nation no wiſe deſpicable; when FURIUS CAMILLUS, Proconſul of Africa, marched againſt the enemy

with one Legion, and what troops of the Allies were under his command; a handful of men at moſt, when compared to the multitude of Numidians and Moors! But it was his firſt care not to intimidate them with numbers, and thence tempt them to elude fighting, and prolong the war. Indeed, he gave them hopes of victory, only to enable himſelf to vanquiſh them. The Legion was placed in the center, the light cohorts, and two wings of horſe on the right and left. Nor did TACFARINAS decline the combat. The Numidians were routed; and, after a long ſeries of years, military renown recovered to the name of FURIUS. For ſince CAMILLUS the reſtorer of Rome and his ſon, the glory of command and victories continued in other families. Even he whom I have mentioned, paſſed for a man deſtitute of military abilities and experience in war. Hence TIBERIUS magnified with the more unfeigned alacrity his exploits to the Senate, and to him the fathers decreed the enſigns of triumph. Yet to CAMILLUS all this merit and diſtinction proved no ſnare, protected as he was by a life ſingularly modeſt and retired.

THE Conſuls for the following year were, TIBERIUS the third time, GERMANICUS the ſecond. This dignity overtook GERMANICUS at Nicopolis, a city of Achaia, whither he arrived, by the coaſt of Illyricum, from viſiting his brother DRUSUS, then abiding in Dalmatia, and had ſuffered a tempeſtuous paſſage, both in the Adriatic and Ionian ſea. He therefore

ſpent a few days to repair his fleet, and viewed the while the Bay of Actium, renowned for the naval victory there, as alſo the ſpoils conſecrated by AUGUSTUS, and the Camp of ANTHONY, with an affecting remembrance of theſe his anceſtors; for ANTHONY, as I have ſaid, was his great uncle, AUGUSTUS his grandfather. Hence this ſcene proved to GERMANICUS a mighty ſource of images pleaſing and ſad. Next he proceeded to Athens, where, in conceſſion to that ancient city, allied to Rome, he would uſe but one Lictor. The Greeks received him with the moſt elaborate honours, and, to dignify their perſonal flattery, carried before him tablatures of the ſignal deeds and ſayings of his anceſtors.

HENCE he ſailed to Euboea, thence to Lesbos, where AGRIPPINA was delivered of JULIA, who proved her laſt child. Then he kept the coaſt of Aſia, and viſited Perinthus and Byzantium, cities of Thrace, and entered the ſtreights of Propontis, and the mouth of the Euxine, fond of beholding ancient places long celebrated by fame. He relieved, at the ſame time, the provinces where-ever diſtracted with inteſtine factions, or aggrieved with the oppreſſions of their Magiſtrates. In his return he ſtrove to ſee the religious rites of the Samothracians, but, by the violence of the north wind was repulſed from the ſhore As he paſſed, he ſaw Troy and her remains, venerable for the viciſſitude of her fate, and for the birth of Rome. Regaining the coaſt of Aſia, he put

in at Colophon, to consult there the Oracle of the Clarian Apollo. It is no Pythoness that represents the God here, as at Delphos, but a priest, one chosen from certain families, chiefly of MILETUS; neither requires he more than just to hear the names and numbers of the querists, and then descends into the oracular cave; where, after a draught of water from a secret spring, though ignorant for the most part of Letters and Poetry, he yet utters his answers in Verse, which has for its subject the conceptions and wishes of each consultant. He was even said to have sung to GERMANICUS his hastening fate, but, as Oracles are wont, in terms dark and doubtful.

NOW CNEIUS PISO, hurrying to the execution of his purposes, terrified the city of Athens by a tempestuous entry, and reproached them in a severe speech, with oblique censure of GERMANICUS, "that, debasing the dignity of "the Roman name, he had paid excessive "court, not to the Athenians, by so many "slaughters long since extinct, but to the then "mixed scum of nations there; for that these "were they who had leagued with MITHRI-"DATES against SYLLA, and with ANTHONY "against AUGUSTUS." He even charged them with the errors and misfortunes of ancient Athens; her impotent attempts against the Macedonians; her violence and ingratitude to her own citizens. He was also an enemy to their city from personal anger; because they would not pardon, at his request, one THEO-

PHILUS, condemned by the Areopagus for forgery. From thence, ſailing haſtily through the Cyclades, and taking the ſhorteſt courſe, he overtook GERMANICUS at Rhodes, but was there driven by a ſudden tempeſt upon the rocks; and GERMANICUS, who was not ignorant with what malignity and invectives he was purſued, yet acted with ſo much humanity, that, when he might have left him to periſh, and have referred to caſualty the deſtruction of his enemy, he diſpatched galleys, to reſcue him from the wreck. This generous kindneſs, however, aſſwaged not the animoſity of PISO; ſcarce could he brook a day's delay with GERMANICUS, but left him in haſte to arrive in Syria before him. Nor was he ſooner there, and found himſelf amongſt the Legions, than he began to court the common men by bounties and careſſes, to aſſiſt them with his countenance and credit, to form factions, to remove all the ancient Centurions, and every Tribune of remarkable diſcipline and ſeverity, and, in their places, to put dependents of his own, or men recommended only by their crimes. He permitted ſloth in the camp, licentiouſneſs in the towns, a rambling and diſorderly ſoldiery, and carried the corruption ſo high, that in the diſcourſes of the herd, he was ſtiled *Father of the Legions.* Nor did PLANCINA reſtrain herſelf to a conduct ſeemly in her ſex, but frequented the exerciſes of the cavalry, and attended the decurſions of the Cohorts, every where inweigh-

ing against AGRIPPINA, every where against GERMANICUS; and some, even of the most deserving soldiers, became prompt to base obedience, from a rumour whispered abroad, "that "all this was not unacceptable to TIBERIUS."

THESE doings were all known to GERMANICUS; but his more instant care was, to visit Armenia, an inconstant and restless nation from the beginning, from the genius of the people, as well as from the situation of their country, which, bordering with a large frontier on our provinces, and stretching thence quite to Media, is inclosed between the two great Empires, and often at variance with them; with the Romans through antipathy and hatred, with the Parthians through competition and envy. At this time, and ever since the removal of VONONES, they had no King; but the affections of the nations leaned to ZENO, son of POLEMON King of Pontus, because by an attachment, from his infancy, to the fashions and customs of the Armenians, by hunting, feasting, and other usages practised and renowned amongst the Barbarians, he had equally won the nobles and people. Upon his head, therefore, at the city of Artaxata, with the approbation of the nobles, in a great assembly, GERMANICUS put the regal Diadem; and the Armenians doing homage to their King, saluted him, ARTAXIAS, a name which from that of their city, they gave him. The Cappadocians, at this time reduced into the form of a province, received for their Governor, QUINTUS

VERANIUS; and, to raiſe their hopes of the gentler dominion of Rome, ſeveral of the royal taxes were leſſened. QUINTUS SERVEUS was ſet over the Comagenians, then firſt ſubjected to the juriſdiction of a Prætor.

FROM the affairs of the Allies, thus all ſucceſsfully ſettled, GERMANICUS reaped no pleaſure, through the perverſeneſs and pride of PISO, who was ordered to lead, by himſelf or his ſon, part of the Legions into Armenia, but contemptuouſly neglected to do either. They, at laſt, met at Cyrrum, the winter quarters of the tenth Legion, whither each came with a prepared countenance; PISO to betray no fear, and GERMANICUS would not be thought to threaten. He was indeed, as I have obſerved, of a humane and reconcileable ſpirit: but, officious friends, expert at inflaming animoſities, aggravated real offences, added fictitious, and with manifold imputations charged PISO, PLANCINA, and their ſons. To this interview GERMANICUS admitted a few intimates, and began his complaints in ſuch words as diſſembled reſentment uſually dictates. PISO replied with diſdainful ſubmiſſions, and they parted in open enmity. PISO, hereafter, came rarely to the Tribunal of GERMANICUS; or, if he did, ſate ſternly there, and in manifeſt oppoſition. He likewiſe publiſhed his ſpite at a feaſt of the Nabathean King's, where golden Crowns of great weight were preſented to GERMANICUS and AGRIPPINA; but to PISO and the reſt, ſuch as were light. "This banquet, he ſaid, was made

" for the ſon of a Roman Prince, not of a " Parthian Monarch." With theſe words, he caſt away his crown, and uttered many invectives againſt luxury. Sharp inſults upon GERMANICUS! yet he bore them.

AT this time arrived Ambaſſadors from ARTABANUS King of the Parthians. He ſent them " to repreſent the ſtate of the mutual league " and friendſhip between the two Empires, " how deſirous he was to renew it; that, in " honour to GERMANICUS, he would come " to receive him as far as the banks of the Eu- " phrates; and requeſted, in the mean time, " that VONONES might not be continued in " Syria, leſt, taking the advantage of ſo near a " neighbourhood, he ſhould, by correſponding " with the Grandees of Parthia, ingage them " in civil diſſention and rebellion." The anſwer given by GERMANICUS, as far as related to the alliance of the Romans and Parthians, was conceived in terms of dignity and grandeur; but, of the coming of the King, and the court and veneration intended to himſelf, he ſpoke with becoming complaiſance and modeſty. VONONES was removed to Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia, a conceſſion made, not to the requeſt of ARTABANUS only, but in contumely to PISO, with whom VONONES was high in favour, for the aſſiduous court and many preſents by which he had won PLANCINA.

IN the Conſulſhip of MARCUS SILANUS and LUCIUS NORBANUS, GERMANICUS travelled to Ægypt, to view the famous Antiquities of the coun-

country; though for the motives of the journey, the care and inſpection of the province were publicly alledged: and, indeed, by opening the granaries, he mitigated the price of corn, and practiſed many things grateful to the people; walking without guards, his feet bare, and his habit the ſame with that of the Greeks; after the example of PUBLIUS SCIPIO, who, we are told, was conſtant in the ſame practices in Sicily, even during the rage of the Punic War there. For theſe his aſſumed manners and foreign habit, TIBERIUS blamed him in a gentle ſtile, but cenſured him with great aſperity for violating an eſtabliſhment of AUGUSTUS, and entring Alexandria without conſent of the Prince. For AUGUSTUS, amongſt other ſecrets of power, had ſet apart and appropriated Ægypt, and reſtrained the Senators and dignified Roman Knights from going thither without licence; as he apprehended that Italy might be diſtreſſed with famine, by any who ſeized that province, the key to the Empire by ſea and land, and defenſible by a light band of men againſt potent armies.

GERMANICUS, not yet informed that his journey was cenſured, ſailed up the Nile, beginning at Canopus, one of its mouths, built by the Spartans, as a monument to CANOPUS, a Pilot buried there, at the time when MENELAUS, returning to Greece, was driven to different ſeas and the Libyan continent. Hence he viſited the next mouth of the river ſacred to HERCULES. Him the natives averr to have been

born amongst them; that he was the most ancient of the name, and that all the rest, who, with equal virtues, followed his example, were, in honour, called after him. Next he visited the mighty antiquities of ancient Thebes, where, upon huge Obelisks yet remained Ægyptian Characters, describing its former opulency. One of the oldest Priests was ordered to interpret them; he said they related "that it once contained seven "hundred thousand fighting men; that with "that army King RHAMSES had conquered Li-"bya, Ethiopia, the Medes and Persians, the "Bactrians and Scythians; and to his Empire "had added the territories of the Syrians, Ar-"menians, and their neighbours the Cappa-"docians; a tract of countries reaching from "the sea of Bithynia to that of Lycia." Here also was read the assessment of Tribute laid on the several nations; what weight of silver and gold; what number of horses and arms; what ivory and perfumes, as gifts to the Temples; what measures of grain; what quantities of all necessaries, were by each people paid; revenues equally grand with those exacted by the domination of the Parthians, or by the Power of the Romans.

GERMANICUS was intent upon seeing other wonders. The chief were, the effigies of MEMNON, a Colossus of stone, yielding, when struck by the solar rays, a vocal sound; the Pyramids rising, like mountains, amongst rolling and almost impassable waves of sand, proud monuments of the emulation and opulency of

Ægyp-

Ægyptian Kings; the artificial Lake, a receptacle of the overflowing Nile; and elſewhere abyſſes of ſuch immenſe depth, that thoſe who tried, could never fathom. Thence he proceeded to Elphantina and Syene, two Iſlands, formerly frontiers of the Roman Empire, which is now widened to the Red-Sea.

WHILST GERMANICUS ſpent this ſummer in ſeveral provinces, DRUSUS was ſowing feuds amongſt the Germans, and thence reaped no light renown; and, as the power of MAROBODUUS was already broken, he engaged them to perſiſt and complete his ruin. Amongſt the Gotones was a young man of quality, his name CATUALDA, a fugitive long ſince from the violence of MAROBODUUS, but now, in his diſtreſs, reſolved on revenge. Hence, with a ſtout band, he entered the borders of the Marcomannians, and, corrupting their chiefs into his alliance, ſtormed the regal palace, and the caſtle ſituate near it. In the pillage were found the ancient ſtores of prey accumulated by the Suevians, as alſo many victuallers and traders from our provinces; men who were drawn hither from their ſeveral homes, firſt by privilege of traffic, then retained by a paſſion to multiply gain, and at laſt, through utter oblivion of their own country, fixed, like natives, in a hoſtile ſoil.

TO MAROBODUUS, on every ſide forſaken, no other refuge remained but the mercy of CÆSAR. He therefore paſſed the Danube where it waſhes the province of Norica, and wrote to

TIBE-

TIBERIUS, not however in the language of a fugitive or supplicant, but with a spirit suitable to his late grandeur; "that many nations invited him to them, as a King once so glorious; but he preferred to all the friendship of Rome." The Emperor answered, "that in Italy he should have a safe and honourable retreat, and, when his affairs required his presence, the same security to return." But to the Senate he declared, "that never had PHILIP of Macedon been so terrible to the Athenians; nor PYRRHUS, nor ANTIOCHUS to the Roman people." The speech is extant: in it he magnifies "the greatness of the man, the fierceness and bravery of the nations his subjects; the alarming nearness of such an enemy to Italy, and his own artful measures to destroy him." MAROBODUUS was kept at Ravenna, for a check and terror to the Suevians; as if, when at any time they grew turbulent, he were there in readiness to recover their subjection. Yet in eighteen years he left not Italy, but grew old in exile there; his renown too became eminently diminished. Such was the price which he paid for an overpassionate love of life. The same fate had CATUALDA, and no other sanctuary; he was soon after expulsed by the forces of the Hermundurians, led by VIBILIUS, and being received under the Roman protection, was conveyed to Forum Julium, a Colony in Narbon Gaul. The Barbarians, their followers, left, had they been mixed with the provinces, they

they might have disturbed their present quiet, were placed beyond the Danube, between the rivers Marus and Cusus, and for their King had assigned them VANNIUS, by nation a Quadian.

As soon as it was known at Rome, that ARTAXIAS was by GERMANICUS given to the Armenians for their King, the fathers decreed to him and DRUSUS the lesser Triumph. Triumphal arches were likewise erected, on each side the Temple of MARS *the Avenger*, supporting the statues of these two CÆSARS; and for TIBERIUS, he was more joyful to have established peace by policy, than if by battles and victories he had ended the war. He therefore also assailed by the ways of craft RHESCUPORIS a King of Thrace. That whole nation had been subject to RHEMETALCES; but, upon his death, one moiety was by AUGUSTUS granted to RHESCUPORIS his brother, and one to COTYS his son. In this partition, the vales, cities, and territories bounding upon Greece, fell to COTYS; to RHESCUPORIS the wilds, the hills, and the parts exposed to a hostile neighbourhood. The two Kings were likewise dissonant in their genius, the former mild and agreeable; the latter cruel, rapacious, and impatient of equality. Yet, at first they lived in hollow friendship, but, in a while, RHESCUPORIS began to break bounds, to seize for himself the portions of COTYS, and, where he met resistance, to exercise violence; cautiously, it is true, and by degrees, in the life of AUGUS-

TUS,

TUS, to whose grant they owed both their Kingdoms; and, if his authority had been despised, his vengeance was dreaded. But, upon the change of Emperors, he poured in bands of robbers, demolished forts, and thus sought to provoke war.

TIBERIUS was about no consideration of state so anxious, as that things once settled should never after be molested. He instantly dispatched a Centurion to the two Kings, to forbid their proceeding to a decision by arms; and COTYS forthwith dismissed the forces he had raised. RHESCUPORIS feigned submission, and desired an interview, "for that by treaty, "he said, they might adjust all their differences:" and, upon the time, the place, and even upon the conditions, they quickly agreed, while one through easiness, one through fraud, yielded and accepted every proposition. RHESCUPORIS, for a sanction, as he pretended, to the league, added a banquet, and the festivity and drinking was prolonged till midnight, when COTYS, warm with wine and feasting, and void of circumspection, was suddenly loaded with chains, deprecating in vain the brutal treachery, "by the inviolable rights of Kings, by the "common Gods of their family, by that very "banquet of sacred pledge of concord and "hospitality." RHESCUPORIS, having now seized all Thrace, wrote to TIBERIUS, "that "bloody snares were contrived for him, but "he had anticipated the contriver;" and, pretending a war against the Basternæans and Scythians,

thians, fortified himſelf with new forces, horſe and foot.

He had a ſoft anſwer, "that if he had practiſed no guile, he might ſecurely truſt to his "innocence; but, neither could he himſelf "nor the Senate, without hearing the cauſe, "diſtinguiſh between juſtice and violence: that "therefore, delivering up Cotys, he ſhould "come, and upon him effectually transfer the "odium of the crime." This letter Latinius Pandus, Proprætor of Meſia, tranſmitted to Thrace, by the ſoldiers ſent to receive Cotys. Rhescuporis, wavering long between fear and rage, determined at laſt rather to be guilty of a finiſhed than an imperfect villainy: he cauſed Cotys to be murdered, and belied his death, as if by his own hands it had been procured. Neither yet did Tiberius change his favourite courſe of diſſembling, but, upon the death of Pandus, whom Rhescuporis alledged to have been his enemy, preferred to the Government of Meſia Pomponius Flaccus, an ancient officer, one in cloſe friendſhip with the King, and by it more qualified to betray him; hence chiefly he was preferred.

Flaccus paſſed into Thrace, and, though he found him full of heſitation, and revolving with great diſmay upon the crying horror of his own wickedneſs, yet, by mighty promiſes, prevailed upon him to enter the Roman barrier. Here the King, on pretence of ſolemnity and honour, was ſurrounded with a ſtrong party, and a crowd of officers, who preſſed him

him by earneſt exhortations, and many arguments, and the further they travelled, the more apparent to him was his confinement; ſo that at laſt, convinced of the neceſſity of going, he was by them haled to Rome. He was accuſed before the Senate by the wife of COTYS, and condemned to exile far from his Kingdom. Thrace was divided between RHEMETALCES his ſon, who, it was manifeſt, had oppoſed all his father's outrageous meaſures; and the ſons of COTYS. Theſe were minors, and placed with their Kingdom under the adminiſtration of TREBELLIENUS RUFUS, formerly Prætor, after the example of our Anceſtors, who ſent MARCUS LEPIDUS into Ægypt, in quality of guardian to the children of PTOLEMY. RHESCUPORIS was tranſported to Alexandria, and there ſlain, attempting flight, or falſly charged with it.

AT the ſame time, VONONES, who had been removed, as I have above related, into Cilicia, corrupted his keepers, and endeavoured to eſcape to Armenia, thence to the Albanians and Heniochians, and then to his kinſman the King of Scythia. Thus pretending to hunt, and avoiding the maritime coaſts, he gained the devious receſſes of the foreſts; and then, on a ſudden, rode full ſpeed to the River Pyramus. But, the country-men, apprized of the King's flight, had broken the bridges; neither was the ſtream to be forded. Upon the banks therefore of the river, he was by VIBIUS FRONTO, General of horſe, put in bonds, and pre-

presently after, by REMMIUS, a resumed Veteran, lately his keeper, run through, in affected wrath, with a sword. Hence arose the stronger belief that, from consciousness of fraud, and dread of discovery, VONONES was slain.

GERMANICUS returning from Ægypt, learned that all his orders left with the Legions, and the Eastern cities, were either intirely abolished, or contrary regulations established; a ground for his severe resentment and reproaches upon PISO. Nor less keen were the efforts and machinations of PISO against GERMANICUS. Yet PISO afterwards determined to leave Syria, but was detained by the following illness of GERMANICUS. Again, when he heard of his recovery, and perceived that vows were paid for his restoration, the Lictors, by his command, broke the solemnity, drove away the victims, already at the altars, overturned the apparatus of the sacrifice, and scattered the people of Antioch employed in celebrating the festival. He then departed to Seleucia, waiting the event of the malady, which had again assaulted GERMANICUS. His own persuasion too, that poyson was given him by PISO, heightened the cruel vehemence of the disease. Indeed, upon the floors and walls were found fragments of human bodies, the spoils of the grave, with charms and incantations, and the name of GERMANICUS graved on sheets of lead, carcasses half burnt, besmeared with gore, and other witchcrafts, by which souls are thought doomed to the infernal gods. Besides, there were certain persons,

persons, charged as creatures of PISO, purposely sent and employed to watch the progress and efforts of the disease.

THESE things filled GERMANICUS with apprehensions great as his resentment. "If his "doors, he said, were besieged, if under the "eyes of his enemies he must render up his "spirit, what was to be expected to his un-"happy wife, what to his infant children? "The progress of poyson was thought too "slow. PISO was impatient, and urging with "eagerness to command alone the Legions, "to possess alone the province: but GERMA-"NICUS was not sunk to such lowness and im-"potence, that the price of his murder should "remain with the murderer:" and by a Letter to PISO, he renounced his friendship. Some add, that he commanded him to depart the province. Nor did PISO tarry longer, but took ship, yet checked her sailing, in order to return with the more quickness, should the death of GERMANICUS the while leave the Government of Syria vacant.

GERMANICUS, after a small revival, drooping again, when his end approached, spoke on this wise to his attending friends. "Were I "to yield to the destiny of nature, Just, even "then, were my complaints against the Gods, "for hurrying me from my parents, my chil-"dren, and my country, by a hasty death, in "the prime of life. Now, shortened in my "course by the malignity of PISO, and his "wife, to your breasts I commit my last prayers.

"Tell

" Tell my father, tell my brother, with what
" violent perſecutions afflicted, with what mor-
" tal ſnares circumvented, I end a moſt miſer-
" able life by death of all others the worſt.
" All they whoſe hopes in my fortune, all
" they whoſe kindred blood, and even they
" whoſe envy, poſſeſſed them with impreſ-
" ſions about me whilſt living, ſhall bewail me
" dead, that once great in glory, and ſurvive-
" ing ſo many wars, I fell at laſt by the dark
" devices of a woman. To you place will be
" left to complain in the Senate, place to in-
" voke the aid and vengeance of the Laws.
" To commemorate the dead with ſlothful
" wailings, is not the principal office of friends:
" They are to remember his dying wiſhes, to
" fulfil his laſt deſires. Even ſtrangers will
" lament GERMANICUS. You are my friends;
" if you loved me rather than my fortune, you
" will vindicate your friendſhip. Shew the
" people of Rome my wife, her who is the
" grand-daughter of AUGUSTUS, and enume-
" rate to them our offspring, even ſix children.
" Their compaſſion will ſurely attend you who
" accuſe; and the accuſed, if they pretend
" clandeſtine warrants of iniquity, will not be
" believed; if believed, not pardoned." His
friends, as a pledge of their fidelity, touching
the hand of the dying Prince, ſwore that they
would forego their lives ſooner than their re-
venge. Then turning to his wife, he beſought
her, " That in tenderneſs to his memory, in
" tenderneſs to their common children, ſhe

"would baniſh her haughty ſpirit, yield to her "hoſtile fortune; nor, upon her return to "Rome, by an impotent competition for rule-"ing, irritate thoſe who were maſters of rule." So much openly, and more in ſecret, whence he was believed to have warned her of guile and danger from TIBERIUS. Soon after he expired, to the heavy ſorrow of the province, and of all the neighbouring countries; inſomuch that remote nations and foreign Kings were mourners: ſuch had been his complacency to our confederates; ſuch his humanity to his enemies! Alike venerable he was, whether you ſaw him, or heard him; and without ever departing from the grave port and dignity of his ſublime rank, he yet lived deſtitute of arrogance, and untouched by envy.

THE funeral, which was performed without exteriour pomp or a proceſſion of images, drew its ſolemnity from the loud praiſes and amiable memory of his virtues. There were thoſe who, from the lovelineſs of his perſon, his age, his manner of dying, and even from the proximity of places where both departed, compared him, in the circumſtances of his fate, to the Great ALEXANDER; "each of a grace-"ful perſon, each of illuſtrious deſcent; in "years neither much exceeding thirty; both "victims to the malice and machinations of "their own people, in the midſt of foreign "nations; but GERMANICUS, gentle towards "his friends, his pleaſures moderate, confined "to one wife, all his children by one bed;

"nor

" nor less a warriour, though not so rash, how-
" ever hindered from a final reduction of Ger-
" many, broken by him in so many victories,
" and ready for the yoke. So that had he
" been sole arbiter of things, had he acted with
" the Sovereignty and title of Royalty, he had
" easier overtaken him in the glory of con-
" quests, as he surpassed him in clemency, in
" moderation, and in other virtues." His body, before its commitment to the pile, was exhibited naked in the Forum of Antioch, the place where the pile was erected. Whether it bore the marks of poyson, remained undecided: for people, as they were divided in their affections, as they pitied GERMANICUS, and presumed the guilt of PISO, or were partial to him, gave opposite accounts.

IT was next debated amongst the legates of the Legions, and the other Senators there, to whom should be committed the administration of Syria: and, after the faint efforts of others, it was long disputed between VIBIUS MARSUS and CNEIUS SENTIUS. MARSUS at last yielded to SENTIUS, the older man, and the more vehement competitor. By him one MARTINA, infamous in that province for practices in poisoning, and a close confident of PLANCINA, was sent to Rome, at the suit of VITELLIUS, VERANIUS, and others, who were preparing criminal articles against PISO and PLANCINA, as against persons evidently guilty.

AGRIPPINA, though overwhelmed with sorrow, and her body indisposed, yet impatient

of all delays to her revenge, imbarked with the ashes of GERMANICUS, and her children, attended with universal commiseration: "That "a Lady, in quality a Princess, wont to be be- "held in her late splendid wedlock with ap- "plauses and adorations, was now seen bear- "ing in her bosom her husband's funeral urn, "uncertain of vengeance for him, and fearful "for herself, unfortunate in her fruitfulness, "and from so many children obnoxious to so "many blows of fortune." PISO, the while, was overtaken at the Isle of Cous by a message, "that GERMANICUS was deceased," and received it intemperately, slew victims and repaired with thanksgiving to the Temples. Yet, however immoderate and undisguised was his joy, more arrogant and insulting proved that of PLANCINA, who immediately threw off her mourning, which for the death of a sister she wore, and assumed a dress adapted to gaiety and gladness.

ABOUT him flocked the Centurions with officious representations, "That upon him "particularly were bent the affections and "zeal of the Legions, and he should proceed "to resume the province, at first injuriously "taken from him, and now destitute of a Go- "vernor." As he therefore consulted what he had best pursue, his son MARCUS PISO advised "a speedy journey to Rome. Hitherto, "he said, nothing past expiation, was com- "mitted; neither were impotent suspicions to "be dreaded; nor the idle blazonings of fame.

" His variance and contention with GERMA-
" NICUS was, perhaps, ſubject to popular hate
" and averſion, but to no proſecution or pe-
" nalty; and, by bereaving him of the pro-
" vince, his enemies were gratified. But if
" he returned thither, as SENTIUS would cer-
" tainly oppoſe him with arms, a civil war
" would thence be actually begun. Neither
" would the Centurions and ſoldiers perſiſt in
" his party, men with whom the recent me-
" mory of their late Commander, and an in-
" veterate love to the Cæſars in general, were
" ſtill prevalent."

DOMITIUS CELER, one in intimate credit with PISO, argued on the contrary, " That
" the preſent event muſt by all means be im-
" proved; it was PISO, and not SENTIUS, who
" had commiſſion to govern Syria; upon him
" were conferred the juriſdiction of Prætor,
" and the badges of Magiſtracy, and with him
" the Legions were intruſted. So that if acts
" of hoſtility were by his opponents attempted,
" with how much better warrant could he
" avow aſſuming arms in his own right and
" defence, who was thus veſted with the autho-
" rity of General, and acted under ſpecial or-
" ders from the Emperor. Rumours too were
" to be neglected, and left to periſh with
" time. In truth, to the ſallies and violence
" of recent hate, the innocent were often un-
" equal. But were he once poſſeſſed of the
" Army, and had well augmented his forces,
" many things, not to be foreſeen, would from

" fortune derive ſucceſs. Are we then pre-
" poſterouſly haſtening to arrive at Rome with
" the aſhes of GERMANICUS, that you may
" there fall, unheard and undefended, a victim
" to the wailings of AGRIPPINA, a prey to
" the paſſionate populace governed by the firſt
" impreſſions of rumour? LIVIA, it is true,
" is your confederate, TIBERIUS is your friend;
" but both ſecretly: and indeed none will more
" pompouſly bewail the violent fate of GER-
" MANICUS, than ſuch as do moſt ſincerely
" rejoice for it."

PISO, of himſelf prompt to violent purſuits, was with no great labour perſuaded into this opinion, and, in a Letter tranſmitted to TIBERIUS, accuſed GERMANICUS " of luxury and
" pride; that for himſelf, he had been ex-
" pulſed, to leave room for dangerous deſigns
" againſt the State, and now reſumed, with his
" former faith and loyalty, the care of the
" Army." In the mean time he put DOMITIUS on board a galley, and ordered him to avoid appearing upon the Coaſts or amongſt the Iſles, but, through the main ſea, to ſail to Syria. The deſerters, who from all quarters were flocking to him in crowds, he formed into companies, and armed all the retainers to the Camp; then ſailing over to the continent, intercepted a regiment of recruits, upon their march into Syria, and wrote to the ſmall Kings of Cilicia to aſſiſt him with preſent ſuccours. Nor was the younger PISO ſlow in proſecuting all the

meaſures

measures of war, though to adventure a war had been against his sentiments and advice.

As they coasted Lycia and Pamphylia, they encountered the ships which carried AGRIPPINA, with hostile spirits on each side, and each at first prepared for combat; but as equal dread of one another possessed both, they proceeded not further than mutual contumelies. VIBIUS MARSUS particularly summoned PISO, as a criminal, to Rome, there to make his defence. He answered, with derision, "That "when the Prætor, who was to sit upon poy-"sonings, had assigned a day to the accusers "and the accused, he would attend." DOMITIUS, the while, landing at Laodicea, a city of Syria, would have proceeded to the winter-quarters of the sixth Legion, which he believed to be the most prone to engage in novel attempts, but was prevented by PACUVIUS, its commander. SENTIUS represented this by Letter to PISO, and warned him, "at his peril to "infect the Camp by ministers of corruption, "or to assail the province by war," and drew into a body such as he knew loved GERMANICUS, or such as were averse to his foes. Upon them he inculcated with much ardour, that PISO was with open arms attacking the majesty of the Prince, and invading the Roman state; and then marched at the head of a puissant body, equipped for battle, and resolute to engage.

NEITHER failed PISO, though his enterprizes had thus far miscarried, to apply the securest

remedies to his present perplexities, and therefore seized a Castle of Cilicia strongly fortified, its name Celendris. For, to the Auxiliary Cilicians, sent him by the petty Kings, he had joined his body of deserters, as also the recruits lately intercepted, with all his own and PLANCINA's slaves; and thus in number and bulk, had of the whole composed a Legion. To them he thus harangued; "I, who am the "Lieutenant of CÆSAR, am yet violently ex-"cluded from the province which to me "CÆSAR has committed; not excluded by "the Legions, (for by their invitation I am "arrived) but by SENTIUS, who thus disguises, "under feigned crimes against me, his own "animosity, and personal hate. But with con-"fidence you may stand in battle, where the "opposite army, upon the sight of PISO, a "Commander lately by themselves stiled their "*Father*, will certainly refuse to fight; they "know too, that were right to decide it, I "am the stronger; and of no mean puissance "in a trial at arms." He then arrayed his men without the fortifications, on a hill steep and craggy, for all the rest was begirt by the sea. Against them stood the Veterans regularly embattled, and supported with a body of reserve; so that here appeared the force of men, there only the terror and stubbornness of situation. On PISO's side was no spirit, no hope, nor even weapons, save those of rustics, for instant necessity hastily acquired. As soon as they came to blows, the issue was no longer doubtful

doubtful than while the Roman Cohorts ſtruggled up the ſteep. The Cilicians then fled, and ſhut themſelves up in the Caſtle.

PISO having the while attempted in vain to ſtorm the fleet, which rode at a ſmall diſtance, as ſoon as he returned, preſented himſelf upon the walls; where, by a ſucceſſion of paſſionate complaints and intreaties, now bemoaning in agonies the bitterneſs of his lot, then calling and cajoling every particular ſoldier by his name, and by rewards tempting all, he laboured to excite a ſedition; and thus much he had already effected, that the Eagle-bearer of the ſixth Legion revolted to him with his Eagle. This alarmed SENTIUS, and inſtantly he commanded the cornets and trumpets to ſound, a mount to be raiſed, the ladders placed, and the braveſt men to mount, and others to pour from the Engines volleys of darts, and ſtones, and flaming torches. The obſtinacy of PISO was at laſt vanquiſhed; and he deſired, "that, upon delivering his arms, he might re-"main in the Caſtle till the Emperor's plea-"ſure, to whom he would commit the Go-"vernment of Syria, were known;" conditions which were not accepted, nor was ought granted him, ſave ſhips, and a paſſport to Rome.

AFTER the illneſs of GERMANICUS became noiſed abroad there, and all its circumſtances, like rumours magnified by diſtance, were related with many aggravations, ſadneſs ſeized the people. They burned with indignation, and even

even poured out in plaints the anguish of their souls: "For this, they said, he had been ba-
"nished to the extremities of the Empire, for
"this the province of Syria was committed to
"PISO, and these the fruits of LIVIA's myste-
"rious conferences with PLANCINA. Truly
"had our fathers spoken concerning his father
"DRUSUS, that the possessors of rule beheld
"with an evil eye the popular spirit of their
"sons; nor for aught else were they sacrificed,
"but for their equal treatment of the Roman
"people, and studying to restore the popular
"state." These lamentations of the populace were, upon the tidings of his death, so inflamed, that, without staying for an Edict from the Magistrates, without a Decree of Senate, they by general consent assumed a vacation; the public Courts were deserted, private houses shut up, prevalent every-where were the symptoms of woe, heavy groans, dismal silence; the whole a scene of real sorrow, and nothing devised for form or shew; and, though they forbore not to bear the exterior marks and habiliments of mourning, in their souls they mourned still deeper. Accidentally some Merchants from Syria, who had left GERMANICUS still alive, brought more joyful news of his condition. These were instantly believed, and instantly proclaimed: each, as fast as they met, informed others, who forthwith conveyed their light information with improvements, and accumulated joy, to more; all flew with exultation through the city, and, to pay their thanks

and

and vows, burſt open the Temple doors. The night too heightened their credulity, and affirmation was bolder in the dark. Nor did TIBERIUS reſtrain the courſe of theſe fictions, but left them to vaniſh with time. Hence with more bitterneſs they afterwards grieved for him, as if anew ſnatched from them.

HONOURS were invented and decreed to GERMANICUS, various as the affections and genius of the particular Senators who propoſed them; "that his name ſhould be ſung in the "Salian Hymns; Curule Chairs placed for "him amongſt the Prieſts of AUGUSTUS, and "over theſe Chairs Oaken Crowns hung; his "Statue in Ivory precede in the Circenſian "Games; none but one of the Julian race be, "in the room of GERMANICUS, created Fla-"men or Augur:" Triumphal arches were added, one at Rome, one upon the banks of the Rhine, one upon mount Amanus in Syria, with inſcriptions of his exploits, and a teſtimony ſubjoined, "that he died for the Com-"monwealth;" a Sepulchre at Antioch, where his corps was burnt; a tribunal at Epidaphne, the place where he ended his life. The multitude of ſtatues, the many places where divine honours were appointed to be paid him, would not be eaſily recounted. They would have alſo decreed him, as to one of the maſters of Eloquence, a golden ſhield, ſignal in bulk as in metal; but TIBERIUS offered "to dedicate "one himſelf, ſuch as was uſual and of a like "ſize with others; for that Eloquence was

"not

" not measured by fortune; and it was suffi-
" cient glory, if he were ranked with ancient
" Writers." The Battalion called after the name of the JUNII, was now, by the Equestrian order, entitled the Battalion of GERMANICUS, and a rule made, that on every fifteenth of July, these troops should follow, as their standard, the effigies of GERMANICUS. Of these honours many continue, some were instantly omitted, or by time are utterly obliterated.

IN the height of this public sorrow, LIVIA, sister to GERMANICUS, and married to DRUSUS, was delivered of male twins; an event even in middling families, rare and acceptable, and to TIBERIUS such mighty matter of joy, that he could not refrain boasting to the fathers, " that to no Roman of the same emi-
" nence, before him, were ever two children
" born at a birth. For to his own glory he turned all things, even things fortuitous. But to the people, at such a sad conjuncture, it brought fresh anguish, as they feared that the family of DRUSUS, thus increased, would press heavy upon that of GERMANICUS.

THE same year the lubricity of women was by the Senate restrained with severe laws; and it was provided, " that no woman should become
" venal, if her father, grandfather or husband,
" were Roman Knights." For VISTILIA, a Lady born of a Prætorian family, had, before the Ædiles, published herself a prostitute, upon a custom allowed by our ancestors, who thought that prostitutes were, by thus avowing their infamy,

famy, ſufficiently puniſhed. TITIDIUS LABEO too was queſtioned, that in the manifeſt guilt of his wife, he had neglected the puniſhment preſcribed by the law; but he alledged, that the ſixty days allowed for conſultation, were not elapſed; and it was deemed ſufficient to proceed againſt VISTILIA, who was baniſhed to the Iſle of Seriphos. Meaſures were alſo taken for exterminating the ſolemnities of the Jews and Ægyptians; and by decree of Senate four thouſand deſcendents of franchiſed ſlaves, all tainted with that ſuperſtition, but of proper ſtrength and age, were to be tranſported to Sardinia, to reſtrain the Sardinian robbers; and if, through the malignity of the climate, they periſhed, deſpicable would be the loſs. The reſt were doomed to depart Italy, unleſs by a ſtated day they renounced their profane rites.

AFTER this, TIBERIUS repreſented, that, to ſupply the place of OCCIA, who had preſided ſeven and fifty years with the higheſt ſanctimony over the Veſtals, another Virgin was to be choſen, and thanked FONTEIUS AGRIPPA, and ASINIUS POLLIO, that, by offering their daughters, they contended in good offices towards the Commonwealth. POLLIO's daughter was preferred, for nothing elſe but that her mother had ever continued in the ſame wedlock; for AGRIPPA, by a divorce, had impaired the credit of his houſe. Upon her who was poſtponed, TIBERIUS, in conſolation, beſtowed for her fortune a thouſand great ſeſterces.*

* Twenty-five thouſand Crowns.

As

As the people murmured at the ſevere dearth of corn, he ſettled grain at a price certain to the buyer, and undertook to pay fourteen pence a meaſure to the ſeller. Neither yet would he accept the name of *Father of his Country*, a title offered him before, and for theſe bounties, now again; nay, he ſharply rebuked ſuch as ſtiled theſe proviſions of his, *divine occupations*, and him, *Lord*. Hence freedom of ſpeech became cramped and inſecure under ſuch a Prince, one who dreaded liberty, and abhorred flattery.

I find in the Writers of thoſe times, ſome of them Senators, that in the Senate were read Letters from ADGANDESTRIUS, Prince of the Cattians, undertaking to diſpatch ARMINIUS, if in order to it poiſon were ſent him; and an anſwer returned, "that not by frauds and "blows in the dark, but armed, and in the face "of the ſun, the Roman people took vengeance "on their foes." In this TIBERIUS gained equal glory with our ancient Captains, who rejected and diſcloſed a plot to poiſon King PYRRHUS. ARMINIUS, however, who, upon the departure of the Romans, and expulſion of MAROBODUUS, aimed at Royalty, became thence engaged in a ſtruggle againſt the Liberty of his country, and, in defence of their Liberty, his country-men took arms againſt him: So that, while with various fortune he contended with them, he fell by the treachery of his own kindred. The deliverer of Germany without doubt he was, one who aſſailed the Roman

power, not like other Kings and Leaders, in its firſt elements, but in its higheſt pride and elevation; one ſometimes beaten in battle, but never conquered in war. Thirty-ſeven years he lived, twelve he commanded; and, amongſt theſe barbarous nations, his memory is ſtill celebrated in their ſongs, though his name be unknown in the Annals of the Greeks, who only admire their own national exploits and renown; nor, even amongſt the Romans, does this great Captain bear much diſtinction, while, overlooking inſtances of modern proweſs and glory, we only delight to magnify men and feats of old.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK III.

The SUMMARY.

A GRIPPINA *returns to Italy with the ashes and children of* GERMANICUS. *The passionate Zeal of the people towards her, and them, and his memory. His funeral; with the behaviour of* TIBERIUS *and* LIVIA, *on that occasion.* DRUSUS *returns to Illyricum, as does* PISO *to Rome, and is tried as the poisoner of* GERMANICUS, *despairs of acquittal, and kills himself.* TACFARINAS *renews the war in Africa, and is repressed by* APRONIUS *the Proconsul there. The trial and condemnation of* LEPIDA ÆMYLIA, *for adultery and poisoning. The law* Papia Poppæa, *long abused, now restrained. Fresh commotions in Africa, by* TACFARINAS. JUNIUS BLÆSUS *sent to oppose him. Certain Roman Knights condemned upon the Law of Majesty violated. Revolts in both Gauls, conducted by* JULIUS SACROVIR, *and* JULIUS FLORUS; *the issue tragical to the revolters, and their chiefs.* C. LUTORIUS, *a Roman Knight, condemned upon the Law of Majesty, and executed in prison. The cure of luxury attempted, and dropped.* DRUSUS *made partner with his father in the power Tribunitial. The Priest of* JUPITER, *not allowed to ballot for a Province. The Greek Sanctuaries, their claims, examined and reformed.* C. SILANUS *condemned for bribery and treason.* JUNIUS BLÆSUS *routs* TACFARINAS, *and takes his brother prisoner.* JUNIA, *the illustrious sister of the famous* MARCUS BRUTUS, *and widow of* CASSIUS, *her death and funeral.*

AGRIP-

AGRIPPINA, notwithſtanding the roughneſs of winter, purſuing without intermiſſion her boiſterous voyage, put in at the Iſland Corcyra, ſituated over-againſt the coaſts of Calabria. Here, to ſettle her ſpirit, ſhe ſpent a few days, violent in her grief, and a ſtranger to patience. Her arrival being the while divulged, all the particular friends to her family, moſtly men of the ſword, many who had ſerved under GERMANICUS, and even many ſtrangers from the neighbouring towns, ſome in officiouſneſs towards the Emperor, more for company, crowded to the City of Brunduſium, the readieſt port in her way, and the ſafeſt landing. As ſoon as the fleet appeared in the deep, inſtantly were filled, not the port alone and adjacent ſhores, but the walls and roofs, and as far as the eye would go; filled with the ſorrowing multitude. They were conſulting one from one, how they ſhould receive her, landing, "whether with univerſal ſilence, or with ſome "note of acclamation." Nor was it manifeſt which they would do, when the fleet ſailed ſlowly in, not, as uſual, with joyful ſailors and chearful oars, but all things impreſſed with the face of ſadneſs. After ſhe deſcended from the ſhip, accompanied with her two Infants, carrying in her boſom the melancholy Urn, with her eyes caſt ſteddily down; equal and univerſal were the groans of the beholders: nor could you diſtinguiſh relations from ſtrangers, nor the wailings of men from thoſe of women,

unleſs that the new-comers, who were recent in their ſallies of grief, exceeded AGRIPPINA's attendants, wearied out with long lamentations.

TIBERIUS had diſpatched two Prætorian Cohorts, with directions, that the Magiſtrates of Calabria, Apulia and Campania, ſhould pay their laſt offices to the memory of his ſon. Upon the ſhoulders therefore of the Tribunes and Centurions his aſhes were borne; before went the Enſigns, rough and unadorned, with the Faſces reverſed. As they paſſed through the Colonies, the populace were in black, the Knights in purple; and each place, according to its wealth, burnt precious rayment, perfumes, and whatever elſe is uſed in funeral ſolemnities. Even they whoſe cities lay remote, attended. To the Gods of the dead, they ſlew victims, they erected altars, and with tears and united lamentations, teſtified their common ſorrow. DRUSUS came as far as Terracina, with CLAUDIUS the brother of GERMANICUS, and thoſe of his children who had been left at Rome. The Conſuls MARCUS VALERIUS and MARCUS AURELIUS (juſt then entered upon their office) the Senate, and great part of the people, filled the road; a ſcattered proceſſion, each walking and weeping his own way. In this mourning, flattery had no ſhare; for all knew how real was the joy, how hollow the grief of TIBERIUS for the death of GERMANICUS.

TIBE-

TIBERIUS and LIVIA avoided appearing abroad. Public lamentation they thought below their grandeur; or, perhaps, they apprehended that their countenances, examined by all eyes, might ſhew deceitful hearts. That ANTONIA, mother to the deceaſed, bore any part in the Funeral, I do not find either in the Hiſtorians or in the City Journals, though beſides AGRIPPINA, and DRUSUS, and CLAUDIUS, his other relations are likewiſe there recorded by name; whether by ſickneſs ſhe was prevented; or, whether her ſoul, vanquiſhed by ſorrow, could not bear the repreſentation of ſuch a mighty calamity. I would rather believe her to have been conſtrained by TIBERIUS and LIVIA, who left not the palace; and, affecting equal affliction with her, would have it ſeem, that, by the example of the mother, the grandmother too and uncle were detained.

THE day when his remains were repoſited in the Tomb of AUGUSTUS, various were the ſymptoms of public grief; now an awful ſilence, then an uproar of lamentation, the city in every quarter full of proceſſions, the field of Mars in a blaze of torches. Here the ſoldiers under arms, the Magiſtrates without the Inſignia, the people by their tribes, all cried in concert, that "the Commonwealth was fallen, and "henceforth there was no remain of hope;" ſo openly and boldly, that you would have believed they had forgot who bore ſway. But nothing pierced TIBERIUS more than the ardent affections of the people towards AGRIP-

PINA, while they gave her ſuch titles as "the "ornament of her country, the only blood of "AUGUSTUS, the ſingle inſtance of ancient "virtue;" and, while applying to Heaven, they implored "the continuance of her Iſſue, "that they might ſurvive the perſecuting and "malignant."

THERE were thoſe who miſſed the Pomp of a public Funeral, and compared with this the ſuperior honours and magnificence beſtowed by AUGUSTUS on that of DRUSUS the father of GERMANICUS; "that he himſelf had tra-"velled, in the ſharpneſs of winter, as far as "Pavia, and thence, continuing by the corps, "had with it entered the city; round his head "were placed the Images of the CLAUDII and "JULII; he was mourned in the Forum; his "Encomium pronounced in the Roſtra's; all "ſorts of honours, ſuch as were the inven-"tions of our anceſtors, or the improvements "of their poſterity, were heaped upon him. "But to GERMANICUS were denied the ordi-"nary Solemnities, and ſuch as were due to "every diſtinguiſhed Roman. In a foreign "country indeed, his corps, becauſe of the "long journey, was burnt without pomp; but "afterwards, it was but juſt to have ſupplied "the ſcantineſs of the firſt ceremony by the "ſolemnity of the laſt. His brother met him "but one day's journey, his uncle not even at "the gate. Where were thoſe generous ob-"ſervances of the ancients, the Effigies of the "dead borne on a bed, Hymns compoſed in

"memory

" memory of their virtue, with the Oblations
" of praiſes and tears? Where, at leaſt, were
" the ceremonies, and even outſide of ſor-
" row?"

ALL this was known to TIBERIUS; and, to ſuppreſs the diſcourſes of the populace, he publiſhed an Edict, "that many illuſtrious Ro-
" mans had died for the Commonwealth, but
" none ſo vehemently lamented; this, how-
" ever, was to the glory of himſelf and of all
" men, if a meaſure were obſerved. The ſame
" things which became private families and
" ſmall ſtates, became not Princes and an Im-
" perial people. Freſh grief, indeed, required
" vent and eaſe by lamentation; but, it was
" now time to recover and fortify their minds.
" Thus the deified JULIUS, upon the loſs of
" an only daughter; thus the deified AUGUS-
" TUS, upon the haſty death of his grandſons,
" had both vanquiſhed their ſorrow. More
" ancient examples were unneceſſary, how
" often the Roman people ſuſtained with con-
" ſtancy the ſlaughter of their Armies, the
" death of their Generals, and intire deſtruc-
" tion of their nobleſt families. Princes were
" mortal, the Commonwealth was eternal.
" They ſhould therefore reſume their ſeveral
" vocations." And, becauſe the Megalenſian Games were at hand, he added, "that they
" ſhould even apply to the uſual feſtivities."

THE vacation ended, public affairs were reſumed; DRUSUS departed for the Army in Illyricum, and the minds of all men were bent upon

ſeeing vengeance done upon PISO. They repeated their reſentments, that while he wandered over the delightful countries of Aſia and Greece, he was ſtifling, by contumacious and deceitful delays, the evidences of his crimes; for it was bruited abroad, that MARTINA, ſhe who was famous for poyſonings, and ſent, as I have above related, by CNEIUS SENTIUS towards Rome, was ſuddenly dead at Brunduſium; that poyſon lay concealed in a knot of her hair, but upon her body were found no ſymptoms of ſelf-murder.

PISO, ſending forward his ſon to Rome, with inſtructions how to ſoften the Emperor, proceeded himſelf to DRUSUS. Him he hoped to find leſs rigid for the death of a brother, than favourable for the removal of a rival. TIBERIUS, to make ſhew of a ſpirit perfectly unbiaſſed, received the young man graciouſly, and honoured him with the preſents uſually beſtowed on young Noblemen. The anſwer of DRUSUS to PISO was, "that if the current "rumours were true, he ſtood in the firſt "place of grief and revenge; but he hoped "they were falſe and chimerical, and that the "death of GERMANICUS would be pernicious "to none." This he declared in public, and avoided all privacy. Nor was it doubted but the anſwer was dictated by TIBERIUS, when a youth, otherwiſe eaſy and unwary, practiſed thus the wiles and cunning of age.

PISO having croſſed the ſea of Dalmatia, and left his ſhips at Ancona, took firſt the road of Pice-

Picenum, and then the Flaminian way, following the Legion which was going from Pannonia to Rome, and thence to garrison in Africa. This too became the subject of popular censure, that he officiously mixed with the soldiers, and courted them in their march and quarters. He therefore, to avoid suspicion, or, because when men are in dread, their conduct wavers, did at Narni embark upon the Nar, and thence sailed into the Tiber. By landing at the burying place of the Cæsars, he heightened the wrath of the populace. Besides, he and PLANCINA came ashore in open day, in the face of the city, who were crowding the banks, and proceeded with gay countenances, he attended by a long band of Clients, she by a train of Ladies. There were yet other provocations to hatred, the situation of his house, proudly overlooking the Forum, and adorned and illuminated as for a festival, the banquet and rejoicings held in it, all as public as the place.

THE next day FULCINIUS TRIO arraigned PISO before the Consuls, but was opposed by VITELLIUS, VERANIUS, and others, who had accompanied GERMANICUS. They said, "that "in this prosecution TRIO had no part; nor "did they themselves act as accusers, but only "gathered materials, and, as witnesses, pro-"duced the last injunctions of GERMANICUS." TRIO dropped that accusation, but got leave to call in question his former life. And now the Emperor was desired to undertake the

Trial; a requeſt which the accuſed did not at all oppoſe, dreading the inclinations of the People and Senate. "He knew TIBERIUS, "on the contrary, reſolute in deſpiſing popular "rumours, and in guilt confederate with his "mother; beſides that truth and miſrepreſen-"tations were eaſieſt diſtinguiſhed by a ſingle "judge, but in aſſemblies odium and envy "often prevailed." TIBERIUS was aware of the weight of the Trial, and with what reproaches he was aſſaulted. Admitting therefore a few confidents, he heard the charge of the accuſers, as alſo the apology of the accuſed, and left the cauſe intire to the Senate.

DRUSUS returned the while from Illyricum; and, though the Senate had for the reduction of MAROBODUUS, and other his exploits the ſummer before, decreed him the Triumph of *Ovation*, he poſtponed the honour, and privately entered the city. PISO, for his advocates, deſired TITUS ARRUNTIUS, FULCINIUS, ASINIUS GALLUS, ESERNINUS MARCELLUS, and SEXTUS POMPEIUS. But they all framed different excuſes; and he had, in their room, MARCUS LEPIDUS, LUCIUS PISO, and LIVENEIUS REGULUS. Now earneſt were the expectations of all men, "how great would prove "the fidelity of the friends of GERMANICUS; "what the aſſurance of the criminal, what "the behaviour of TIBERIUS, whether he "would ſufficiently ſmother, or betray his ſen-"timents." He never had a more anxious part; neither did the people ever indulge themſelves

ſelves in ſuch ſecret murmurs againſt their Emperor, nor harbour in ſilence ſeverer ſuſpicions.

When the Senate met, Tiberius made a ſpeech, full of laboured moderation, " that " Piso had been his father's Lieutenant and " friend, and lately appointed by himſelf, at " the direction of the Senate, Coadjutor to " Germanicus, in adminiſtering the affairs of " the Eaſt. Whether he had there by contu- " macy and oppoſition exaſperated the young " Prince, and exulted over his death, or wickedly " procured it, they were then to judge with " minds unprejudiced. For, if he who was " the Lieutenant of my ſon, violated the li- " mits of his commiſſion, caſt off obedience " to his General, and even rejoiced at his de- " ceaſe, and at my affliction; I will deteſt the " man, I will baniſh him from my houſe, and, " for domeſtic injuries exert domeſtic revenge, " not the revenge of an Emperor. But for " you; if his guilt of any man's death what- " ſoever, be diſcovered, ſhew your juſt ven- " geance, and by it ſatisfy yourſelves, ſatisfy " the children of Germanicus, and us his " father, and grand-mother. Conſider too " eſpecially whether he viciated the diſcipline, " and promoted ſedition in the Army, whether " he ſought to debauch the affections of the " ſoldiers, and to recover the province by " arms; or whether theſe allegations are not " publiſhed falſly and with aggravations by the " accuſers, with whoſe over-paſſionate zeal I " am juſtly offended. For, whither tended the

" ſtrip-

" ſtripping the corps, and expoſing it to the
" eyes and examination of the populace; with
" what view was it proclaimed, even to foreign
" nations, that his death was the effect of
" poiſon, if all this was ſtill doubtful, and re-
" mains yet to be tried? It is true, I bewail my
" ſon, and ſhall ever bewail him. But neither
" do I hinder the accuſed to do what in him
" lies to manifeſt his innocence, even at the
" expence of GERMANICUS, if ought blame-
" able was in him. From you I intreat the
" ſame impartiality; let not the connexion of
" my ſorrow with this cauſe, miſlead you to
" take crimes for proved, becauſe they are
" imputed. For PISO; if the tenderneſs of kinſ-
" men, if the faith of friends, has furniſhed
" him with patrons, let them aid him in his
" peril, ſhew their utmoſt eloquence, and exert
" their beſt diligence. To the ſame pains, to
" the ſame firmneſs I exhort the accuſers.
" Thus much, out of the common courſe, we
" will grant to the memory of GERMANICUS,
" that the inqueſt concerning his death, be
" held rather here than in the Forum, in the
" Senate than in the common Tribunals. In
" all the reſt, we will deſcend to the ordinary
" methods. Let no man in this cauſe con-
" ſider DRUSUS's tears; let none regard my
" ſorrow, no more than the probable fictions
" of calumny againſt us."

Two days were then appointed for maintaining the charge, ſix for preparing the defence, and three for making it. FULCINIUS began

began with things ſtale and impertinent, about the ambition and rapine of PISO in his adminiſtration of Spain; things which, though proved, brought him under no penalty, if acquitted of the preſent charge; nor, though he had been cleared of former faults, could he eſcape the load of greater enormities. After him SERVEUS, VERANIUS and VITELLIUS, all with equal zeal, but VITELLIUS, with great Eloquence, urged, " That PISO, in hatred to " GERMANICUS, and paſſionate for innova- " tions, had, by tolerating general licenciouſ- " neſs, and the oppreſſion of the Allies, cor- " rupted the common ſoldiers to that degree, " that by the moſt profligate he was ſtiled " *Father of the Legions.* He had, on the " contrary, been outrageous to the beſt men, " above all to the friends and companions of " GERMANICUS, and, at laſt, by witchcraft and " poyſon deſtroyed GERMANICUS himſelf; " hence the infernal charms and immolations " practiſed by him and PLANCINA. He had " then attacked the Commonwealth with open " arms; and, before he could be brought to " be tried, they were forced to fight and de- " feat him."

IN every article but one his defence was faltering. For, neither his dangerous intrigues in debauching the ſoldiery, nor his abandoning the province to the moſt profligate and rapacious, nor even his inſults to GERMANICUS, were to be denied. He ſeemed only to wipe off the charge of poyſon; a charge which

in

in truth was not ſufficiently corroborated by the accuſers, ſince they had only to alledge, "that at an entertainment of GERMANICUS, "PISO, while he ſat above him, with his "hands poyſoned the meat." It appeared abſurd, that, amongſt ſo many attending ſlaves beſides his own, in ſo great a preſence, and under the eye of GERMANICUS, he would attempt it. He himſelf required that the waiters might be racked, and offered to the rack his own domeſtics. But the Judges were implacable, from different motives, TIBERIUS for the war raiſed in the province; and the Senate could never be convinced that the death of GERMANICUS was not the effect of fraud. Some moved for the Letters written to PISO from Rome, a motion oppoſed by TIBERIUS no leſs than by PISO. From without, at the ſame time, were heard the cries of the people, "that if he eſcaped the judgment of "the Senate, they would with their own hands "deſtroy him." They had already dragged his Statues to the place from whence Malefactors were precipitated, and there had broken them; but by the orders of TIBERIUS they were reſcued and replaced. PISO was put into a litter and carried back by a Tribune of a Prætorian Cohort; an attendance variouſly underſtood, whether that officer was intended as a guard for his ſafety, or a miniſter of death.

PLANCINA was under equal public hatred, but had more ſecret favour; hence it was doubted how far TIBERIUS durſt proceed againſt her.

her. For herſelf; while her husband's hopes were yet plauſible, ſhe profeſſed that "ſhe "would accompany his fortune whatever it "were, and, if he fell, fall with him." But when, by the ſecret ſollicitations of LIVIA, ſhe had ſecured her own pardon, ſhe began by degrees to drop her husband, and to make a ſeparate defence. After this fatal warning, he doubted whether he ſhould make any further efforts; but, by the advice of his ſons, fortifying his mind, he again entered the Senate. There he found the proſecution renewed, ſuffered the declared indignation of the fathers, and ſaw all things croſs and terrible; but nothing ſo much daunted him as to behold TIBERIUS, without mercy, without wrath, cloſe, dark, unmoveable, and bent againſt every acceſs of tenderneſs. When he was brought home, as if he were preparing for his further defence the next day, he wrote ſomewhat, which he ſealed and delivered to his Freedman. He then waſhed and anointed, and took the uſual care of his perſon. Late in the night, his wife leaving the chamber, he ordered the door to be ſhut, and was found, at break of day, with his throat cut, his ſword lying by him.

I remember to have heard from ancient men, that in the hands of PISO was frequently ſeen a bundle of writings, which he did not expoſe, but which, as his friends conſtantly averred, "contained the Letters of TIBERIUS, "and his cruel orders towards GERMANICUS; "that he reſolved to lay them before the Fa-

" thers, and to charge the Emperor, but was
" deluded by the hollow promiſes of SEJA-
" NUS; and that neither did PISO die by his
" own hands, but by thoſe of an expreſs and
" private executioner." I dare affirm neither;
nor yet ought I to conceal the relations of ſuch
as ſtill lived when I was a youth. TIBERIUS,
with an aſſumed air of ſadneſs, complained in
the Senate, that PISO, by that ſort of death,
had aimed to load him with obloquy, and asked
many queſtions, how he had paſſed his laſt day,
how his laſt night? The Freedman anſwered
to moſt with prudence, to ſome in confuſion.
The Emperor then recited the Letter ſent him
by PISO. It was conceived almoſt in theſe
words; " Oppreſſed by a combination of my
" enemies, and the imputation of falſe crimes,
" ſince no place is left here to truth and my
" innocence; to the immortal Gods I appeal,
" that towards you, CÆSAR, I have lived with
" ſincere faith, nor towards your mother with
" leſs reverence. For my ſons, I implore her
" protection and yours; my ſon CNEIUS had
" no ſhare in my late management, whatever
" it were, ſince, all the while, he abode at
" Rome. My ſon MARCUS diſſuaded me from
" returning to Syria. Oh that, old as I am, I
" had yielded to him, rather than he, young
" as he is, to me! Hence, more paſſionately, I
" pray, that, innocent as he is, he ſuffer not in
" the puniſhment of my guilt. By a ſeries of
" ſervices for five and forty years, I entreat
" you, by our former fellowſhip in the Con-

" ſulſhip, by the memory of the deified AU-
" GUSTUS, your father, by his friendſhip to
" me, by mine to you, I entreat you for the
" life and fortune of my unhappy ſon. It is
" the laſt requeſt which I ſhall ever make you."
Of PLANCINA he ſaid nothing.

TIBERIUS, upon this, cleared the young man of any crime as to the Civil War; he alledged " the orders of his father, which a ſon could " not diſobey." He likewiſe bewailed " that " noble houſe, and even the grievous lot of " PISO himſelf, however deſerved." For PLANCINA he pleaded with ſhame and guilt, alledgeing the importunity of his mother, againſt whom more particularly the ſecret murmurs of the beſt people waxed bitter and poignant. " Was it " then the tender part of a grand-mother to " admit to her ſight the murdereſs of her grand-" ſon, to be intimate with her, and to ſnatch " her from the vengeance of the Senate? To " GERMANICUS alone was denied what by the " Laws was granted to every Citizen. By " VITELLIUS and VERANIUS, the cauſe of " that Prince was mourned and pleaded; by " the Emperor and his mother, PLANCINA " was defended and protected. Henceforth " ſhe might purſue her infernal arts, ſo ſucceſs-" fully tried, repeat her poiſonings, and by " her arts and poiſons aſſail AGRIPPINA and " her children, and, with the blood of that " moſt miſerable houſe, ſatiate the worthy " grand-mother and uncle." In this Mock-Trial two days were waſted; TIBERIUS, all the

the while, animating the ſons of PISO to defend their mother. When the pleaders and witneſſes had vigorouſly puſhed the charge, and no reply was made, commiſeration prevailed over hatred. The Conſul AURELIUS COTTA was firſt asked his opinion; for, when the Emperor collected the voices, the Magiſtrates likewiſe voted. COTTA's ſentence was, "That "the name of PISO ſhould be razed from the "Annals, part of his eſtate forfeited, part "granted to his ſon CNEIUS, upon changing "that name; his ſon MARCUS ſhould be di-"veſted of his dignity, and, content with fifty "thouſand great ſeſterces, be baniſhed for ten "years; and to PLANCINA, at the requeſt of "LIVIA, indemnity ſhould be granted."

MUCH of this ſentence was abated by the Emperor, particularly that of ſtriking PISO's name out of the Annals, when "that of MARC "ANTHONY, who made war upon his coun-"try, that of JULUS ANTONIUS, who had by "adultery violated the houſe of AUGUSTUS, "continued ſtill there." He alſo exempted MARCUS PISO from the ignominy of degradation, and left him his whole paternal inheritance; for, as I have already often obſerved, he was incorruptible by any temptations of money, and from the ſhame of having acquitted PLANCINA, rendered then more than uſually mild. He likewiſe withſtood the motion of VALERIUS MESSALINUS, "for erect-"ing a golden Statue in the Temple of Mars "the Avenger," and that of CÆCINA SEVE-

RUS,

RUS, " for founding an Altar to Revenge." Such Monuments " as these, he argued, were " only fit to be raised upon foreign victories; " domestic evils were to be buried in sadness." MESSALINUS had added, " That to TIBERIUS, " LIVIA, ANTONIA, AGRIPPINA and DRUSUS, " public thanks were to be rendered for have- " ing revenged the death of GERMANICUS;" but had omitted to mention CLAUDIUS. MESSALINUS was asked by LUCIUS ASPRENAS, in the presence of the Senate, " whether by de- " sign he had omitted him?" and then at last the name of CLAUDIUS was subjoined. To me, the more I revolve the events of late or of old, the more of mockery and slipperiness appears in all human wisdom, and the transactions of men; for, in popular fame, in the hopes, wishes and veneration of the public, all men were rather destined to the Empire, than he for whom fortune then reserved the sovereignty in the dark.

A few days after, VITELLIUS, VERANIUS and SERVEUS, were by the Senate preferred to the honours of the Priesthood, at the motion of TIBERIUS. To FULCINIUS he promised his interest and suffrage towards preferment, but advised him " not to embarass his " Eloquence by impetuosity." This was the end of revenging the Death of GERMANICUS, an affair ambiguously related, not by those only who then lived and interested themselves in it, but likewise in following times; so dark and intricate are all the highest transactions, while

ſome hold for certain facts, the moſt precarious hearſays, others turn facts into falſhood, and both are ſwallowed and improved by the credulity of poſterity. DRUSUS went now without the City, there to renew the ceremony of the Auſpices, and preſently re-entred in the Triumph of *Ovation*. A few days after died VIPSANIA his mother, of all the children of AGRIPPA, the only one who made a pacific end; the reſt manifeſtly periſhed, or are believed to have periſhed, by the ſword, poiſon, and famine.

THE ſame year, TACFARINAS, whom I have mentioned to have been the former ſummer defeated by CAMILLUS, renewed the war in Africa, firſt by roving devaſtations, ſo ſudden that they eſcaped unchaſtiſed; next he ſacked towns, and bore away mighty plunder; at laſt he begirt a Roman Cohort, a ſmall diſtance from the river Pagida. It was a fort commanded by DECRIUS, a brave ſoldier, exerciſed in war, and now touched with the ignominy of ſuch a ſiege. Encouraging therefore his men to offer open battle, he drew them up without the walls. At the firſt ſhock the Cohort was repulſed; but the reſolute DECRIUS braved the enemy's darts, oppoſed the runaways, and upbraided the ſtandard-bearers, "that, upon vagabonds, and undiſciplined robbers, the Roman ſoldiers turned their backs." He had already received ſeveral wounds, and his eye was beat out, but ſtill faced the foe, nor ceaſed fighting, till, wholly deſerted by his men, he at laſt was ſlain.

LUCIUS APRONIUS had ſucceeded CAMILLUS. As ſoon as he learnt this defeat, piqued rather by the infamy of his own men, than the glory of the enemy, he practiſed an exemplary ſeverity, at this time rare, but agreeable to ancient diſcipline, by executing with a club every tenth man of that ignominious Cohort, drawn by lot. Such too was the effect of this rigour, that thoſe very forces of TACFARINAS, as they beſieged the fortreſs of Thala, were routed by a ſquadron of five hundred Veterans. In this battle RUFUS HELVIUS, a common ſoldier, acquired the glory of ſaving a Citizen, and was by APRONIUS preſented with the Spear and Collar. TIBERIUS added the Civic Crown, complaining, rather than reſenting, that APRONIUS had not, in right of Proconſul, granted that alſo. TACFARINAS, now his Numidians were diſmayed, and bent againſt ſieges, made a deſultory war, flying when attacked, and, upon a retreat, aſſaulting the rear. As long as the African obſerved this method, he, with impunity to himſelf, mocked and haraſſed the Romans; but after he drew down to the maritime places, the allurements and quantities of plunder confined him to his Camp. Hither APRONIUS CESIANUS was, by his father, diſpatched with the cavalry and auxiliary Cohorts, to which was added a detachment of the beſt Legionary foot; and, having ſucceſsfully fought the Numidians, drove them back to the deſarts.

AT Rome the while, EMILIA LEPIDA, who, besides the nobleness of the Emilian family, was great grand-daughter to POMPEY and SYLLA, was charged with imposing a false birth upon PUBLIUS QUIRINIUS her husband, a man rich and childless. The charge was swelled with "adulteries, poisonings, and treasonable dealings with the Chaldeans about "the fate and continuance of the Imperial "house." Her brother MANIUS LEPIDUS defended her; and, guilty and infamous as she was, the persecution from her husband (continued after their divorce) drew compassion upon her. In this Trial, it was no easy matter to discover the heart of TIBERIUS, with such subtlety he mixed and shifted the symptoms of indignation and clemency. At first, he besought the Senate, "not to meddle "with the articles of treason;" and presently engaged MARCUS SERVILIUS, once Consul, and the other witnesses, to produce the very evidences of treason which he would have appeared desirous to suppress. Yet he took the slaves of LEPIDA from the guard of soldiers, and surrendered them to the Consuls; nor would he suffer them to be examined by torture, as to her practises against himself; he even excused DRUSUS from voting first, as Consul elect. This some understood as an instance of complaisance, "that the rest might not be "obliged to follow the example of DRUSUS." Some ascribe it to cruelty, "for that only "with

" with design to have her condemned, that " concession was made."

THE public Games interrupted the Trial, and in the recess, LEPIDA, accompanied with other Ladies of great quality, entered the Theatre. There, with doleful lamentations, invoking her illustrious ancestors, especially the great POMPEY, whose statues stood round in view, the Theatre itself a monument of his raising, she excited such universal commiseration, that the Spectators burst into tears; and uttering cruel and direful imprecations against QUIRINIUS, declared their indignation, " That to " his childless old age, and mean blood, should " be given a Lady once designed for the wife " of LUCIUS CÆSAR, and for the daughter-" in-law of the deified AUGUSTUS." At last, by racking her slaves, her crimes were made manifest, and the judgment of RUBELLIUS BLANDUS prevailed, for interdicting her from fire and water. To this judgment DRUSUS assented, though others had proposed a milder. That her estate should not be forfeited, was granted to SCAURUS, who by her had had a daughter. And now, after condemnation, TIBERIUS advertised the Senate, that " from the " slaves too of QUIRINIUS he had learnt her " attempts to poison him."

As a consolation to the illustrious Families of Rome, for their late calamities (for the *Calpurnian* house had suffered the loss of PISO, and, just after, the *Emilian* house that of LEPIDA) DECIUS SILANUS was now restored to

the *Junian* family. I will briefly recite his disgrace. As against the Republic, the fortune of AUGUSTUS was prevalent, so, in his family, it was unhappy, by the lewdness of his daughter and grand-daughter, whom he turned out of Rome, and with death or exile punished their adulterers. For, to a fault common between men and women, he gave the heinous name of sacrilege and treason; and thence had a colour for departing from the tenderness of our ancestors, and for violating his own laws. But I shall hereafter relate the fate of others from this his severity, as also the other transactions of that time, if, having finished my present undertaking, life remains for other studies. SILANUS, who had viciated the grand-daughter of AUGUSTUS, though he felt no higher indignation than to be excluded from the friendship and presence of the Emperor, yet understood this as a denunciation of banishment; nor durst he, till the reign of TIBERIUS, supplicate the Prince and Senate for leave to return; and then only trusted to the prevailing credit of his brother MARCUS SILANUS, distinguished by his illustrious quality, and eminent for his great Eloquence. MARCUS having returned thanks to TIBERIUS, had this answer before the Senate; "That he himself also rejoiced that his brother was returned from travels so long and remote; "that his return home was perfectly unexceptionable, since neither by decree of Senate, "nor by any sentence of law had he been

"driven

" driven thence; that to himself however still
" remained intire the resentments of his father
" towards him; nor by the return of SILANUS
" were the purposes of AUGUSTUS violated."
Thenceforward he remained in Rome, but distinguished by no preferment in the State.

THE qualifying of the Law Papia Poppea was afterwards proposed; a Law, which, to enforce those of JULIUS CÆSAR, AUGUSTUS had made when he was old, for punishing Celibacy, and enriching the Exchequer. Nor even by this means had marriages and children multiplied, while a passion to live single and childless still prevailed. But, in the mean time, the numbers threatened and in danger by it, increased daily, while by the glosses and chicane of the impleaders every family was undone. So that, as before the city laboured under the weight of crimes, so now under the pest of laws. From this thought I am led backwards to the first rise of Laws, and to open the steps and causes by which we are arrived to the present number and excess, a number infinite and perplexed.

THE first race of men, free as yet from every depraved passion, lived without guile and crimes, and therefore without chastisements and restraints; nor was there occasion for rewards, when of their own accord they pursued righteousness; and as they courted nothing contrary to justice, they were debarred from nothing by terrors. But, after they had abandoned their original equality, and from

modeſty and ſhame to do evil, proceeded to ambition and violence, Lordly dominion was introduced, and arbitrary rule, and in many nations grew perpetual. Some, either from the beginning, or after they were ſurfeited with Kings, preferred the ſovereignty of Laws, which, agreeably to the artleſs minds of men, were at firſt ſhort and ſimple. The laws in moſt renown were thoſe framed for the Cretans by MINOS, for the Spartans by LYCURGUS; and afterwards ſuch as SOLON delivered to the Athenians, now greater in number, and more exquiſitely compoſed. To the Romans juſtice was adminiſtered by ROMULUS according to his pleaſure. After him, NUMA managed the people by religious devices, and laws divine. Some inſtitutions were made by TULLUS HOSTILIUS, ſome by ANCUS MARTIUS; but above all our laws were thoſe founded by SERVIUS TULLIUS, ſuch laws as even our Kings were bound to obey.

UPON the expulſion of TARQUIN, the people, for the ſecurity of their freedom againſt the encroachment and factions of the Senate, and for binding the public concord, prepared many ordinances. Hence were created the Decemviri, and by them were compoſed the twelve Tables, out of a collection of the moſt excellent inſtitutions found abroad. This was the period of all upright and impartial Laws. What laws followed, though ſometimes made againſt crimes and offenders, were yet chiefly made by violence, through the animoſity of the

the two Eſtates, and for ſeizing unjuſtly withholden offices, or for baniſhing illuſtrious Patriots, and to other wicked ends. Hence the GRACCHI and SATURNINI, inflamers of the people; and hence LIVIUS DRUSUS vying, on behalf of the Senate, in popular conceſſions with theſe inflamers, whence our Italian Allies were firſt corrupted and animated with fair promiſes, then by the oppoſition of other Demagogues diſappointed and deceived. Neither during the War of Italy, nor during the Civil War, was the making of regulations diſcontinued; many and contradictory were even then made. At laſt SYLLA the Dictator, changing or aboliſhing the paſt, added many of his own, and procured ſome reſpite in this matter, but not long; for preſently followed the turbulent purſuits and propoſals of LEPIDUS, and ſoon after were the Tribunes reſtored to their licentious authority of throwing the people into combuſtions at pleaſure. And now Laws were not made for the public only, but, for particular men, particular laws; and, corruption abounding in the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth abounded in laws.

POMPEY was now, in his third Conſulſhip, choſen to correct the public enormities, and his remedies proved to the State more grievous than its diſtempers. He made Laws, ſuch as ſuited his ambition, and broke them when they thwarted his will, and loſt by arms the regulations which by arms he had procured. Henceforward for twenty years civil diſcord raged, and

and there was neither law nor ſettlement; the moſt wicked found impunity in the exceſs of their wickedneſs, and many virtuous men in their uprightneſs met deſtruction. At length, AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, in his ſixth Conſulſhip, then confirmed in power without a rival, aboliſhed the orders which during the Triumvirate he had eſtabliſhed, and gave us laws proper for peace and a ſingle ruler. Theſe laws had ſanctions ſeverer than any heretofore known; as their guardians, Informers were appointed, who by the Law Papia Poppea were encouraged with rewards, to watch ſuch as neglected the privileges annexed to marriage and fatherhood, and conſequently could claim no legacy or inheritance, the ſame, as vacant, belonging to the Roman people, who were the public parent. But theſe Informers ſtruck much deeper; by them the whole City, all Italy, and the Roman Citizens in every part of the Empire, were infeſted and perſecuted; numbers were ſtripped of their intire fortunes, and terror had ſeized all, when TIBERIUS, for a check to this evil, choſe twenty Noblemen, five who were formerly Conſuls, five, who were formerly Prætors, with ten other Senators, to review that law. By them many of its intricacies were explained, its ſtrictneſs qualified; and hence ſome preſent alleviation was yielded.

TIBERIUS, about this time, recommended to the Senate NERO, one of the ſons of GERMANICUS, now ſeventeen years of age, and deſired, "that he might be exempted from

"ex-

" executing the office of the Vigintivirate, and " have leave to sue for the Quæstorship five " years sooner than the laws directed." A piece of mockery this request to all who heard it; but TIBERIUS pretended, " that the same " concessions had been decreed to himself, and " his brother DRUSUS, at the request of AU- " GUSTUS." Nor do I doubt but there were then such who secretly ridiculed that sort of petitions from AUGUSTUS. Such policy was however natural to that Prince, then laying the foundations of the Imperial power, and while the Republic and its late laws were still fresh in the minds of men. Besides, the relation was lighter between AUGUSTUS and his wife's sons, than between a grandfather and his grandsons. To the grant of the Quæstorship was added a seat in the College of Pontifs; and the first day he entered the Forum in his manly robe, a donative of corn and money was distributed to the populace, who exulted to behold a son of GERMANICUS now of age. Their joy was soon heightened by his marriage with JULIA, the daughter of DRUSUS. But as these transactions were attended with public applauses, so the intended marriage of the daughter of SEJANUS with the son of CLAUDIUS, was received with popular indignation. By this alliance the nobility of the Claudian house seemed stained, and by it SEJANUS, already suspected of aspiring views, was exalted still higher.

AT the end of this year died two great and eminent men, LUCIUS VOLUSIUS, and SAL-

LUSTIUS

LUSTIUS CRISPUS. The family of VOLUSIUS was ancient, but, in the exercise of public office, rose never higher than the Prætorship; it was he who honoured it with the Consulship. He was likewise created Censor, for modelling the classes of the Equestrian Order, and first accumulated the wealth which raised that family beyond all measure. CRISPUS was born of an Equestrian house, great nephew by a sister to CAIUS SALLUSTIUS, the renowned Roman Historian, and by him adopted. The way to the great offices was open to him; but, in imitation of MÆCENAS, he lived without the dignity of Senator, yet outwent in power many who were distinguished with Consulships and triumphs. His manner of living, his dress and daintiness, were different from the ways of antiquity, and, in expence and affluence, he bordered rather upon luxury. He possessed, however, a vigour of spirit, equal to great affairs, and exerted the greater promptness, for that he hid it in a shew of indolence and sloth. He was therefore, in the life-time of MÆCENAS, the next in favour, afterwards chief confident in all the secret Counsels of AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS, and assenting to the order for slaying AGRIPPA POSTHUMUS. In his old age he preserved with the Prince rather the outside than the vitals of authority. The same had happened to MÆCENAS. Such is the lot of power, rarely perpetual, perhaps from satiety on both sides, when

when Princes have no more to grant, and Miniſters no more to crave.

NEXT followed the Conſulſhip of TIBERIUS and DRUSUS, to TIBERIUS the fourth, to DRUSUS the ſecond; a Conſulſhip remarkable, for that in it the father and ſon were Collegues. There was indeed the ſame fellowſhip between TIBERIUS and GERMANICUS, two years before; but, beſides the diſtaſtes of jealouſy in the uncle, the ties of blood were not ſo near. In the beginning of the year, TIBERIUS, on pretence of his health, retired to Campania, either already meditating a long and perpetual retirement, or to leave to DRUSUS, in his father's abſence, the honour of executing the Conſulſhip alone. And there happened a thing which, ſmall in itſelf, yet as it produced mighty conteſtation, furniſhed the young Conſul with matter of popular affection. DOMITIUS CORBULO, formerly Prætor, complained to the Senate of LUCIUS SYLLA, a noble youth, "that in the ſhew of "Gladiators, SYLLA would not yield him place." Age, domeſtic cuſtom, and the ancient men were for CORBULO. MAMERCUS SCAURUS, LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS, and others, laboured for their kinſman SYLLA. Warm ſpeeches were made, and the examples of our anceſtors were urged, "who by ſevere decrees had cenſured "and reſtrained the irreverence of the youth." DRUSUS interpoſed with arguments proper for calming animoſities, and CORBULO had ſatiſfaction made him by SCAURUS, who was both

father-in-law and uncle to SYLLA, and the moſt copious Orator of that age. The ſame CORBULO, exclaiming againſt "the condition "of moſt of the roads through Italy, that "through the fraud of the undertakers, and "negligence of the civil officers, they were "broken and unpaſſable;" undertook of his own accord the cure of that abuſe; an undertaking which he executed, not ſo much to the advantage of the public, as to the ruin of many private men in their fortunes and reputation, by his violent mulcts, and unjuſt judgments and forfeitures.

SOON after TIBERIUS by Letter acquainted the Senate, "That by the incurſions of TACFARINAS there were freſh commotions in "Africa, and that they muſt chuſe a Proconſul, one of military experience, vigorous, "and equal to that war." SEXTUS POMPEIUS, taking this occaſion to diſcharge his hate againſt MARCUS LEPIDUS, reproached him "as daſtardly, indigent, a ſcandal to his anceſtors, and therefore to be diveſted even "of the Government of Aſia, his province "by lot." The Senate oppoſed him; they thought LEPIDUS a man rather mild than ſlothful, and that, as in his narrow fortune bequeathed to him, but not impaired by him, he ſupported his quality without blemiſh, he merited honour rather than contumely. He was therefore ſent to Aſia. Concerning Africa, it was decreed, that the appointment of a Governor ſhould be left to the Emperor.

DURING

DURING these transactions, CÆCINA SEVERUS proposed, "That no Magistrate should go into "any province accompanied by his wife." He introduced this motion with a long preface, "that he lived with his own in perfect con-"cord, by her he had six children, and what "he offered to the public he had practised "himself, having during forty years service, "left her still behind him, confined to Italy. "It was not indeed, without cause, established "of old, that women should neither be car-"ried by their husbands into confederate na-"tions, nor into foreign. A train of women "introduced luxury in peace, by their fears "retarded war, and made a Roman army re-"semble, in their march, a mixed host of "Barbarians. The sex was not tender only "and unfit for travel, but, if suffered, cruel, "aspiring, and greedy of authority; they even "marched amongst the soldiers, and were "obeyed by the officers. A woman had lately "presided at the exercises of the troops, and "at the decursions of the Legions. The Se-"nate themselves might remember, that as "often as any of the Magistrates were charged "with plundering the provinces, their wives "were always charged with much guilt. "To the Ladies the most profligate in the "province ever applied, by them all affairs "were undertaken, by them transacted; at "home two distinct courts were kept, and "abroad the wife had her distinct train and "attendants. The Ladies too issued distinct

"orders,

" orders, but more imperious, and better
" obeyed. Such feminine excesses were for-
" merly restrained by the Oppian and other
" Laws, but now these restraints were violated,
" women ruled all things, their families, the
" Forum and Tribunals, and even the ar-
" mies."

THIS speech was heard by few with approbation, and many proclaimed their dissent, " for that neither was that the point in de-
" bate, nor was CÆCINA considerable enough
" to censure so weighty an affair." He was presently answered by VALERIUS MESSALINUS, who was the son of MESSALA, and inherited a sparkling of his father's Eloquence: " that many rigorous institutions of the an-
" cients were softened and changed for the
" better. For neither was Rome now, as of
" old, beset with wars, nor Italy with hostile
" provinces; hence a few concessions were
" made to the conveniences of women, who
" were so far from burdening the provinces,
" that to their own husbands there they were
" no burden. As to honours, attendants,
" and expence, they enjoyed them in com-
" mon with their husbands, who could re-
" ceive no embarassment from their com-
" pany in time of peace. To war, indeed,
" we must go equipped and unincumbered;
" but after the fatigues of war, what was more
" allowable than the consolations of a wife?
" But it seemed, the wives of some Magi-
" strates had given a loose to ambition and
" avarice:

" avarice: And were the Magiſtrates them-
" ſelves free from theſe exceſſes? Were not
" moſt of them governed by many exorbitant
" appetites? Did we therefore ſend none into
" the provinces? It was added, that the hus-
" bands were corrupted by their corrupt wives;
" Were therefore all ſingle men uncorrupt?
" The Oppian Laws were once thought ne-
" ceſſary, becauſe the exigencies of the State
" required their ſeverity; they were afterwards
" relaxed and mollified, becauſe that too was
" expedient for the State. In vain we covered
" our own ſloth with borrowed names; if the
" wife broke bounds, the husband ought to
" bear the blame. It was moreover unjuſtly
" judged, for the weak and uxorious ſpirit of
" one or a few, to bereave all others of the
" fellowſhip of their wives, the natural part-
" ners of their proſperity and diſtreſs. Beſides,
" the ſex, weak by nature, would be left de-
" fenceleſs, expoſed to the luxurious bent of
" their native paſſions, and to the ſeduction of
" adulterers. Scarce under the eye and reſtraint
" of the husband, was the marriage-bed pre-
" ſerved inviolate; what muſt be the conſe-
" quence, when, by an abſence of many years,
" the ties of marriage would be forgot, as it
" were, in a divorce? It became them there-
" fore, ſo to cure the evils abroad, as not to
" forget the enormities at Rome." To this
DRUSUS added ſomewhat concerning his own
wedlock. " Princes, he ſaid, were frequently
" obliged to viſit the remote parts of the Em-

" pire; how often did the deified AUGUSTUS
" travel to the Eaſt, how often to the Weſt,
" ſtill accompanied with LIVIA? He himſelf
" too had taken a progreſs to Illyricum, and,
" if it were expedient, was ready to viſit other
" nations; but not always with an eaſy ſpirit,
" if he were to be torn from his dear wife,
" her by whom he had ſo many children."
Thus was CÆCINA's motion eluded.

WHEN the Senate met next, they had a Letter from TIBERIUS. In it he affected indirectly to chide the fathers, " that upon him
" they caſt all public cares," and named them M. LEPIDUS and JUNIUS BLESUS, to chooſe either for Proconſul of Africa. They were then both heard as to this nomination, and LEPIDUS excuſed himſelf with earneſtneſs, pleaded " his bodily frailty, the tender age of
" his children, and a daughter fit for marriage." There was another reaſon too, of which he ſaid nothing, but it was eaſily underſtood, even that BLESUS was uncle to SEJANUS, and therefore had the prevailing intereſt. BLESUS too made a ſhew of refuſing, but not with the like poſitiveneſs, and moreover, was heard with partiality by the flatterers of power.

NOW at laſt broke out a grievance which had lain hitherto ſmothered in the uneaſy minds of men. The Statues of the Emperor were become ſanctuaries to every profligate, who, by laying hold on theſe Statues, had aſſumed the inſolence of venting with impunity their invectives and hatred againſt worthy

men. Even ſlaves and freedmen were thence grown terrible to their maſters, and wantonly inſulted and threatned them. Againſt this abuſe it was argued by CAIUS SESTIUS the Senator, " that Princes were indeed the repre-
" ſentatives of the Gods, but by the Gods juſt
" petitions only were heard, nor did any one
" betake himſelf to the Capitol, or the other
" Temples of Rome, that under their ſacred
" ſhelter he might exerciſe villainies. The laws
" were aboliſhed, and finally overturned, if a
" criminal convict could, in the public Forum,
" nay, at the door of the Senate, aſſault her
" proſecutor with invectives and menaces; Yet
" thus had ANNIA RUFILLA aſſaulted him,
" ſhe whom he had got judicially condemned
" for forgery; neither durſt he ſeek relief
" from the law, for that ſhe protected herſelf
" with the Emperor's Statue. Much the ſame reaſoning was offered by others: ſome aggravated the offence with greater bitterneſs, and beſought DRUSUS to ſhew an exemplary inſtance of vengeance; ſo that ſhe was ſummoned, convicted of the charge, and by his command committed to the common priſon.

CONSIDIUS EQUUS too, and CELIUS CURSOR, Roman Knights, were at the motion of DRUSUS, puniſhed by a decree of Senate, for forging a charge of treaſon againſt the Prætor MAGIUS CÆCILIANUS. From this their puniſhment and that of RUFILLA, DRUSUS reaped popular praiſe, " that by him, living
" thus ſociably at Rome, and frequenting the

" public assemblies, the dark spirit and designs " of his father were softened." Neither did the luxury, in which the young Prince lived, give much offence. " Let him, it was said, be " rather thus imployed, his days in shews and " acts of popularity, his nights in banqueting, " than in dismal solitude, withdrawn from " public gayety, worried with incessant dis- " trusts, and fostering black designs."

FOR neither was TIBERIUS nor the impleaders yet tired with accusations. ANCHARIUS PRISCUS had accused CÆSIUS CORDUS, Proconsul of Crete, of robbing the public, with an additional charge of high treason, a charge which at that time was the main bulwark of all accusations. ANTISTIUS VETUS, a Nobleman of the first rank in Macedonia, had been tried for adultery, and absolved. This offended TIBERIUS, who reproached the Judges, and recalled him to be tried for treason, as a disturber of the public, and confederate with the late King RHESCUPORIS, when having slain his brother COTYS, he meditated war against us. So that VETUS was condemned, and interdicted from fire and water. To this sentence it was added, " that he should be con- " fined to an island, neither in the neighbour- " hood of Macedon nor of Thrace." For, upon the division of that Kingdom between RHEMETALCES and the sons of COTYS, who being children, had for their guardian TREBELLIENUS RUFUS, the Thracians, not used to our Government, waxed discontented and tumultuous;

multuous; nor did they less censure RHEMETALCES than TREBELLIENUS, for leaving unpunished the violences done them. The Cœletæans, Odrysœans, and other very powerful nations, took arms, under distinct Captains, but all equal in meanness and incapacity. For this reason, their armies were not united, nor the war terrible. Some committed ravages at home, others traversed Mount Hæmus, to engage in the insurrection the distant provinces. The greatest part, and best appointed, besieged Philippopolis, (a City founded by PHILIP of Macedon) and in it King RHEMETALCES.

PUBLIUS VELLEIUS, who commanded the army in the neighbouring province, when he heard of these commotions, dispatched parties of horse and light foot, some against those who roamed about for plunder, some against such as rambled from place to place to sollicit succours; he himself led the body of the Infantry to raise the siege. These several enterprizes were at once successfully executed, the rovers were cut off; divisions arose amongst the besiegers, and the King fortunately sallied, just as the Roman forces arrived. This gang of Thracians deserve not the name of an army, nor this rout to be called a battle, where vagabonds half-armed were slaughtered, without blood on our side.

THE same year the Cities of Gaul, stimulated by their excessive debts, began a Rebellion. The most vehement incendiaries were JULIUS FLORUS, and JULIUS SACROVIR, the

first amongst those of Treves, the second amongst the Eduans. They were both of distinguished nobility, both descended from ancestors, who had done signal services to the Roman State, and thence acquired of old the right of Roman Citizens, a privilege rare in those days, and only the prize of virtue. When by secret meetings they had gained those who were most prompt to rebel, with such as were desperate through indigence, or, from guilt of past crimes, forced to commit more, they agreed that FLORUS should begin the insurrection in Belgia, SACROVIR amongst the neighbouring Gauls. They therefore had many consultations and cabals, where they spared no topic of sedition, "their tribute without end, their "devouring usury, the pride and cruelty of "their Governors, the discord that had seized "the Roman soldiery since the report of the "murder of GERMANICUS; a glorious con-"juncture for redeeming their Liberty, if they "would only consider their own happiness "and strength, while Italy was poor and ex-"hausted, the Roman populace weak and un-"warlike, the Roman armies destitute of all "vigour, but that derived from foreigners."

SCARCE one City remained untainted with the seeds of this Rebellion, but it first broke out at Angiers and Tours. The former were reduced by ACILIUS AVIOLA, a Legate, with the assistance of a Cohort drawn from the garrison at Lions. Those of Tours were suppressed by the same AVIOLA, assisted with a detach-

detachment ſent from the Legions, by VISELLIUS VARRO, Lieutenant-Governor of lower Germany. Some of the Chiefs of the Gauls had likewiſe joined him with ſuccours, the better to diſguiſe their defection, and to puſh it with more effect hereafter. Even SACROVIR was beheld engaged in fight for the Romans, with his head bare, *a demonſtration*, he pretended, *of his bravery*; but, the priſoners averred, "that he did it to be known to his "country-men, and to eſcape their darts."

AN account of all this was laid before TIBERIUS, who ſlighted it, and by heſitation foſtered the war. FLORUS the while puſhed his deſigns, and tried to perſuade a Regiment of horſe, levied at Treves, and kept under our pay and diſcipline, to begin the war, by putting to the ſword the Roman Merchants; and ſome few were corrupted by him, but the body remained in their allegiance. A rabble however of his followers and deſperate debtors, took arms, and were making to the Foreſt of Arden, when the Legions, ſent from both armies by VISELLIUS and CAIUS SILIUS, through different routs to intercept them, marred their march. JULIUS INDUS too, one of the ſame country with FLORUS, at enmity with him, and therefore more eager to engage him, was diſpatched forward with a choſen band, and broke the ill-appointed multitude. FLORUS, by lurking from place to place, fruſtrated the ſearch of the conquerors; at laſt, when he ſaw all the paſſes beſet with ſoldiers, he fell by his

own hands. This was the iſſue of the inſurrection at Treves.

AMONGST the Eduans the revolt was as much ſtronger, as the ſtate was more opulent, and the forces to ſuppreſs it were to be brought from afar. Auguſtodunum, the capital of the nation, was ſeized by SACROVIR, and in it all the noble youth of Gaul, who were there inſtructed in the Liberal Arts. By ſecuring theſe pledges, he aimed to bind in his intereſt their parents and relations, and at the ſame time diſtributed to the young men the arms which he had cauſed to be ſecretly made. He had forty thouſand men, the fifth part armed like our Legions, the reſt with poles, hangers, and other weapons uſed by hunters. To the number were added ſuch of the ſlaves as had been appointed to be Gladiators, covered, after the fashion of the country, with a continued armour of iron, and ſtiled *Crupellarii*, a ſort of militia, unweildly at exerciſing their own weapons, and impenetrable by thoſe of others. Theſe forces were ſtill increaſed by voluntiers from the neighbouring cities, where, though the public body did not hitherto avow the revolt, yet the zeal of particulars was manifeſt. They had likewiſe leiſure to increaſe from the contention of the two Roman Generals; a contention for ſome time undecided, while each demanded the command in that war. At length VARRO, old and infirm, yielded to the ſuperior vigour of SILIUS.

Now,

Now, at Rome, "not only the insurrection "of Treves and of the Eduans, but likewise, "that threescore and four cities of Gaul had "revolted, that the Germans had joined in "the revolt, and that Spain fluctuated," were reports, all believed with the usual aggravations of fame. The best men grieved in sympathy for their country; many, from hatred of the present government, and thirst of change, rejoiced in their own perils. They inveighed against TIBERIUS, "that, in such a mighty "uproar of rebellion, he was only employed "in perusing the informations of the State-"Accusers." They asked, "Did he mean to "surrender JULIUS SACROVIR to the Senate, "to try him for treason?" They exulted, "that there were at last found men, who would "with arms restrain his bloody Letters (to the "Senate) continually demanding condemna-"tions and executions;" and declared, "that "even war was a happy change for a most "wretched and calamitous peace." So much the more for this, TIBERIUS affected to appear wrapt up in security and unconcern; he neither changed place nor countenance, but behaved himself at that time as at other times, whether from elevation of mind, or whether he had learnt that the state of things was not alarming, and only heightened by vulgar representation.

SILIUS the while sending forward a band of Auxiliaries, marched with two Legions, and ravaged the villages of the Sequanians, next neigh-

neighbours to the Eduans, and their associates in arms. He then advanced towards Augustodunum, a hasty march, the Standard-bearers mutually vying in expedition, and the common men breathing ardour and eagerness, "that no time might be wasted even in the "usual refreshments, none of their nights in "sleep; let them only see and confront the "foe; they wanted no more to be victori-"ous." Twelve miles from Augustodunum SACROVIR appeared with his forces upon the plains; in the front he had placed the iron troop, his Cohorts in the wings, the half-armed in the rear; he himself, upon a fine horse, attended by the other chiefs, addressing himself to them from rank to rank; reminded them "of the glorious atchievements of the "ancient Gauls; of the victorious mischiefs "they had brought upon the Romans; of the "liberty and renown attending victory; of "their redoubled and intolerable servitude, if "once more vanquished."

A short speech, and disheartened audience! For, the embattled Legions approached, and the crowd of townsmen, ill-appointed and novices in war, stood astonished, bereft of the present use of eyes and hearing. On the other side, SILIUS, though he presumed the victory, and thence might have spared exhortations, yet called to his men, "That they might be with "reason ashamed, that they, the Conquerors "of Germany, should be thus led against a "rabble of Gauls as against an equal enemy; "one

" one Cohort had newly defeated the rebels " of Tours, one Regiment of horse those of " Treves; a handful of this very army had " routed the Sequanians. The present Eduans, " the more they abound in wealth, the more " they wallow in voluptuousness, are so much " the more soft and unwarlike: this is what " you are now to prove, and your task to " prevent their escape." His words were returned with a mighty cry. Instantly the horse surrounded the foe, the foot attacked their front, and the wings were presently routed. The iron-band gave some short obstruction, as the bars of their coats withstood the stroaks of sword and pike; but the soldiers had recourse to their hatchets and pick-axes, and, as if they had battered a wall, hewed their bodies and armour; others with clubs, and some with forks, beat down the helpless lumps, who, as they lay stretched along, without one struggle to rise, were left for dead. SACROVIR fled first to Augustodunum, thence, fearful of being surrendered, to a neighbouring town, accompanied by his most faithful adherents; there he slew himself, and the rest one another, having first set the town on fire, by which they were all consumed.

Now at last TIBERIUS wrote to the Senate about this war, and, at once, acquainted them with its rise and conclusion, neither aggravateing facts nor lessening them; but added, " That " it was conducted by the fidelity and bravery " of his Lieutenants, guided by his counsels."

He

He likewise assigned the reasons why neither he, nor DRUSUS, went to that war; "That "the Empire was an immense body, and it "became not the dignity of a Prince, upon "the revolt of one or two communities, to "desert the capital, whence motion was de-"rived to the whole. But now, since he could "not be thought conducted by any dread of "those nations, he would take a progress to "visit and settle them." The Senate decreed vows and supplications for his return, with other customary honours. Only CORNELIUS DOLABELLA, while he strove to outdo others, fell into ridiculous sycophancy, by proposing, "That returning from Campania he should "enter Rome in the Triumph of *Ovation.*" This occasioned a Letter from TIBERIUS, in which he declared, "That he was not so de-"stitute of glory, that after having in his youth "subdued the fiercest nations, and enjoyed "or slighted so many Triumphs, he should "now in his old age seek empty honours "from a short progress about the suburbs of "Rome."

ABOUT the same time he desired of the Senate, that "the corps of SULPITIUS QUIRINUS "might be distinguished with a public Fune-"ral." QUIRINUS was born at Lanuvium, a Municipal town, and no wise related to the ancient Patrician family of the SULPITII, but being a brave soldier, was, for his vigorous military services to AUGUSTUS, rewarded with the Consulship, and soon after with a Triumph,

umph, for driving the Homonades out of their ſtrong holds in Cilicia. Next, when the young CAIUS CÆSAR was ſent to ſettle the affairs of Armenia, QUIRINUS was appointed his Governor, and at the ſame time paid all court to TIBERIUS, then in his retirement at Rhodes. This the Emperor repreſented now to the Senate, extolled the kind offices of QUIRINUS, and branded MARCUS LOLLIUS as the author of the perverſe behaviour of CAIUS CÆSAR to himſelf, and of all the jarring between them. In other inſtances the memory of QUIRINUS was not acceptable to the Senate, for his deadly perſecution againſt LEPIDA, above recited, and for his prevailing power and avarice in his old age.

AT the end of the year, CAIUS LUTORIUS PRISCUS, a Roman Knight, who had compoſed a celebrated Poem, bewailing the death of GERMANICUS, and received a reward from TIBERIUS, was attacked by an informer. His charge was, "That during an illneſs of DRUSUS, "he had compoſed another, which, if the "diſtemper proved mortal, he hoped to "publiſh with a reward ſtill greater." This Poem LUTORIUS had, in the fulneſs of vanity and oſtentation, rehearſed at the houſe of PUBLIUS PETRONIUS, in the preſence of VITELLIA, mother-in-law to PETRONIUS, and of other Ladies of quality, who were all ſummoned by the impleader, and all, except VITELLIA, were terrified into a confeſſion; ſhe alone perſiſted that ſhe had heard nothing. But the

the evidence tending to destroy him had most credit, and it was the sentence of HATERIUS AGRIPPA, Consul elect, that death should be his punishment.

THIS was opposed by M. LEPIDUS, who spoke on this wise. "Conscript fathers, if "we only regard, with what abominable effu-"sions LUTORIUS PRISCUS has defiled his "own soul, and the ears of men, neither dun-"geon, nor rope, nor indeed the punishments "peculiar to slaves, are sufficient for him. But "though wickedness and enormities abound "without measure, yet since in coercions and "penalties, we must observe the limits set by "the moderation of the Prince, set by prece-"dents made by our ancestors and yourselves; "and since we must distinguish the vanity of "the head from the malignity of the heart, "and words from evil doings; there is room "left for a middle judgment, by which nei-"ther his offence need escape unpunished, nor "we repent of our tenderness or severity. I "have often heard our Prince complain, when "any criminal had, by a desperate death, pre-"vented his mercy. The life of LUTORIUS "is still untouched; to save it, will no wise "endanger the State, nor will the taking it "away have any influence upon others. His "studies, as they are full of wildness, are like-"wise empty and perishing; neither is aught "important or terrible to be apprehended from "one who thus betrays his own follies, and "makes his court not to the minds of men,

"but

" but the imaginations of women. Let him, " however, be expelled Rome, interdicted " from fire and water, and his eſtate be for- " feited; which judgment of mine is the ſame " as if he were charged with high treaſon."

OF all the Conſulars, only RUBELLIUS BLANDUS aſſented to this opinion of LEPIDUS; the reſt voted with AGRIPPA. PRISCUS was led to the dungeon, and inſtantly put to death. TIBERIUS, in a Letter to the Senate, diſcanted upon this proceeding, with his uſual doubles and ambiguities, magnified " their tenderneſs " and zeal in avenging thus with ſeverity even " ſuch ſlight injuries done to the Prince;" entreated them, " not to be ſudden in puniſh- " ing for words;" he praiſed LEPIDUS, and cenſured not AGRIPPA. Hence an order was made, " that the decrees of Senate ſhould not " in leſs than ten days be carried to the Ex- " chequer, and to the condemned ſo much " time ſhould be granted." But to the Senate remained no liberty of reviſal or annulling; nor was TIBERIUS ever ſoftened by time.

CAIUS SULPITIUS and DECIMUS HATERIUS were the following Conſuls. Their year was exempt from diſturbances abroad, but at home ſome ſevere blow was apprehended againſt luxury, which prevailed monſtrouſly in all things that create a profuſion of money. But as the more pernicious articles of expence were covered by concealing their prices, therefore from the exceſſes of the table, which were

become

become the common ſubject of daily animadverſion, apprehenſions were raiſed of ſome rigid correction from a Prince who obſerved himſelf the ancient parcimony. For, CAIUS BIBULUS having begun the complaint, the other Ædiles took it up, and argued, " That " the ſumptuary Laws were deſpiſed, the pomp " and expence of plate and entertainments, in " ſpite of reſtraints, increaſed daily, and by " moderate penalties were not to be ſtopped." This grievance thus repreſented to the Senate, was by them referred intire to the Emperor. TIBERIUS having long weighed with himſelf whether ſuch an abandoned propenſity to prodigality could be ſtemmed, whether the ſtemming it would not bring heavier evils upon the public, how diſhonourable it would be to attempt what could not be effected, or at leaſt effected by the diſgrace of the nobility, and by the ſubjecting illuſtrious men to infamous puniſhments, wrote at laſt to the Senate in this manner:

"IN other matters, Conſcript Fathers, perhaps " it might be more expedient for you to con- " ſult me in the Senate, and for me to declare " there what I judge for the public weal; but " in the debate of this affair, it was beſt that " my eyes were withdrawn, leſt, while you " marked the countenances and terror of par- " ticulars charged with ſcandalous luxury, I " too ſhould have obſerved them, and, as it " were, caught them in it. Had the vigilant " Ædiles firſt asked counſel of me, I know

" not

" not whether I ſhould not have adviſed them
" rather to have paſſed by potent and invete-
" rate corruptions, than only make it mani-
" feſt, what enormities are an over-match for
" us. But they, in truth, have done their duty,
" as I would have all other Magiſtrates fulfil
" theirs. But, for myſelf, it is neither com-
" mendable to be ſilent, nor does it belong to
" my ſtation to ſpeak out; ſince I neither bear
" the character of an Ædile, nor of a Prætor,
" nor of a Conſul. Something ſtill greater
" and higher is required of a Prince. Every
" one is ready to aſſume to himſelf the credit
" of whatever is well done, while upon the
" Prince alone are thrown the miſcarriages of
" all. But what is it that I am firſt to pro-
" hibit, what exceſs retrench to the ancient
" ſtandard? Am I to begin with that of our
" country ſeats, ſpacious without bounds; and
" with the number of domeſtics, a number
" diſtributed into nations in private families?
" or with the quantity of plate, ſilver, and
" gold? or with pictures, and the works, and
" ſtatues of braſs, the wonders of art? or with
" the gorgeous veſtments, promiſcuouſly worn
" by men and women? or with what is pecu-
" liar to the women, thoſe precious ſtones, for
" the purchaſe of which our coin is carried
" into foreign and hoſtile nations? I am not
" ignorant that at entertainments and in con-
" verſation, theſe exceſſes are cenſured, and a
" regulation is required. Yet if an equal Law
" were made, if equal penalties were pre-

" ſcribed, theſe very cenſurers would loudly
" complain, *That the State was utterly over-*
" *turned, that ſnares and deſtruction were*
" *prepared for every illuſtrious houſe, that no*
" *man could be guiltleſs, and all men would*
" *be the prey of informers.* And yet bodily
" diſeaſes grown inveterate and ſtrengthened
" by time, cannot be checked but by medi-
" cines rigid and violent; it is the ſame with
" the ſoul, the ſick and raging ſoul, itſelf cor-
" rupted and ſcattering its corruption, is not
" to be qualified but by remedies equally ſtrong
" with its own flaming luſts. So many Laws
" made by our anceſtors, ſo many added by
" the deified AUGUSTUS, the former being loſt
" in oblivion, and (which is more heinous)
" the latter in contempt, have only ſerved to
" render luxury more ſecure. When we co-
" vet a thing yet unforbidden, we are apt to
" fear that it may be forbidden; but when
" once we can with impunity and defiance
" over-leap prohibited bounds, there remain
" afterwards nor fear nor ſhame. How there-
" fore did Parcimony prevail of old? It was
" becauſe every one was a Law to himſelf, it
" was becauſe we were then only maſters of
" one City; nor afterwards, while our domi-
" nion was confined only to Italy, had we
" found the ſame inſtigations to voluptuouſ-
" neſs. By foreign Conqueſts we learned to
" waſte the property of others, and in the Ci-
" vil Wars to conſume our own. What a
" mighty matter is it that the Ædiles remon-
" ſtrate!

" ſtrate! how little to be weighed in the ba-
" lance with others? It is wonderful that no
" body repreſents, That Italy is in conſtant
" want of foreign ſupplies, that the lives of
" the Roman people are daily at the mercy of
" uncertain ſeas and of tempeſts: were it not
" for our ſupports from the provinces, ſup-
" ports, by which the maſters, and their ſlaves,
" and their eſtates, are maintained, would our
" own Groves and Villas maintain us? This
" care therefore, Conſcript Fathers, is the buſi-
" neſs of the Prince, and by the neglect of
" this care, the foundations of the ſtate would
" be diſſolved. The cure of other defects de-
" pends upon our own private ſpirits; ſome
" of us ſhame will reclaim, neceſſity will mend
" the poor, ſatiety the rich. Or if any of the
" Magiſtrates, from a confidence of his own
" firmneſs and perſeverance, will undertake to
" ſtemm the progreſs of ſo great an evil, he
" has both my praiſes, and my acknowledge-
" ment that he diſcharges me of part of my
" fatigues. But if ſuch will only impeach
" corruptions, and when they have gained the
" glory, would leave upon me the indigna-
" tion, (indignation of their own raiſing;) be-
" lieve me, Conſcript Fathers, I am not fond
" of bearing reſentments. I already ſuffer
" many for the Commonwealth, many that
" are grievous, and almoſt all unjuſt; and
" therefore, with reaſon, I intreat that I may
" not be loaded with ſuch as are wantonly and

" vainly raiſed, and promiſe no advantage to
" you nor to me."

THE Senate, upon reading the Emperor's Letter, releaſed the Ædiles from this purſuit; and the luxury of the table which, from the battle of Actium till the revolution made by GALBA, flowed, for the ſpace of an hundred years, in all profuſion, at laſt gradually declined. The cauſes of this change are worth knowing. Formerly the great families, ſignal for nobility or for riches, were carried away with a paſſion for magnificence; for in thoſe days it was allowed to court the good graces of the Roman people, with the favour of Kings, and confederate Nations, and to be courted by them; ſo that each was diſtinguiſhed by the luſtre of popularity and dependences, in proportion to his affluence, the ſplendour of his houſe, and the figure which he made. But after Imperial fury had for ſome time raged in the ſlaughter of the Grandees, and great reputation brought ſure deſtruction, the reſt grew wiſer. Beſides, new men frequently choſen Senators from the Municipal towns, from the Colonies, and even from the Provinces, brought with them their own domeſtic parcimony; and though, by fortune or induſtry, many of them grew wealthy as they grew old, yet their former frugal ſpirit continued. But above all, VESPASIAN proved the promoter of moderation and frugality, being himſelf the pattern of ancient Oeconomy in his

his perſon and table; hence the compliance of the public with the manners of the Prince, and an emulation to practiſe them, an incitement more prevalent than the terrors of Laws and all their penalties. Or, perhaps, all human things go a certain round, and, as there are revolutions of time, there are alſo viciſſitudes in manners. Nor, indeed, have our anceſtors excelled us in all things; our own age has produced many excellencies worthy of praiſe and the imitation of poſterity. Let us ſtill preſerve this ſtrife in virtue with our forefathers.

TIBERIUS having gained the fame of moderation, becauſe, by rejecting the project for reforming luxury, he had diſarmed the growing hopes of the accuſers, wrote to the Senate, to deſire the *Tribunitial Power* for DRUSUS. AUGUSTUS had deviſed this title as beſt ſuiting the ſupreme power, while avoiding the odious name of *King* or *Dictator*, he yet wanted ſome particular appellation, under it to controul all other powers in the State. He afterwards aſſumed MARCUS AGRIPPA into a fellowſhip in it, and, upon his death, TIBERIUS, that none might doubt who was to be his ſucceſſor. By this means, he conceived, he ſhould defeat the aſpiring views of others; beſides, he confided in the moderation of TIBERIUS, and in the mightineſs of his own authority. By his example, TIBERIUS now advanced DRUSUS to a participation of the ſupreme Magiſtracy, whereas, while GERMA-

NICUS yet lived, he acted without distinction towards both. In the beginning of his Letter, he besought the Gods, "That by his counsels "the Republic might prosper," then added a modest testimony concerning the qualities and behaviour of the young Prince, without aggravation or false embellishments, "That he had "a wife and three children, and was of the "same age with himself when called by the "deified AUGUSTUS to that office; that "DRUSUS was not now by him adopted a "partner in the toils of Government, preci-"pitately, but after eight years experience "made of his qualifications, after seditions "suppressed, wars concluded, the honour of "Triumph, and two Consulships."

THE Senators had foreseen this address; hence they received it with the more elaborate adulation. However, they could devise nothing to decree, but "Statues to the two "Princes, altars to the Gods, triumphal arches," and other usual honours, only that MARCUS SILANUS strove to honour the Princes by the disgrace of the Consulship; he proposed "That "all records, public and private, should, for "their date, be inscribed no more with the "names of the Consuls, but of those who "exercised the Tribunitial power." But HATERIUS AGRIPPA, by moving to have "the "Decrees of that day engraved in Letters of "gold, and hung up in the Senate," became an object of derision, for that, as he was an ancient man, he could reap from his most

abominable flattery no other fruit but that of infamy.

In the mean time, as the Province of Africa was continued to Junius Blæsus, Servius Maluginensis Priest of Jupiter, demanded that of Asia. He insisted, "That it was vainly "alledged, that such Priests were not allowed "to leave Italy; that he was under no other "restriction than those of Mars and Remu-"lus; and if they were admitted to the lots "of Provinces, why were those of Jupiter de-"barred? The same was neither adjudged by "the authority of the people, nor in the "books which ascertained the sacred rites. "Frequently, when the Priests of Jupiter were "detained by sickness, or engaged in the pub-"lic, their function was supplied by the Pon-"tifs. The function itself lay unfilled for two "and seventy years together, after the death of "Cornelius Merula, and yet the exercise "of Religion never ceased. Now if in such "a series of years, Religion could subsist un-"hurt without the creation of any such Priest "at all, how much easier might his absence "be borne in the exercise of the Proconsular "power, for one year? It was to satiate pri-"vate piques, if formerly the Priests of Jupi-"ter were by the chief Pontifs debarred from "the Government of Provinces. But now, "by the goodness of the Gods, the chief Pon-"tif was also the chief of men, a Pontif to "whom emulation, hatred, and other perso-"nal prepossessions, had no access."

To these his reasonings several answers were made by LENTULUS the Augur, and others, but all disagreeing, so that the result was "to "wait for the decision of the supreme Pontif." TIBERIUS in his answer to the Senate, postponing his notice of the pretensions of the Priest of Jupiter, qualified the honours decreed to DRUSUS with the Tribunitial power, and especially censured the "extravagance of the "proposition for golden letters, as contrary to "the example and usage of Rome." Letters from DRUSUS were likewise read, and, though modest in expression, were construed to be full of haughtiness; "Were all things in the "Roman state so miserably reversed, that even "a youth, one just distinguished with such "supreme honour, deigned not to visit the "Gods of Rome, nor appear in Senate, nor "begin in his native City the auspices of his "dignity? No war detained him; he had no "journey to make from remote countries, "while he was only diverting himself upon "the lakes and shores of Campania, and plea-"sure his chief avocation. With such tuition "was he prepared the future ruler of human "kind! this the lesson he had learnt from the "maxims of his father! In truth, the Em-"peror himself, an ancient man, might find "uneasiness in living under the eye of the "public, and plead a life already fatigued with "age and occupations; but what besides pride "and stateliness could obstruct DRUSUS?"

TIBE-

TIBERIUS, while he fortified the vitals of his own domination, afforded the Senate a ſhadow of their ancient Juriſdiction, by referring to their examination petitions and claims from the Provinces. For there had now prevailed amongſt the Greek Cities a latitude of inſtituting Sanctuaries at pleaſure. Hence the Temples were filled with the moſt profligate fugitive ſlaves; here debtors found protection againſt their creditors, and hither were admitted ſuch as were purſued for capital crimes. Nor was any authority found ſufficient to bridle the ſeditious zeal of the people, thus defending the villainies of men, as if the ſame were the ſacred inſtitutions of the Deities. It was therefore ordered, that theſe cities ſhould ſend deputies to repreſent their claims. Some voluntarily relinquiſhed the privileges which they had arbitrarily aſſumed; many confided in their right, from the antiquity of their ſuperſtitions, or their ſervices to the Roman people. Glorious to the Senate was the appearance of that day, when the grants from our anceſtors, the engagements of our confederates, the ordinances of Kings, ſuch Kings who had reigned as yet independent of the Roman power, and when even the inſtitutions, ſacred to the Gods, were now all ſubjected to their inſpection, and their judgment free, as of old, to ratify or aboliſh with abſolute power.

FIRST of all the Epheſians applied, and alledged, that "Diana and Apollo were not

"born

" born at Delos, according to the opinion of
" the vulgar. In their territory flowed the
" river Cenchris, where alſo ſtood the Orty-
" gian Grove; there the big-bellied Latona,
" leaning upon an Olive-tree, which even then
" remained, was delivered of theſe Deities, and
" thence, by their appointment, the Grove be-
" came ſacred. Thither Apollo himſelf, after
" his ſlaughter of the Cyclops, retired for a
" ſanctuary from the wrath of Jupiter. Soon
" after, the victorious Bacchus pardoned the
" ſuppliant Amazons, who ſought refuge at
" the Altar of Diana. By the conceſſion of
" Hercules, when he reigned in Lydia, her
" Temple was dignified with an augmentation
" of immunities, nor during the Perſian Mon-
" archy were they abridged; they were next
" maintained by the Macedonians, and then
" by us."

THE Magneſians next aſſerted their claim, founded on an eſtabliſhment of LUCIUS SCIPIO, confirmed by another of SYLLA; the former after the defeat of ANTIOCHUS, the latter after that of MITHRIDATES, having, as a teſtimony of the faith and bravery of the Magneſians, dignified their Temple of the Leucophrynean Diana with the privileges of an inviolable Sanctuary. After them, the Aphrodiſians and Stratoniceans produced a grant from CÆSAR the Dictator, for their early ſervices to his party, and another lately from AUGUSTUS, with a commendation inſerted, " that with zeal un-
" ſhaken towards the Roman people, they had
" borne

" borne the irruption of the Parthians." But these two people adored different Deities; Aphrodisium was a city devoted to Venus, that of Stratonicea maintained the worship of Jupiter and of Diana Trivia. Those of Hierocæsarea exhibited claims of higher antiquity, " that they possessed the Persian Diana, and her " Temple consecrated by King CYRUS." They likewise pleaded the authorities of PERPENNA, ISAURICUS, and of many more Roman Captains, who had allowed the same sacred immunity, not to the temple only, but to a precinct two miles round it. Those of Cyprus pleaded right of sanctuary to three of their Temples, the most ancient founded by AERIAS to the Paphian Venus, another by his son AMATHUS to the Amathusian Venus, the third to the Salaminian Jupiter by TEUCER, the son of TELAMON, when he fled from the fury of his father.

THE deputies too of other cities were heard. But the Senate, tired with so many, and because there was a contention begun amongst particular parties for particular cities, gave power to the Consuls, " to search into the validity of " their several pretensions, and whether in " them no fraud was interwoven, with orders " to lay the whole matter once more before " the Senate." The Consuls reported, that, besides the cities already mentioned, " they had " found the Temple of ÆSCULAPIUS at Per- " gamos to be a genuine Sanctuary. The rest " claimed upon originals, from the darkness

" of

" of antiquity, altogether obscure. Smyrna " particularly pleaded an oracle of Apollo, in " obedience to which they had dedicated a " Temple to Venus Stratonices; as did the " Isle of Tenos an oracular order from the " same God, to erect to Neptune a Statue and " Temple. Sardis urged a later authority, " namely, a grant from the Great ALEXANDER; " and Miletus insisted on one from King DA- " RIUS: as to the Deities of these two cities, " one worshiped Diana, the other, Apollo. " and Crete too demanded the privilege of " Sanctuary to a Statue of the deified AU- " GUSTUS." Hence divers orders of Senate were made, by which, though great reverence was expressed towards the Deities, yet the extent of the Sanctuaries was limited, and the several people were injoined " to hang up in " each Temple the present Decree, engraven " in brass, as a sacred Memorial, and a restraint " against their lapsing, under the colour of " Religion, into claims of superstition and pre- " eminence."

AT the same time, a vehement distemper having seized LIVIA, obliged the Emperor to hasten his return to Rome; seeing the mother and son lived hitherto in apparent unanimity, or perhaps mutually disguised their hate; for, not long before, LIVIA, having dedicated a Statue to the deified AUGUSTUS, near the Theatre of MARCELLUS, had the name of TIBERIUS inscribed after her own. This he was believed to have resented heinously, as a degrading

grading the dignity of the Prince, but to have ſmothered his reſentment under dark diſſimulation. Upon this occaſion therefore, the Senate decreed "ſupplications to the Gods, with "the celebration of the greater Roman Games, "under the direction of the Pontifs, the Au-"gurs, the College of fifteen, aſſiſted by the "College of ſeven, and the fraternity of Au-"guſtal Prieſts." LUCIUS APRONIUS had moved, that "with the reſt might preſide the "company of Heralds." TIBERIUS oppoſed it, and diſtinguiſhed between the juriſdiction of the Prieſts and theirs, "for that at no time had "the Heralds arrived to ſo much pre-emi-"nence; but for the Auguſtal fraternity, they "were therefore added, becauſe they exerciſed "a Prieſthood peculiar to that family for which "the preſent vows and ſolemnities were "made."

IT is no part of my purpoſe to trace all the votes of particular men, unleſs they are memorable for integrity, or for notorious infamy. This I conceive to be the principal duty of an Hiſtorian, that he ſuppreſs no inſtance of virtue, and that by the dread of future infamy and the cenſures of poſterity, men may be deterred from deteſtable actions and proſtitute ſpeeches. In ſhort, ſuch was the abomination of thoſe times, ſo prevailing the contagion of flattery, that not only the firſt Nobles, whoſe obnoxious ſplendour found protection in obſequiouſneſs, but all who had been Conſuls, a great part of ſuch as had been Prætors, and even many of the

the unregiſtered Senators, ſtrove for priority in the vileneſs and exceſs of their votes. There is a tradition, that TIBERIUS, as often as he went out of the Senate, was wont to cry out in Greek, *Oh men prepared for bondage!* Even he who could not bear public liberty, nauſeated this proſtitute tameneſs of ſlaves.

HENCE by degrees they proceeded from acts of abaſement to thoſe of vengeance. CAIUS SILANUS, Proconſul of Aſia, accuſed by theſe our Allies of robbing the public, was impleaded by MAMERCUS SCAURUS once Conſul, JUNIUS OTHO Prætor, and BRUTIDIUS NIGER Ædile. They charged him with "violating the "Divinity of AUGUSTUS, and with deſpiſing "the Majeſty of TIBERIUS." MAMERCUS boaſted, that he imitated the great examples of old, "that LUCIUS COTTA was accuſed by "SCIPIO, SERVIUS GALBA by CATO the "Cenſor, PUBLIUS RUTILIUS by MARCUS "SCAURUS." As if ſuch crimes as theſe had been ever avenged by SCIPIO and CATO, or by that very SCAURUS, whom this MAMERCUS his great grandſon, and the reproach of his progenitors, was now diſgracing by the vile occupation of an informer! The old employment of JUNIUS OTHO, was that of a ſchoolmaſter. Thence being by the power of SEJANUS created a Senator, he laboured by notorious attempts to triumph over the baſeneſs of his original. BRUTIDIUS abounded in worthy accompliſhments, and, had he proceeded in the upright road, was in the ready way

way to every the moſt diſtinguiſhed honour; but eagerneſs hurried him, while he puſhed to ſurpaſs firſt his equals, afterwards his ſuperiors, and at laſt his own very hopes; a courſe which has overwhelmed even many virtuous men, who, ſcorning acquirements that came ſlow, but attended with ſecurity, graſped at ſuch as were ſudden, though linked to deſtruction.

GELLIUS POPLICOLA, and MARCUS PACONIUS, increaſed the number of the accuſers, the former Quæſtor to SILANUS, the other his Lieutenant. Neither was it doubted but the accuſed was guilty of cruelty and extortion. But he was beſet with a ſeries of hardſhips, dangerous even to the innocent, when, beſides ſo many Senators, his foes, he was to reply ſingle to the moſt eloquent pleaders of all Aſia, choſen purpoſely to accuſe him, ignorant himſelf of pleading, and beſet with capital terrors, a circumſtance which diſables the moſt practiſed Eloquence. Neither did TIBERIUS ſpare him, but, with an angry voice and countenance, daunted and interrupted him with inceſſant queſtions; nor was he allowed to refute or evade them, nay, was often forced to confeſs, leſt the Emperor ſhould have asked in vain. The ſlaves too of SILANUS, in order to be examined by torture, were delivered in ſale to the City-ſteward; and that none of his relations might engage to aſſiſt him, when his life was thus at ſtake, crimes of treaſon were ſubjoined, a ſure bar to all help, and a ſeal upon their lips. Having therefore requeſted an interval

of

of a few days, he dropped all defence, and tried the Emperor by a Memorial, in which he menaced him with the public odium, and blended expoſtulations with prayers.

TIBERIUS, the better to palliate by precedent his purpoſes againſt SILANUS, cauſed to be recited a Repreſentation from AUGUSTUS, concerning VOLESUS MESSALA, Proconſul of the ſame province, and the Decree of Senate made againſt him. He then asked LUCIUS PISO his opinion. PISO, after a long preface of the Emperor's clemency, propoſed "to in-
"terdict SILANUS from fire and water, and to
"baniſh him into the iſland Gyarus." The reſt voted the ſame thing, only that CNEIUS LENTULUS moved, "that the eſtate deſcending
"from his mother CORNELIA, ſhould be di-
"ſtinguiſhed from his own, and reſtored to
"his ſon." TIBERIUS aſſented. But, CORNELIUS DOLABELLA, purſuing his old ſtrain of adulation, and having firſt expoſed the morals of SILANUS, added, "that no man of profli-
"gate manners, and marked with infamy,
"ſhould be admitted to the lot of Provinces;
"and of this their character the Prince was to
"judge. Tranſgreſſions, he ſaid, were pu-
"niſhed by the Laws; but how much more
"merciful would it be to prevent tranſgreſ-
"ſors! more merciful to the men themſelves,
"more to the Provinces."

AGAINST this TIBERIUS reaſoned, "that in
"truth he was not ignorant of the prevailing
"rumours concerning the conduct of SILANUS;
"but

" but eſtabliſhments muſt not be built upon
" rumours. In the adminiſtration of Provinces,
" many had diſappointed our hopes, and many
" our fears. Some were, by the great weight
" of affairs, rouſed into vigilance and amend-
" ment, others degenerated and ſunk under
" them. The Prince could not within his
" own view comprize all things, nor was it
" at all expedient for him to make himſelf
" anſwerable for the characters of other men
" engaged in purſuits of ambition. Laws were
" therefore appointed againſt facts committed,
" becauſe all things future are hid in uncer-
" tainty. Such were the inſtitutions of our
" anceſtors, that if crimes preceded, puniſh-
" ments were to follow. Nor ſhould they
" change eſtabliſhments wiſely contrived and
" always approved. The Prince had already
" ſufficiency of burdens, and even ſufficiency
" of power; the authority of the Laws decreaſed
" when that of the Prince advanced, nor was
" Sovereignty to be exerciſed where the Laws
" would ſerve." A popular ſpeech, and the more joyfully heard, as acts of popularity were rare with TIBERIUS. To it he added, prudent as he was in mitigating exceſſes, where his own proper reſentments did not controul him, " that Gyarus was an unhoſpitable iſland,
" and devoid of human culture; that, in fa-
" vour to the Junian family, and to a Patri-
" cian lately of their own order, they ſhould
" allow him for his place of exile the iſle of
" Cythera; that this too was the requeſt of

" TORQUATA, the ſiſter of SILANUS, a Veſtal " virgin of primitive ſanctity." This motion prevailed.

THE Cyrenians were afterwards heard, and CESIUS CORDUS, charged by them, and impleaded by ANCHARIUS PRISCUS, for plundering the Province, was condemned. LUCIUS ENNIUS, a Roman Knight, was impeached of Treaſon, " for that he had converted an " effigies of the Prince into common uſes of " ſilver;" but TIBERIUS withſtood admitting him as a criminal. Againſt this acquittal ATEIUS CAPITO openly declared his proteſt from an affected ſpirit of liberty; " for that the Emperor " ought not to ſnatch from the fathers the " power of penalties, nor ought ſuch a mighty " iniquity to paſs unpuniſhed; he, indeed, " might be paſſive under his own grievances; " but let him not give up the indignation " of the Senate, and the injuries done the " Commonwealth." TIBERIUS conſidered rather the drift of theſe words than the expreſſion, and perſiſted in his interpoſition. The infamy of CAPITO was the more ſignal, becauſe, learned as he was in Laws human and divine, he thus debaſed the dignity of the State, and his own perſonal accompliſhments.

THE next was a religious debate, in what Temple to place the gift vowed by the Roman Knights to FORTUNE ſtiled the *Equeſtrian*, for the recovery of LIVIA; for, though in the city were many Temples to this Goddeſs, yet none had that title. At laſt it was diſcovered that

that at Antium was one thus named; and as all the religious Institutions in the cities of Italy, all the Temples and Statues of the Deities, were included in the jurisdiction and sovereignty of Rome, the gift was ordered to be presented there. While matters of Religion were on foot, the answer lately deferred, concerning SERVIUS MALUGINENSIS, Priest of Jupiter, was now produced by TIBERIUS, who recited a Statute of the Pontifs, "that when "the Priest of Jupiter was taken ill, he might, "with the consent of the chief Pontif, be ab-"sent two nights, except on days of public "sacrifice, and never more than twice in the "same year." This regulation, made under AUGUSTUS, sufficiently shewed, that a year's absence, and the administration of Provinces, were not allowed to the Priests of Jupiter. He likewise quoted the example of LUCIUS METELLUS, Chief Pontif, who restrained to Rome AULUS POSTUMIUS, who was under that character. So the lot of Asia was conferred on that Consular who was next in seniority to MALUGINENSIS.

DURING this time, LEPIDUS asked leave of the Senate, to strengthen and beautify at his expence the Basilic of Paulus, a peculiar Monument of the Æmilian family. For even then it was usual with private men to be magnificent in public structures. Nor had AUGUSTUS blamed TAURUS, PHILIPPUS, or BALBUS, for applying their overflowing wealth, or the spoils of the enemy, towards the decoration of the

City, and the perpetuation of their own fame. By their example LEPIDUS, though but moderately rich, revived the venerable glory of his Anceſtors. But, as the Theatre of POMPEY was conſumed by accidental fire, TIBERIUS undertook to rebuild it, becauſe none of the family were equal to the charge, and promiſed that it ſhould, however, be ſtill called by the name of POMPEY. At the ſame time, he celebrated the praiſes of SEJANUS, and to his vigilance and efforts aſcribed it, that a flame ſo violent was ſtopped at one building only. Hence the Fathers decreed a Statue to SEJANUS, to be placed upon the Theatre of POMPEY. Nor was it long after that the Emperor, when he dignified JUNIUS BLESUS with the enſigns of Triumph, declared, "that in honour to "SEJANUS he did it," for, to SEJANUS, BLESUS was uncle.

AND yet the actions of BLESUS were entitled to ſo much diſtinction. For, TACFARINAS, though often repulſed, yet ſtill repairing his forces in the heart of Africa, had arrived to ſuch a pitch of arrogance, that he ſent Embaſſadors to TIBERIUS, with demands "for a ſet-"tlement to himſelf, and his army," otherwiſe he threatened "everlaſting war." They ſay that upon no occaſion did ever TIBERIUS, for any inſult offered himſelf, and the Roman name, manifeſt a more ſenſible indignation; "that a deſerter and a robber ſhould preſume "to offer terms, like an equal foe; when even "to SPARTACUS no conceſſion was made of "being

" being received and treated under the ſanction
" of the public faith, while, after the ſlaughter
" of ſo many Conſular armies, he ſtill carried,
" with impunity, fire and deſolation through
" Italy; though the Commonwealth was then
" gaſping under two mighty wars, with SER-
" TORIUS and MITHRIDATES. Much leſs was
" TACFARINAS, a free-booter, to be bought
" off by terms of peace, and conceſſion of
" lands, whilſt the Roman people enjoyed the
" higheſt pitch of glory and power." Hence he commiſſioned BLESUS, " to engage by the
" hopes of indemnity all his followers, to lay
" down their arms; but to get into his hands
" the leader himſelf, by whatever means."

So that by this pardon many were brought over, and the war was forthwith proſecuted againſt him by ſtratagems, not unlike his own. For as he, who in ſtrength of men was unequal, but in arts of ſtealth and pillaging ſuperior, made his incurſions in ſeparate bands, and thence could at once elude any attack of ours, and haraſs us by ambuſhes of his; ſo on our ſide, three diſtinct routes were reſolved, and three ſeveral bodies formed. SCIPIO, the Proconſul's Lieutenant, commanded on that quarter whence TACFARINAS made his depredations upon the Leptitanians, and then his retreat amongſt the Garamantes. In another quarter BLESUS the ſon led a band of his own, to protect the territory of the Cirtenſians from ravages; between both marched the Proconſul himſelf, with the flower of the army, erecting forts,

forts, and casting up entrenchments in convenient places. By these dispositions he sorely cramped the foe, and rendered all their movements dangerous; for, which ever way they turned, still some party of the Roman forces was upon them, in front, in flank, and often at their heels; and by this means many were slain, or made prisoners. This triple army was again split by BLESUS into bands still smaller, and over each a Centurion of tried bravery placed. Neither did he, as usual at the end of the season, draw off his forces from the field, or dispose them into winter-quarters in the old Province; but, as in the first heat of war, having raised more forts, he dispatched light parties, acquainted with the wilderness, who drove TACFARINAS before them, continually shifting his huts; till, having taken his brother, he retreated, too suddenly however for the good of the province, as there were still left behind instruments to rekindle the war. But TIBERIUS took it for concluded, and likewise granted to BLESUS that he should be by the Legions saluted *Imperator*, an ancient honour, usually done to the old Roman Captains, who, upon their successful exploits for their country, were in the shouts and vehemence of victory, thus complimented by their armies; and there have been at once several *Imperators*, without any pre-eminence of one over the rest. It was a title vouchsafed to some, even by AUGUSTUS, and now, for the last time, by TIBERIUS to BLESUS.

THIS

THIS year died two illustrious Romans, ASINIUS SALONINUS, splendid in his relations and descent; as MARCUS AGRIPPA and ASINIUS POLLIO were his grandfathers, DRUSUS his half brother, and himself betrothed to the Emperor's grand-daughter; and ATEIUS CAPITO, already mentioned, in civil acquirements the principal man in Rome; as to descent, his grand-father was only a Centurion under SYLLA, but his father arrived to the Prætorship. AUGUSTUS had pushed him early into the Consulship, that, by the grandeur of that office, he might be set above ANTISTIUS LABEO, who excelled in equal accomplishments; for that age produced together these two ornaments of peace. But LABEO preserved unstained a spirit of liberty, and thence was more the object of popular renown; while CAPITO gained by obsequiousness greater credit with those who bore rule. The former, as he was never suffered to rise beyond the Prætorship, met with matter of praise from a source of injury; to the other, with the glory of the Consulate, accrued likewise the envy, and with envy hatred.

JUNIA too, now sixty-four years after the battle of Philippi, finished her course; the niece of CATO, sister of BRUTUS, and wife of CASSIUS. Her Will made much noise amongst the populace; for that being immensely rich, and having honourably distinguished with legacies almost all the great men of Rome, she omitted TIBERIUS; an omission which he took

took civilly, nor hindered her Panegyric from being pronounced in public, nor her Funeral from being celebrated with other customary solemnities. Before it were borne the Images of twenty the most noble families, the MANLII, the QUINCTII, and other names of equal lustre; but superior to all shone CASSIUS and BRUTUS, on this very account, that their Images were not with the rest seen now.

END of VOL. I.