

"A nation ye shall find, renowned of yore
 "For martial valour, and for worthy deeds;
 "Rich in a vast and unexhausted store
 "Of innate wisdom, whose prolific seeds
 "Spring in each age: so Nature's laws require,
 "And the great *Lævus of Nature* ne'er expire.
 "Unchang'd the Lion's valiant race remains,
 "And all his father's wiles the youthful Fox retains"⁹².

92. This Ode was sung after the celebration of the games in the seventy-fourth Olympiad; when Agefidamus, chief of the Epizephyrian Locrians, seated near the promontory Zephyrium in Italy, was victor in the exercise of the *cællus*.

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ITALY from the most early Times to the Banishment
of the TARQUINS from ROME, and the Abolition of
Regal Power among the ROMANS.

THAT central peninsula of Europe, which extends, in the shape of a boot, from the thirty-eighth to the forty-seventh degree of latitude, and is bounded on the north by the Alps, on the south by the Sicilian strait, and on the east and west by the Hadriatic and Tuscan seas, was very anciently known by the name of Italia or Italy¹, and considered as the most fertile, desirable, and self-supported country in our division of the world²; as producing not only corn, cattle, wine, and oil in abundance, but fruits of all kinds, and metals, minerals, stone, and timber for all uses; whatever, in a word, can contribute to supply the necessities, or minister to the comforts of life, in a climate moderately hot, and a territory beautifully diversified with bays, promontories, rivers, lakes, mountains, hills, and plains³.

ANCIENT Italy is commonly divided by geographers into three parts; *Italia Subalpina*, or Italy under the

1. This name, we are told by Aristotle, it received from Italus, one of its kings, who reigned before the days of Minos, and changed the manner of life of the inhabitants from pasturage to agriculture. (Arist. *Polit.* lib. vii.) It had formerly been known by the names of *Saturnia*, *Hesperia*, *Aufonia*, and *Oenatoria*. Dionys. Halicarnass. *Antiq. Rom.* lib. i.

2. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup. Plin. lib. iii. Strabo, lib. v.

3. Id. ibid.

Alps; ITALY, properly so called, which was the middle division; and *Magna Græcia*, or Great Greece, toward the point of the peninsula; where the Greeks, as we have seen, had early planted many colonies. The Romans, when they had made themselves masters of the whole peninsula, divided it first into seven, and afterward into eleven provinces.

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BEFORE the rise of the Roman power, Italy was occupied by a number of independent nations or tribes, who enjoyed, in their several cantons, the blessings of liberty and equality, under a government similar to that of the Greeks during the heroic age⁴. The most considerable of those nations were the Aborigines, who appear to have been of Celtic blood, and whose name became early extinct in that of *Latines*⁵; the Umbrians, who seem to have been a warlike tribe of the Aborigines, and who, in very ancient times, widely extended their dominion in Italy⁶; the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans, sprung from a Lydian colony, blended with a body of Pelasgian adventurers, that had emigrated from Thessaly; who stript the Umbrians of all their conquests, and confined them to their proper district⁷; the Sabines, a tribe of the Umbrians, who had fled from the victorious arms of the Etruscans, and were reinforced by a colony of Lacedæmonians, whose hardy valour they imbibed, and whose austere

4. Dion. Halicarnass. *Antiq. Rom.* passim.

5. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. i.

6. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* lib. iii.

Strabo, *Geog.* lib. v. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

7. Id. ibid. et Herodot. lib. i. cap. xciv. The Lydian colony was conducted into Italy by Tyrrhenus, the son of Atys, (Herodot. ubi sup.) who appears to have reigned in that part of Asia Minor long known by the name of Lydia, about five generations before the appearance of Hercules and Theseus, or the beginning of the heroic age in Greece. The Pelasgian adventurers had found their way into Italy in a still more early period, Dion. Halicarnass. lib. i.

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manners they adopted⁸. All the other ancient Italian nations were branches from those, except the Venetes and Ligurians; who seem to have been Gallic or German emigrants, and consequently Celts⁹.

THE Etruscans, and the Latines or Aborigines of Latium, are the only Italian nations concerning whom history or tradition has furnished us with any particulars worthy of mentioning, till after the building of Rome. The Etruscans appear to have been in possession of the greater part of Italy, and lords of the neighbouring seas, as early as the time of the Argonautic expedition¹⁰. How long their empire remained unbroken, is uncertain. We only know, that during several centuries subsequent to the Trojan war, they continued to be the most powerful and civilized nation in the Italian peninsula, and successfully cultivated the Arts of Design before they could be said to have taken root in Greece¹¹. Yet a celebrated antiquarian, who admits this more early proficiency, conjectures, from the remains of their sculpture and painting, that the Etruscans must have been indebted for the principles of these arts, and also for those of their literature, to Græcian emigrants¹². It seems, however, no less probable, that the elements of both were imported with the Lydian colony immediately from Asia Minor,

8. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. Plut. *Vit. Numa*.

9. See on this intricate subject, (the peopling of Italy) the Ancient part of the English *Universal History*, vol. ix. and xviii. where the opinions of a multitude of authors, both ancient and modern, are diligently compared and examined. The lovers of such inquiries may also consult *Recherches sur l'Orig. et l'Ancienne Hist. des different-Peuple de l'Italie*, par M. Freret, in the second volume of *Choix des Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*.

10. Diod. Sicul. lib. v. Athenæus, lib. vii. Aristid. *Orat. in Bacch.*

11. Append. *Ancient Univ. Hist.* vol. xviii. Art. *Etrusci* sec. ii. iii. et. auct. cit.

12. Winkelmann, *Hist. de l'Art de l'Antiquité*, liv. iii.

as the religion of the Etruscans certainly was; the worship of the DII CABIRI, or *Mighty Gods*, and the gloomy mysteries of Samothracia ¹³.

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WHENCE the Latines derived their knowledge of arts and of letters, we are not left to conjecture. The Romans, their illustrious descendants, whose virtue and valor made them sovereigns of Italy, and whose ambition prompted them to aspire at the empire of the ancient world, have furnished us with sufficient information on that subject. And in tracing the history of this great people, we shall gradually become acquainted with every thing necessary to be known concerning the political state of the old Italian nations; and with all their transactions, civil and military, that can contribute to your lordship's entertainment, or which are properly authenticated.

ABOUT three score years before the Trojan war, and during the reign of Faunus king of the Aborigenes, a band of Græcian adventurers from Arcadia, under Evander, their leader, arrived in that part of Italy, afterward known by the name of Latium. Faunus received the strangers, who landed from two ships, with marks of friendship, and allowed them to settle in his dominions ¹⁴. They chose for their habitation the foot of a hill, not far from the river Tiber. There they built a town; which, from their parent city in Arcadia, they called *Pallantium*, a name that was in succeeding times corrupted into *Palatium* ¹⁵.

EVANDER and his followers having thus seated themselves at the foot of that hill, which was one day

¹³. Dion. Halicarnass. *Antiq. Rom.* lib. i. To these Gods, we are told by the same author, the Etruscans vowed the *Tenthr*. Id. *ibid*.

¹⁴. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. i.

¹⁵. Id. *ibid*.

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THE Arcadian emigrants, if we may credit tradition, carried their improvements yet farther. They are said to have framed laws, to have infused into the barbarous natives a sense of humanity, and to have taught them many necessary arts¹⁹. Hence they were cherished by the Aborigines, and became in a manner one people with them²⁰.

IN the reign of Latinus, the son and successor of Faunus, Æneas and a body of Trojans, who had escaped in the general slaughter of their countrymen, on the subversion of the kingdom of Priam, and the destruction of Troy by the Greeks, landed at Laurentium on the coast of the Aborigines²¹. And having obtained permission to form a settlement, they built a city on a hill near the mouth of the Tiber. To that city the Trojan prince gave the name of Lavinium, in grateful expression of his affection for Lavinia, the king's daughter, and only child, who had been granted to him in marriage²².

THE good fortune of Æneas attended his followers. The Trojans were generally able to form marriages

16. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. i. The Arcadians instituted, in particular, the festival of the Lupercalia, in honour of the God Pan, (Id. ibid.) celebrated with so much licentiousness among the Romans in latter times.

17. Id. ibid.

18. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. i.

19. Id. ibid.

20. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. i.

21. Id. ibid.

22. Tit. Liv. lib. i. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

with the women of Latium; and soon became so perfectly incorporated with the principal families, that both they and the Aborigines took the common name of *Latines*, in honour of *Latinus*, who had showed the example of alliance, and formed, with his daughter's hand, the great bond of their union ²³.

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ALARMED at this coalition, the Rutuli, a fierce neighbouring nation, and apparently a tribe of the Aborigines, had recourse to arms. After some ineffectual efforts, they applied for assistance to the Etruscans; whose name, we are told, was then famous in Italy, from the Alps to the Sicilian strait, and by sea as well as by land ²⁴. The events of the war were many, and its success various. But, at length, it was happily terminated by a treaty, which made the Tiber the boundary between the Latin and Etruscan territories ²⁵.

DURING the continuance of hostilities, *Latinus* was slain; and *Æneas*, who succeeded him in the government of Latium, was drowned in the river *Nimicus*, on the banks of which he had fought an unsuccessful battle with the Etruscans ²⁶. His son *Ascanius*, however, was able to defend *Lavinium*; and having gained, in a vigorous sally, an advantage over the enemy, he obtained the treaty of peace already mentioned ²⁷.

ABOUT thirty years after the founding of *Lavinium*, the *Latines* built a large city, which they surrounded with a wall, and denominated *ALBA* ²⁸. And in the neighbouring country they built many other

Ant. Ch.
1132.

23. Id. *ibid*.

24. Liv. lib. i. cap. ii.

25. Id. *ibid*. Dion. Halicarnas. lib. i.

26. Liv. et Dion. Halicarnas. *ubi sup*.

27. Id. *ibid*.

28. Dion. Halicarnas. lib. i.

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A TEMPLE and sanctuary having been erected in this city, for the images or emblems of the Gods which Æneas had brought with him from Troy, and placed in a Temple at Lavinium, they were removed accordingly to their new habitation. But the following night, to the astonishment of every one, the images changed their situation (by the interposition of priest-craft, as may be presumed) and were found in the morning upon their former pedestals; although the doors of the temple at Alba remained firmly shut; and the walls and roof were entire³⁰. Replaced, with expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices, the images again found their way to the old temple³¹.

UNWILLING to return to their former habitation, or to live in utter separation from the Gods of their fathers, the Trojans of Alba, after much deliberation and trouble of mind, came to a resolution, to send back some of their own people to Lavinium, in order to take care of the images³². These Trojan Gods were called PENATES by the Latines, and supposed to preside over domestic affairs³³. With Æneas also was supposed to have been brought the famous PAL-LADIUM, afterward said to be kept by the holy virgins, along with the perpetual fire, in the temple of Vesta; and the conservation of which was considered by the Romans, as essential to the safety of the state, or to public security³⁴.

29. Id. *ibid*.

31. Id. *ibid*.

33. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. i. *passim*.

30. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. i. cap. lxxvii.

32. Dion. Halicarnass. *ubi sup*.

34. Id. *ibid*.

FOUR hundred years after the building of Alba, (during which long period we are left altogether in the dark in regard to the affairs of Italy) the Latines sent out a colony to Pallantium; where the Areadians under Evander had settled, and where some of their descendants still remained³⁵. The first care of the adventurers was to give to Pallantium the form of a city, and to surround it with a wall³⁶. That city they called ROME, from Romulus, the head of the colony; who was the seventeenth lineal descendant from Æneas by Lavinia, and grandson of Numitor king of Alba³⁷.

EVERY circumstance relative to the building of Rome, or concerning the birth and education of its founder, has been carefully preserved by the ancient Greek and Roman writers. And the leading particulars connected with those events; how insignificant soever in themselves, derive importance from the æra which they serve to introduce; and thence become too interesting to mankind, to be omitted by a modern historian.

AMULIUS the son of Procas, king of Alba, having seized the reins of government on the death of his father, in prejudice of the right of Numitor, his elder brother, sought also to deprive that injured prince of posterity; in order to secure his own usurped power, and transmit the succession to his descendants. With this view, he got Numitor's only son secretly assassinated, being little jealous of the unwarlike and unambitious father, and constituted his only daughter, Ilia or Rhea, a priestess of Vesta; an office, though honour-

35. Id. *ibid.*

36. *Dion. Halicarnass. lib. 1.*

37. Id. *ibid.*

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able in itself, which condemned her to a life of perpetual virginity³⁸.

BUT the Vestal state, it should seem, accorded as ill with Rhea's complexion, as it would with the great events in the womb of time, for the future exaltation of her family and nation. She soon proved with child; and insinuated, in extenuation of her crime, that she had been ravished by the God Mars, in a grove sacred to that masculine divinity, adjoining to the temple of Vesta³⁹. And which was surely a convenient place for an amour.

IN consequence of this violent, or at least vigorous embrace, Rhea was, in due time, delivered of two male children; to one of whom was afterward given the name of Romulus, and to the other that of Remus⁴⁰. What became of their mother, we are not certainly informed. She was either committed to close confinement by Amulius, or put to death, according to the law against incontinent vestals; and her two

38. Liv. lib. i. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. i. The character of no Hea-then Deity is less understood than that of Vesta. "Among the contemplative priests of the East," says the learned Blackwell, "she passed for the latent *Power of Fire*; or that internal texture and disposition of some sorts of matter that renders it combustible, while others are little affected with heat. As such, she was the wife of Coelus, and mother of Saturn; the sacred ETERNAL FIRE, worshipped with the greatest reverence, and most pious ceremonies, by all the Eastern nations. But among the less speculative Europeans, who received the knowledge of this Goddess at second hand, she was considered as Saturn's daughter; a national, tutelary Divinity, and *Protectors of the Family Stat.* This hoary recluse Goddess," proceeds he, "the pure Eternal Vesta, therefore, appears in a double capacity: either as the grand enlivening GENIUS of the Terrestrial Globe, or as the permanent immovable seat of Gods and Men, the EARTH itself; and, by an easy transition, the Native Soil of a Nation, or the fixed HABITATION of a FAMILY." *Letters concerning Mythol.* p. 58—62.

39. Id. *ibid.*

40. Liv. et Dion. Halicarnass. *ubi sup.*

infants were ordered, in conformity with the same law, to be thrown into the Tiber⁴¹.

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FORTUNATELY for the twin-brothers, the Tiber had at that time overflowed its banks; so that the cradle, in which they were deposited, was not committed to the bed of that river, but to the superabounding waters that washed the foot of the Palatine hill⁴². Those waters suddenly retired; and the cradle, which had floated for a time, without entering the main stream of the Tiber, striking against a stone, was overturned, and the children of Rhea were left sprawling in the mud⁴³.

IN that situation the reputed sons of Mars are said to have been recognized by a she wolf, whose dugs were painfully distended with milk, by reason of the loss of her whelps⁴⁴. She offered the infants her teats, which they greedily seized; and, finding relief, she continued with them, and licked off the mud with which they were besmeared⁴⁵.

MEANWHILE, according to the same traditionary tale, the neighbouring shepherds, driving their flocks to pasture, were filled with astonishment and admiration at the docility of the wolf, and the affection of the children, who hung upon her, as if she had been their mother⁴⁶. These simple people thought they saw something supernatural in the wonderful preservation of the infants, though ignorant of their high birth. And Faustus, the keeper of the king's herds and flocks, who happened to be among the number, and who had been in Alba at the time of the de-

41. Id. *ibid.*
Halicarnass. lib. i.

44. Justin, lib. xliii.

46. Id. *ibid.*

42. Quint. Fabius Pict. ap. Dion.

43. Id. *ibid.*

45. Q. Fabius Pict. *ubi sup.*

ART. I. livery of Rhea, took home with him the twin-brothers, whose parentage he guessed, and made his own wife nurse them ⁴⁷.

THUS miraculously saved and reared, Romulus and Remus, in the cottage of Faustulus, began early to display an elevation of mind, and a dignity of look, little suited to the condition of herdsmen, but perfectly consonant to their royal ancestry, and strongly indicative of the justice of their maternal claim to a divine Sire. Disdaining the tranquil life of shepherds or neatherds, they devoted themselves to the toils of the chase, and became famous as hunters. From the pursuit of wild beasts, they turned their activity to military sports, and their ambition to skill in arms ⁴⁸. This skill they had frequent opportunity of displaying; not only at their rural festivals, along with their rude companions, whom they had formed into bands, but in combating the robbers of the neighbouring mountains, whose booty they frequently seized; and, after carrying it home with exultation, divided it among their associates ⁴⁹. Hence, perhaps, the remote origin of the Roman triumph.

ON one of those occasions of public rejoicing, Remus fell into the hands of the banditti, who had been deprived of their booty; was carried before his grand uncle Amulius, king of Alba, and accused of having committed the robberies he had helped to repress ⁵⁰. This incident brought matters to a crisis.

FAUSTULUS made Romulus acquainted with his birth; in order to prevent him from inconsiderately rushing, at the head of his rustic followers, to the

⁴⁷. Liv. lib. i. Q. Fabius Pic. ubi sup.

⁴⁸. Liv. ubi sup. Plut. *Vit. Romul.*

⁵⁰. Liv. lib. i. Justin, lib. *xiii.*

⁴⁹. *Id. ibid.*

rescue of his brother⁵¹. Romulus revealed himself to his grandfather, Numitor; to whose custody Remus had been committed for punishment, and who had been struck with his stately person, and majestic mien⁵². A party in Alba, under the conduct of Remus, was secretly formed in favour of the excluded king; and Romulus having assembled the hardy mountaineers, whom he had trained to arms, entered the capital at their head; killed the usurper Amulius, and placed Numitor upon the throne⁵³.

BUT the twin-brothers, although now restored to their family, their kindred, and their rank in society, did not find in their new situation all the satisfaction it might seem to afford. Two young princes of an enterprising genius, who had led so active a life, and accomplished such a memorable revolution before the years of manhood, were by no means calculated to enjoy that peaceful repose it appeared necessary for them to maintain, under the government of an aged and unwarlike king. Romulus and Remus, therefore, craved leave of their grand-father to lead a colony from Alba, and establish an independent state⁵⁴. Their request was readily granted by Numitor; and so popular was their character, that fifteen hundred adventurers, beside a large body of their former associates, chose to follow their fortunes⁵⁵.

THESE determined adventurers, the bold and ambitious youths conducted, as already related, to Palantium; in the neighbourhood of which they had passed their early days, and where they proposed to build a city⁵⁶. But a quarrel broke out between the

51. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. i.

52. Plut. *Vit. Romul.*53. Id. *ibid.* Liv. lib. i. Dion. Halicarnass. *ubi sup.*

54. Dion. Halicarnass. et Liv. lib.

55. Id. *ibid.*

56. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. i.

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haughty brothers, relative to the founding of that city. Romulus insisted it should be built on the Palatine, and Remus contended for the Aventine hill. Each was abetted in his opinion by his particular adherents. Recourse was had, in vain to augury, in order to settle the dispute. The two parties went to blows, and Remus was killed in the fray⁵⁷.

HENCEFORTH Romulus remained undisputed head of the colony. And he took the most effectual measures, as well for securing his authority, as for promoting the future grandeur of Rome; which was built, according to his destination, on the Palatine hill⁵⁸. The success of these measures, and the measures themselves, now demand your Lordship's attention.

Ant. Chr.
752.
Olymp.
vi. 4.

As soon as Romulus had founded that city which still bears his name, and which at first was no better than a military station, surrounded with a wall and a ditch⁵⁹, he resolved, with the advice of his grandfather, to establish some plan of government, by which the infant community might be held together. He accordingly assembled his followers, who now amounted to three thousand foot, and three hundred horsemen⁶⁰, and asked them, under what form of policy they would chuse to live?—or, if they should make choice of regal government, whom they would wish to rule over them?—They chose that moderate kingly government, to which they had formerly been accustomed to submit; and which then, as already observed, prevailed over Italy: and they named, with one voice, their gallant leader as their king⁶¹.

57. *Id. ibid.*

59. *Id. ibid.*

61. *Id. ibid.*

58. *Dion. Halicarnass. Liv. et Plut. ubi sup.*

60. *Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii.*

BUT Romulus was too well acquainted with the factious spirit and restless disposition of his followers, to acquiesce in this choice without the sanction of higher authority. He, therefore, made a solemn appeal to the Gods, for their approbation and confirmation; and the omen being in his favour, he proceeded to the exercise of his regal function⁶².

THE manner of appeal to Heaven, on that occasion, was this: Romulus having sacrificed, by break of day, to Jupiter, the king of the Gods, and to all the inferior deities, whom he had chosen as the patrons of his new city and state, walked out of his tent, with his face toward the east; when "a flash of lightning ran from the *left* to the *right*," which was interpreted by the augurs as a happy omen⁶³. A similar appeal was made, in all succeeding times, by the Roman kings and magistrates, after their election; though latterly it came to be considered as mere form⁶⁴.

THE measures taken by Romulus, immediately after he was invested with royal authority, shew him to have been worthy of the high office of king; and they, at the same time, tend to establish the authority of an ancient tradition, That he had been sent, while a stripling, to Gabii, a town in the neighbourhood of Palantium, and there instructed in Greek learning and the use of arms⁶⁵. Romulus began his administration with

62. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

63. Id. ibid.

64. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii.

65. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. i. cap. lxxiv. This attempt to reconcile to credibility the framing of the admirable institutions ascribed to Romulus, will appear absurd to the converts of those modern critics and historians, who affect to consider the early part of the Roman history as altogether fictitious. But as I can see no reason for rejecting the ancient traditions of a people proud of their ancestry; who interwove those traditions with their most solemn religious

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with dividing the citizens of Rome into three equal portions, to which he gave the name of *Tribes*; assigned to each tribe a particular district, or ward of the city to inhabit, and appointed a person of distinction, a tribune or præfect, to preside over it. He next subdivided the tribes into *Curie* or companies; each tribe consisting of ten, and the whole of thirty *Curie*; and each of these, he again split into ten *Decurie*; all under their proper officers, their *Curiones* and *Decuriones*; who, in peace, presided over them, in their several stations, and could assemble them for war on the shortest notice ⁶⁰.

HAVING thus given to his three thousand three hundred followers the form of an army, in a state of encampment, Romulus proceeded to establish, with the consent of the assembled body, such civil institutions as seemed necessary for good government, and the prosperity of a rising community. Actuated by these views, he divided the territory of Rome into thirty equal shares, and gave one to each of the thirty

gious ceremonies, and preserved the memory of the things they contain in various monuments, both civil and sacred, I shall treat the Roman history, from the building of the city, with all the gravity of Livy, and the attention of Dionysius Halicarnassensis; two historians of great discernment, who lived in an enlightened age, and had full access to information; who wrote nearly at the same time, and who, without any participation, have related the same events, and with nearly the same leading circumstances. If they have not told always incontrovertible facts, they have at least told us what the Romans in the height of their power, and when they were neither ignorant nor credulous, believed concerning their early transactions: nor is greater historical certainty necessary. In a word, it may be questioned, whether modern scepticism, by its impertinent cavillings; has not done more hurt to the cause of truth, and to all the fruits to be naturally reaped from historical knowledge, by involving the mind of the inquirer in perpetual doubt, than the credulity of former, and darker ages.

⁶⁰ Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. vii. xiv.

Curæ; after reserving to himself a certain portion for the support of his royal dignity, and appropriating another to the use of religion. And, in order to preserve due subordination among a society of men equal in landed property, and who could have little other wealth to create disparity, he distinguished, by the name of *Patricians*, those fathers of families who were eminent for their birth or merit; and comprehended the inferior members of the state, or the common people, under the general name of *Plebeians* ⁶⁷.

To the Patricians Romulus confined the higher civil offices and principal military employments, with the superintendence of religious ceremonies: they only could be priests, magistrates, generals, or judges. But while he thus excluded the Plebeians from these important and honourable functions, for which he thought them unfit, he was by no means inattentive to their ease or happiness. He recommended to them the exercise of healthful trades; the labours of agriculture, and the grazing of cattle: and, in order to soften that envy which must be excited by the distinction of ranks, as well as to prevent those seditions which it might otherwise occasion, he placed the Plebeians as a trust in the hands of the Patricians; and united the honour and interest of the two classes, by allowing every Plebeian, under the name of *Client*, to chuse any Patrician he thought proper, for his *Patron* or protector ⁶⁸.

THIS connexion of *Patron* and *Client*, though seemingly of a private nature, was a public institution, and regulated by laws. It was the duty of a Patron to

67. Id. *Rome. Antiq.* lib. ii. cap. viii.

68. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. ix.

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explain to his *Clients*, those statutes of which they were ignorant; to conduct their suits, and defend them when sued; to protect them from injury, whether absent or present; and, in a word, to do every thing for them that a parent owes to his children, either in regard to money, credit, domestic felicity, or public support. On the other side, it was the duty of *Clients* to supply their Patron, where necessary, with money for portioning his daughters; to pay his ransom, or that of his children, if taken by an enemy; to bear his losses in private suits, and discharge out of their own pockets, his fine, when assessed for any public offence; to assist him in supporting the charge of magistracies and other public offices, in the same manner as might have been expected, if they had been closely connected with him by the ties of blood⁶⁹. And it was accounted impious and illegal, for either Patrons or *Clients*, to accuse one another in courts of justice; to bear witness, or to give their votes against each other⁷⁰.

ROMULUS, having thus harmonized and bound together the two orders of the state, resolved to constitute a great council or senate, to assist him in the administration of government. For this purpose he named, from among the Patricians, one person, whom he esteemed the most eminent of that body for political wisdom; then ordered each of the tribes to name three, and each of the Curia also three; in this manner completing the number of one hundred senators⁷¹. These senators were originally called *Fathers*, because of their age and venerable character⁷²; and afterward *Conscript Fathers*; on their number being augmented, by the enrolment of new members, at the establishment of the commonwealth⁷³. The Patrician named

69. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. x.

70. Id. ibid.

71. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xii.

72. Id. ibid. et Plut. *Vit. Romul.*

73. Liv. lib. ii. cap. i. Plut. ubi sup.

by Romulus was appointed by him president, or *Prince* of the *Senate*, and entrusted with the government of the city during the absence of the king ⁷⁴.

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VIII.

After he had provided for the wise administration of public affairs, by the election of a council of Elders, Romulus saw the need of a body of young men; always armed for sudden service, and as the royal guard. He accordingly formed a troop of three hundred horsemen, the most active and robust in the community, and of the most illustrious families, ordering each *Curia* to chuse ten; and he himself named the commander, called *Tribunus Celerum*, who had three Centurions under him ⁷⁵. They were distinguished by the general name of *Celeres*, from the quickness, as supposed, with which they performed their evolutions, and executed orders ⁷⁶. They constantly attended the king in the city, armed with pikes; and, on a day of battle, they charged before him, and defended his person ⁷⁷. They fought on horseback, where the ground would permit them to act; and on foot, where it was rough, and unfit for the use of cavalry ⁷⁸.

THE next measure adopted by Romulus was no less important than any of the former, and necessary to give the whole effect; namely, the ascertaining of the honours and prerogatives, which each of the orders in the state should enjoy. To himself, as King or head of the community, he reserved the absolute and undivided command of the army in the field, with supremacy in religious ceremonies, sacrifices, and every thing* relative to the worship of the Gods. His was the guardianship of the laws, and the administration of justice, both civil and criminal, in all cases whatever; though he took cognizance, in person, only of

74. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xii.

75. Id. ibid. cap. xiii.

76. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xiii.

77. Id. ibid.

78. Id. *Rom. Antiq.* ubi sup.

PART I.

the greater causes, leaving the inferior to the senate. He possessed the sole prerogative of convoking the senate and the assembly of the people, and he had the right of delivering his opinion first in both ⁷⁹. To the members of the senate, legally convened, beside their juridical capacity, belonged the power of deliberating and voting on all public measures; every question being decided by the majority of voices ⁸⁰.

THE people, in their assemblies, comprehending not only the *Plebeians* but the whole body of the Roman citizens, had the privilege of chusing magistrates, enacting laws, and of determining on peace and war ⁸¹. They did not vote promiscuously, but were called in their several *Curiae* ⁸²; and whatever matter was resolved upon by the majority of the *Curiae* was carried up to the senate, which had originally a power of putting a negative upon any popular resolution ⁸³. But this order of proceeding was afterward inverted under the commonwealth. Then the senate did not deliberate on the resolutions of the people, but the people had a power of confirming or reversing the decrees of the senate, and of determining finally in regard to war and peace ⁸⁴.

No sooner had Romulus completed these civil and military institutions, necessary for the preservation and prosperity of the Roman state, than he proceeded to establish those of religion; yet farther to restrain the licentious humours, and unite the hearts of his fol-

79. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xiv.

80. Id. ibid.

81. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

82. This mode of voting by *Curiae*, the most popular of any, as it had no respect to property, was changed by Servius Tullius, as we shall have occasion to see, for that of voting by *Centuries*.

83. Dion. Halicarnass. *Rom. Antiq.* lib. ii. cap. xiv.

84. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xiv. and lib. iv. cap. xx. See also Polyb. lib. vi.

lowers and fellow-citizens. He accordingly instituted priests, consecrated temples, dedicated altars, and appointed sacrifices to the Gods of his ancestors; with festivals, holidays, days of rest, or cessation from labour, and every thing requisite for the solemn and devote worship of those Divinities, whose power and beneficence to mankind he publicly declared⁸⁵. But he rejected, as blasphemies or calumnies, all traditional fables of an indecent kind, relative to the Gods, with all enthusiastic transports and Bacchanalian rites; accustoming his people to think and speak of their Deities with the greatest reverence, and to attribute to them no passions unworthy of their exalted nature⁸⁶.

THIS veneration for the Gods, (whether inspired by Romulus, or his successor Numa) which long continued to characterise the Romans, and which may be considered as the main spring of their virtue, has been ascribed to the purity of their theological tenets. "I am not insensible," says the learned and enlightened historian, whose writings I have had occasion so often to quote in regard to Roman affairs, "that some of the Greek fables are of use to mankind; being designed to explain the works of nature by allegories, and others for various moral purposes. Though not ignorant of these things," adds he, "yet am I much more inclined to the theology of the Romans; when I consider that the advantages flowing from the Greek fables are small and confined to such as have philosophically examined their mystic meaning, and that the number of such enquirers are few; while the great body of the people, utterly unacquainted with the physical or moral purpose of those fables, generally take them in the literal and grossest sense, and fall into one of these two errors—they either utterly disregard religion, because of its seeming absurdities, or abandon themselves to

⁸⁵ Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xviii.

⁸⁶ Id. ibid.

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ROMULUS paid no less regard to the natural rights of man, and to the independent spirit of his new citizens, in establishing his sacred than his civil institutions. Himself the chief minister of religion, the *Pontifex Maximus*, and *King of sacrifices*, he directed each of the three tribes to chuse one *Aruspex* or Soothsayer, to inspect the victims; and each of the thirty *Curiae* to elect two priests, men of distinguished virtue, and above fifty years of age, from the order of Patricians, in the same manner they elected their magistrates ⁸⁸.

UNDER these priests, the *Curiae* performed their appointed sacrifices, in a temple common to the whole; and, on holidays, the members of each *Curia* feasted together in a public hall, adjoining to the temple ⁸⁹. Of such halls every *Curia* had one; and beside the civil influence of those religious meals, they were attended with the greatest effects in war; by inspiring every man with shame, and repugnance, to forsake the companions with whom he had lived in a communion of libations, sacrifices, and holy rites, and for whom he came habitually to entertain a brotherly affection ⁹⁰.

FROM political and religious institutions, Romulus was naturally induced to turn his eyes to those domestic connexions which are strengthened by religion, and which form the basis of society; the relations of husband and wife, parents and children. And the natural rights, which he allowed to remain in the hands of the heads of families, shew in a strong light

87. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xx.
88. cap. xxi.

89. Id. ibid.

90. Plut. *Vit. Romul.* Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xxiii.

the weakness of his authority, or the rudeness of his ideas respecting the duties of civil life; perhaps both. A Roman father had the power of putting his son to death, in case of disobedience or displeasure; and of selling him as a slave, even three times, if he should so often regain his freedom⁹¹. Nor did the laws fix any age at which this patriarchal power should cease.

A ROMAN husband, in like manner, was the supreme judge of his wife's indiscretions, and the absolute avenger of his own injured honour; and, having convened her relations, could put her to death, if she had proved unfaithful to his bed, or so much as intoxicated herself with liquor⁹². But the Roman wives had many motives to virtue, beside the fear of punishment. For every woman, "married according to the holy laws," was as much mistress of the house as her husband was master of it, "while she continued virtuous, and obedient to HIM in all things⁹³." She was considered by the civil law, as his inseparable companion, and the joint partaker in all his fortunes and sacrifices⁹⁴. After his death, if he had died intestate, and without children, she was his sole heir; and if he had left children, she had an equal share in his inheritance with them⁹⁵.

ROMULUS, however, very justly regarded terror as a great restraint upon vice. He therefore assumed to himself, as head of the state, the same rigour which he permitted heads of families to exercise. As soon as any public offence was committed, the criminal was brought to trial, either before the king or the senate. When Romulus gave judgment in person, he was seated on a tribunal erected in the most conspicuous part of the

91. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xxvi.]

92. Id. Rom. Antig. lib. ii. chap. xxv.

93. Id. ibid.

94. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xxv.

95. Id. ibid.

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Nothing now remained for Romulus, but to provide for the population and power of the Roman state. And the measures which he took for these purposes, though seemingly suggested by circumstances, were worthy of the most profound politician. He opened, by public proclamation, and consecrated with the solemnities of religion, an asylum or sanctuary for outlaws, and fugitives of all descriptions, from the neighbouring nations ⁹⁷; and as the government of many of those nations was in great disorder, a number of warlike adventurers, and refugees of various kinds, crowded to Rome, where they were all made welcome ⁹⁸. To such as chose to remain with him, and seemed fit for his service, Romulus communicated the rights of Roman citizens, and promised them a share in the lands he should conquer ⁹⁹. This encouragement attracted new adventurers, eager to enlist under a young and gallant commander; and Rome rapidly increased in power.

BUT the Romans were still in want of the natural means of augmenting population and supporting power: they were almost utterly destitute of women ¹⁰⁰. Romulus therefore sent ambassadors, in the name of his people, to the heads of the neighbouring states, soliciting their daughters in marriage ¹⁰¹. Jealous of the

⁹⁶. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xix.

⁹⁷. Liv. lib. i. cap. viii. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xv.

⁹⁸. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

⁹⁹. Id. ibid.

¹⁰⁰. Liv. lib. i. cap. ix. Strabo, lib. v.

¹⁰¹. Id. ibid.

growth of Rome, or disdaining affinity with such a motley band, all those states denied his request; and the rulers of some of them scornfully asked, why he did not open, as he had for men, an asylum also for strolling women?—for with such only his followers could form a matrimonial alliance on equal terms ¹⁰³.

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VIII.

IRRITATED at this contemptuous refusal, and disappointed in his favourite views, Romulus resolved to employ stratagem, in order to accomplish his purpose. He accordingly made known his design to the senate; and, with the consent of that venerable body, proclaimed the celebration of a solemn festival, accompanied with games, in honour of Equestrian Neptune ¹⁰³.

To these games the Sabines, and other neighbouring nations, crowded with their wives and daughters, as Romulus had foreseen. And they were treated with great kindness and respect at Rome, which they had much curiosity to see ¹⁰⁴. But on the last day of the festival, several bands of young Romans (at a signal given by their king according to concert) drew their swords; and, rushing in amid the gazing multitude, seized all the young women, to the number of six hundred and eighty-three ¹⁰⁵. The men made the best of their way home, for fear of worse consequences, being utterly unprepared for defence: and their wives were permitted to follow them; but their daughters were detained, by order of Romulus. No insult, however, was offered to their virtue. They were only told, which brought before the king, That they must submit to the husbands whom fortune and the obstinacy of their fathers had decreed them, and he appointed.

Ant. Chr.
749.
Ann. 1
Rom. 4.

¹⁰². Liv. ubi sup.
Romul.

lib. ii. cap. xxx.

¹⁰³. Liv. et Strabo, ubi sup. Plut. *Vit.*

¹⁰⁴. Liv. lib. i. cap. ix. Dion. Halicarnass.

¹⁰⁵. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

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And they were married to those young men who had seized them, according to the custom of their several countries and also agreeable to the Roman manners; before their embraces were solicited ¹⁰⁶.

THIS amorous ambuscade, commonly known by the name of the *Rape of the Sabine Virgins*, proved the cause of much bloodshed, and had almost occasioned the ruin of infant Rome. But the Sabines, although the greatest sufferers, were not the first people that resented the injury they had sustained. They were slow in preparing for hostilities ¹⁰⁷; while the Cæninenses and the Antemnates, two tribes of the Aborigines; and the Crustumini, an ancient colony from Alba ¹⁰⁸, having formed a triple league, instantly took up arms ¹⁰⁹.

THE Cæninenses, thinking themselves sufficiently strong, entered the Roman territory without waiting for their confederates. But they had reason to repent their audacity. Romulus suddenly assembled his army, and fell upon them as they were ravaging the country; defeated them; forced their camp, which was but imperfectly fortified; pursued them into their own territory; killed their king in battle, with his own hand; stripped him of his accoutrements, and took Cæcina, their capital, by storm ¹¹⁰.

ELATED with his success, and willing to inflame the Romans with ardour for military glory, Romulus returned to Rome in all the pomp and the pride of conquest; carrying the spoils of the king he had slain, exalted on an oaken pole supported by his right shoulder,

106. Id. ibid.
lib. ii. cap. xxiii.

107. Liv. lib. i. cap. x. Dion. Halicarnass.
lib. ii. cap. xxxv. xxxvi.

109. Liv. ubi sup. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xxiii.

110. Id. ibid.

and singing the song of victory; his brows encircled with a laurel crown, and his hair flowing gracefully over his purple robe ¹¹¹. Before him was carried the most valuable part of the booty taken from the enemy, and behind him marched his troops, both horse and foot, completely armed, and ranged in their several divisions, hymning the Gods in the songs of their country ¹¹².

Thus attended, Romulus entered his conquering city, amid the acclamations of the Roman people, who came out to congratulate him on his successful expedition; and who had furnished tables with all kinds of victuals, and with bowls full of wine, for the refreshment of his army. He ascended, in victorious procession, the Saturnian, named afterward the Capitoline Hill; and offered to Jupiter Feretrius, or the *Trophy-bearer*, the spoils of the king of the Cæninenses, which he had seized, as already observed, with his own hand ¹¹³. Such, my Lord, was the first example of the celebration of the magnificent solemnity, which the Romans called a *Triumph*; which was claimed, after victory, by the Roman kings and generals, and proved a strong incentive to valour and conduct in war.

BUT the institution of the Roman triumph was not the only consequence of Romulus's victory over the Cæninenses. His conquest of that people and their territory gave his policy room to display itself. And it was worthy of a prince, who aspired at extensive dominion, and of a mind formed in more liberal times. He neither, like the Asiatics, put to death the enemies

111. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xxxiv. Plut. *Vit. Romul.*

112. Id. *ibid.*

113. Liv. lib. i. cap. x. Plut. et Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup. These spoils, taken by a Roman commander from the king or general of an enemy, were called *Opima Spolia*, and were esteemed more honourable than any other. Id. *ibid.*

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he had forcibly subdued, whose capital he had violently entered, nor made slaves of them, like the Greeks; but, after obtaining the consent of the senate, he admitted them to all the privileges of Roman citizens, and gave them the liberty of removing to Rome, or of remaining in their own country, as they should think best ¹¹⁴.

THREE thousand of the Cæninenses chose to remove to the Roman capital, with their wives, children, and effects; the produce of a portion of their lands being secured to them. And Romulus sent into their country a colony of three hundred Romans, among whom he divided, by lot, the third part of the Cæninean territory; in order that they might incorporate with *the remaining natives, and preserve their obedience* ¹¹⁵. The Cæninenses, who had removed to Rome, he immediately incorporated with the Roman tribes and Curiae ¹¹⁶. And the same wise policy, as we shall have occasion to see, was regularly pursued by the Romans, until they had made themselves masters of the finest part of Italy.

THE valiant and politic king of Rome had soon need of all his accession of strength. The Antemnates had passed the Roman frontier, while he was engaged in celebrating his victory; and the Crustuminians also were still in arms. Romulus, with a chosen body of men, marched first against the Antemnates; defeated them in the field, and took their city ¹¹⁷. He next attacked the Crustuminians, whom he likewise routed and conquered, though better prepared for resistance ¹¹⁸. And he treated both with the same humanity and generosity, which he had ex-

114. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xxxv.

115. Id. ibid.

116. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

117. Liv. lib. i. cap. xi.

118. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xxxvi.

tended toward the Cæninenses; transplanting part of his vanquished enemies to Rome, and settling Roman colonies in their territories ¹¹⁹.

THIS clemency allayed the fears, and conciliated the affections of many of the smaller Italian states, which gladly come under the protection of Romulus ¹²⁰. But it had a different effect upon the brave and more powerful Sabines. They blamed their rulers for the opportunity they had lost of crushing the Roman ambition in the bud, by joining in the general confederacy; and having leagued themselves, as one people, under the conduct of Titus Tatius, king of Cures or Quires, the most considerable city of the Sabine nation, the inhabitants of the several cantons made vigorous preparations for war ¹²¹.

ROMULUS, aware of his danger, solicited the assistance of his allies; called forth the whole force of the Roman state, and took every precaution that human foresight could suggest for the safety of Rome; by raising higher the wall of the city, and fortifying the neighbouring hills ¹²². But all his precautions proved ineffectual. The enemy, in consequence of a nocturnal march, arrived unobserved at the foot of the Saturnian hill; and the fortrefs upon it, the citadel of Rome, was betrayed to them by Tarpeia, the governor's daughter; who had been attracted by the ornaments of gold, which the Sabines wore on their left arm, and corrupted by the presents or promises, perhaps by the blandishments, of Tatius their leader ¹²³.

AMAZED at this act of treachery, but not intimidated by the progress of the enemy, the Romans

119. Id. *ibid.* Liv. *et ubi sup.* 120. Dion. Halicarnass. *ubi sup.*

121. Id. *ibid.* 122. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xxxvii.

123. Compare Liv. lib. i. cap. xi. with Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xxxviii. xxxix. xl. *et* Plat. *Vit. Romul.*

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flew to arms; and the Sabines, having now a place of refuge, in case of disaster, were not afraid to meet them in the field. The two armies accordingly encamped in sight of each other, and several sharp encounters took place, without any decided advantage on either side ¹²⁴. These brought on a general engagement, in which both parties exhibited astonishing feats of valour and prowess. The contest for superiority long remained doubtful; but the Romans, though nearly equal in number, were at last forced to give ground ¹²⁵. The heroic efforts of Romulus, however, restored the battle, and the combat was renewed with fresh vigour ¹²⁶. The Sabines, in their turn, had been compelled to retreat; and victory seemed ready to declare for the Romans ¹²⁷, when a moving spectacle suspended hostilities.

THE Sabine women, who had been seized by order of Romulus, and who were become Roman wives and mothers, losing the natural timidity of their sex in the passions by which they were agitated, rushed in between the two armies, with their locks dishevelled and their garments rent; while the spears were uplifted and the darts flying, and begged their fathers and their husbands, if neither tears nor entreaties could soften their obdurate hearts, to pour all their rage upon *them*, as they only were the cause of the war. "Far better," cried they, "would it be for us to perish, than to live fatherless or widows ¹²⁸." Hostile animosity was melted into pity at such an affecting embassy. Every feeling of humanity was awakened, and every nerve of action unstrung. The contending soldiers rested their arms, yet dropping with blood, and thirsting for mutual slaughter. The rival kings con-

124. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xli.

125. Liv. lib. i. cap. xii. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xxxvii—xliii.

126. Id. *ibid*.

127. Liv. *ubi sup*.

128. Liv. lib. i. cap. xliii.

sent to a truce, which was followed by a conference; and political deliberation cemented an alliance that sympathy had begun¹²⁹.

LETTER
VIII.

THE fathers of the Roman senate, who had given their sanction to the interposition of the Sabine women¹³⁰, moderated the ambition, and the youthful ardour of Romulus. The Sabines, a brave and powerful people, were still at the gates of Rome; and if their present army should be cut off, they could assemble another. The Sabine chiefs likewise saw their danger. They had to contend, for victory, with the Romans; a community of soldiers, who seemed determined, to a man, to conquer or die.

THESE were strong arguments in favour of an accommodation. But peace, it was foreseen by both parties, could not be lasting between two warlike nations, circumstanced as the Romans and Sabines were; near neighbours, and rivals in power, as well as in glory. It was therefore resolved, to negotiate between them a treaty of union. And such a treaty was concluded, and ratified, on the following honourable terms: That the Romans and Sabines should thenceforth be considered as one people; that Romulus and Tatius should both reside at Rome, and be joint kings of the united nation; invested with equal authority, and equal honours; that the city of Rome should preserve the name of its founder, and that each individual citizen should be called a *Roman*, and the whole people *Romans*; but that the assembled body of the citizens, in their civil capacity, should be called *Quirites*, from Cures, the former capital of Tatius¹³¹; that

129. Id. *ibid.* Plut. *Vit. Romul.* Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xlv.

130. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xlv.

131. *Ibid.* *Rom. Antig.* lib. ii. cap. xlv. Liv. lib. i. cap. xiii. Plut.

Vit. Romul.

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such of the Sabines, as were willing to settle at Rome, might remove thither, and bring with them the images of their Gods; and that they should be incorporated with the Roman Tribes and Curiz¹³².

THE first step taken by Romulus and Tatius, as joint kings of Rome, after disbanding their troops, was to augment the number of Patricians, from the most illustrious Sabine families, as the state had received a great accession of people; and to order the Curiz to chuse, out of these new Patricians, one hundred new senators, to be incorporated with the former body¹³³. The two kings next enrolled, from the class of Plebeians, three centuries of horse, or bodies of Roman knights¹³⁴; the first of which was called *Romanenses*, from Romulus; the second *Tatienfes*, from Tatius¹³⁵; and the third *Lucerenses*, from the *Lucus* or *Grove*, where the Asylum stood for the reception of refugees¹³⁶. Thus was formed a third rank in the state, as well as three bodies of cavalry for its defence.

As soon as Romulus and Tatius had completed their civil and military constitutions, they enlarged the city of Rome¹³⁷; built several temples to the Gods they had invoked during the war¹³⁸; instituted the festival called *Matronalia*, in commemoration of the affectionate interposition of the married women, who had

132. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xvi.

133. Id. cap. xlvii.

134. Liv. lib. i. cap. xiii. I am sensible an attempt has been made by the learned and ingenious Mr. Spelman, (*Translat. Dion. Halicarnass. Rom. Antiq.* lib. ii. note 38.) to give a different account of the origin of the equestrian order, or knights among the Romans. But I can see no reason for contradicting general opinion, or rejecting the authority of Livy.

135. Id. ibid.

136. Plut. *Vit. Romul.*

137. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. i.

138. Id. ibid.

procured peace and union ¹³⁹; and reigned with such harmony and vigour, for five years, that they kept most of the neighbouring nations in awe ¹⁴⁰. The only people who ventured to molest them were the Camerians, whom they defeated and conquered; and because of a rebellion, stripped of all their lands; transplanted the greater part of the inhabitants to Rome, and sent a Roman colony to inhabit the city of Cameria and its territory ¹⁴¹. Cameria was a Latin city; and the Camerians, like the Romans, were a colony from Alba.

TATIUS, in the sixth year of his reign at Rome, was assassinated by certain citizens of Laurentium; in resentment of a robbery committed by some of his friends, whom he refused to punish or deliver up ¹⁴². Thenceforth Romulus reigned alone, and had full scope for the exercise of his warlike genius. He forgave the Laurentes, however, for the death of Tatius, which he thought justly merited ¹⁴³. But he suffered no other injury to pass unpunished. He chastised a revolt of the Camerians, conquered the Fidenates, and compelled the Veientes to submit to the most humiliating conditions; to deliver up part of their territory, and give hostages in assurance of their future good behaviour ¹⁴⁴. Fidenæ was a Latin, and Veii an Etruscan city of great note ¹⁴⁵.

RENDERED arrogant by prosperity, like most military leaders who have successfully prosecuted conquest, Romulus disgusted his subjects, both new and old, by his arbitrary administration, after his victory over

139. Ovid. *Faster*. lib. iii. Plut. *Vit. Romul.*

140. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

141. Id. *ibid.*

142. Liv. lib. i. cap. xiv. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. li.

143. Id. *ibid.*

144. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. li—lv.

145. Id. *ibid.*

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the Veientes. Regardless of the privileges, which circumstances had constrained him to grant to the Sabines, as well as to the Romans, he regulated all things by his own despotic will¹⁴⁶. The senate and assembly of the people were convened, as usual, but only to ratify his absolute commands¹⁴⁷. He divided the ceded lands among his soldiers without consulting the senate; and restored the hostages of the Veientes, contrary to the advice of that venerable body, and supreme council¹⁴⁸; assuming on all occasions the air of a master, and governing more like a tyrant than a limited monarch¹⁴⁹.

BUT the Romans were not to be so governed. The free and independent spirits of the Patricians revolted against such domination. And the fathers of the senate seeing no probability of being able to moderate the king's authority, or to punish him, by legal means, for his abuse of power, secretly formed, it is said, a conspiracy, against his life¹⁵⁰. Great circumspection, however, was necessary for the execution of their violent purpose; Romulus being in full possession of the hearts of the soldiers, or younger citizens, the companions of his victories, and whom he had trained to danger¹⁵¹. But accident, or interposing Heaven, furnished the occasion, when little expected.

Ant. Chr.
715.
Ann.
Rome 37.

WHILE Romulus was holding a general assembly of the people in the neighbourhood of Rome, and mustering the men fit to bear arms, which now amounted to *forty-six thousand foot*, and near a *thousand horse*, the sky was suddenly darkened, in consequence of an eclipse of the sun, and a furious

146. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. lvi. Plut. *Vit. Romul.*

147. Id. *ibid.*

148. Plut. et Dion. Halicarnass. *ubi sup.*

149. Id. *ibid.*

150. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. lvi.

151. Plut. *Vit. Romul.* et *Nume.*

tempest

tempest arose, accompanied with thunder, lightning, and rain¹⁵². The affrighted multitude was quickly dispersed. But the body of senators closed about the king, and instantly dispatched him, as is supposed, and threw his body into a pit, or conveyed it to a distance; for he was never more seen¹⁵³.

WHEN the tempest subsided, the people returned to the ground on which they had formerly stood, and anxiously inquired after Romulus. The Patricians told them mysteriously, That he had disappeared in the storm; ascended on a flake of lightning, to take his place among the Gods; and, as he had been a gracious prince to them, he would prove a propitious Deity¹⁵⁴. The people retired in silence, and seemingly satisfied.

BUT some of the king's favourites, having inquired more particularly into the matter, began to start doubts in regard to the reality of his ascension¹⁵⁵. On this occasion, Julius Proculus, a senator of great eminence, famed for his piety and probity, went into the Forum, and declared solemnly upon oath, in order to quiet the people, That Romulus had appeared to him, clad in armour of celestial brightness, and desired him to inform the Romans, *That it had pleased the Gods he should dwell with men, for a time, upon earth;* and having founded a city, *which would prove the most powerful and glorious in the world, they had recalled him to heaven, whence he came*¹⁵⁶. "Go, therefore, and tell the Roman people," added the new divinity, according to the testimony of the venerable Proculus, "that, by the exercise of piety, temperance, and for-

152. Liv. lib. i. cap. xvi. Plut. et Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

153. Id. ibid.

154. Plut. *Vit. Romul.*

155. Id. ibid.

156. Plut. ubi sup. Liv. lib. i. cap. xvi. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. lxiv.

PART I. "titude, they shall attain to the highest pitch of human greatness; and that I, the God QUIRINUS, will ever be propitious to them¹⁵⁷."

THIS tale was readily believed by an ignorant, and consequently a superstitious herd, united by their common necessities and crimes; trained in rapine, and polluted with blood. And taken in conjunction with the story of the divine generation of Romulus, it might have imposed on the credulity of a more enlightened, as well as a more innocent people, who stood less in need of a friend in heaven; especially if we consider his commanding mien, his transcendent abilities, and heroic actions. For no leader perhaps, in any age or country, ever raised a state from so low a beginning, to such a height of solid power, or maintained, in familiar circumstances, such firm authority over so multifarious and licentious a body of men.

As Romulus left no son to claim his sceptre, the Romans were now without a head. The senate, therefore, assumed the administration of government; but not as a body. The two hundred senators, of Alban and Sabine extraction, were divided into twenty Decuriæ; each of which held in succession, by lot, the supreme authority for fifty days¹⁵⁸. The whole Decuria, however, did not reign together; but each of the ten members of which it was composed, being invested, in his turn, with the ensigns of royalty, governed for five days¹⁵⁹.

Ant. Chr.
714.
Ann.
Rom. 38.

THIS new government, which lasted about a year, did not please the people. They looked back with regret to the victories and the triumphs of Romulus, and longed for a royal leader, to conduct them again to

157. Id. *ibid.*
lib. i. cap. xvii.

158. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. lvii. Liv.
159. Id. *ibid.*

conquest.

conquest. The senate seeing their uneasiness, and the impossibility of holding any longer the supreme power, desired them to elect a king¹⁶⁰. Pleased with this condescension, the people remitted the right of election to the senate¹⁶¹: and that venerable body chose for their future sovereign, Numa Pompilius; a Sabine by birth, distinguished by his sanctity of manners, and renowned for his wisdom and piety¹⁶². He was about forty years of age¹⁶³; of an unambitious character, and philosophic turn of mind, deeply skilled in divine and human laws¹⁶⁴; and although married to the daughter of Tatius, the late king, had never thought of removing to Rome, but lived on his own estate, in the neighbourhood of Cures¹⁶⁵. Nor could he be persuaded, without difficulty, to quit his retirement, and engage in public affairs, though invited by regal honours¹⁶⁶.

THE moderation of Numa exalted his character in the eyes of the Romans. They considered his reluctance to accept the kingly office, as a proof that he was truly worthy of it¹⁶⁷. And it must be owned, all things weighed, whether we regard circumstances or the event, that he seems to have been the most proper person for succeeding to the supreme power, at the time he received the Roman sceptre, (by the delegated authority of the people to the senate, and the approbation of the popular assembly) that human wisdom can conceive. Being a Sabine, he attached his countrymen more closely to the state of which they were become subjects; while his elevation to the sovereignty, from a private station, quieted that jealousy and envy which would have been excited in the breasts of the senators, as well Sabines as Romans, on the appointment of one of their own body to rule over them.

Ant. Chr.
713.
Ann. Romæ
39.

160. Liv. et Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

161. Id. ibid.

162. Plut. *Vit. Numa*.

163. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. lviii.

164. Plut. ubi sup. Liv. lib. i. cap. xviii.

165. Id. ibid.

166. Dion. Halicarnass. et Plut. ubi sup.

167. Id. ibid.

PART I.

IF the new king had possessed the military talents of his predecessor, the Romans might have risen more rapidly to grandeur; but their power would have been less durable. The fabric of the state, composed of discordant materials, would soon have fallen to pieces, because too hastily combined; and the different people, that had been incorporated as Roman citizens, would again have formed independent cantons, under various leaders. The structure raised by Romulus required time to settle and cement, before it could bear more weight. Aware of this, or conscious that he wanted the conquering, and all-governing spirit of Romulus, Numa employed himself in strengthening and beautifying, without enlarging the political edifice:—and a long reign of perpetual peace allowed it to gather stability.

NUMA began his pacific administration with giving a regular form to the public religion, or ecclesiastical polity of the Romans; blending it with the policy of the state, and connecting it closely with morals. The substance of his creed or theological system was, That the Gods, an immortal race inhabiting the sky, the Creators and Preservers of all things, are intimately acquainted with human affairs, and take cognizance of the actions of men and of states; rewarding the good, and punishing the bad; and that no important action, either public or private, ought to be undertaken without their approbation, declared by their ministers upon earth¹⁶⁸. He accordingly instituted a venerable society, or college of Augurs¹⁶⁹; who interpreted to the people the will of the Gods, by signs in the heavens, the air, the earth¹⁷⁰: by the

168. Cicero, *de Legib.* lib. ii. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. lxii. Plut. *Vit. Numa*.

169. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. lxiv.

170. Id. *ibid* et Plut. *Vit. Paul. Emil.*

flying, the chirping, and the feeding of birds ¹⁷¹; and who in consequence of their heavenly authority, could put a negative upon the most momentous resolutions of the senate or assembly of the people ¹⁷².

FOR this, and all his other pious constitutions, Numa claimed the positive command of the Gods; who communed with him in solitude, he affirmed, by means of a celestial nymph, named *Ægeria* ¹⁷³. Thus instructed and authorised, the sage king erected a temple to Romulus, under the name of the God *Quirinus*, the guardian of the Roman state; and another to his reputed father, Mars ¹⁷⁴; to whom the Romans were to owe their future fame, and by whose favour, through the mediation of his divine and deified son, they were to attain the height of empire.

FOR the worship of Mars, Numa instituted an order of salant priests, called *Salii* ¹⁷⁵; the exercise of whose function shewed, that although he did not prosecute war himself, he had views of distant ambition, and wished, while he moderated the martial ardour of the Romans, to keep it alive for necessary occasions. The *Salii*, consisting of twelve young men of the most graceful appearance, chosen from the Patrician order, danced through the streets of Rome during their solemn festivals, richly dressed and completely armed ¹⁷⁶; striking their swords upon upon their shields, as if inspired with hostile fury ¹⁷⁷. These shields were called *Ancilia*; and the model from which they were formed was supposed to have fallen from heaven ¹⁷⁸; being a buckler which, no doubt, the pious but politic legisla-

171. Cicero, *de Divinat.* lib. ii.

172. Id. *ibid.* et Cicero in *Cato Major*.

173. Liv. lib. i. cap. xiv. Plut. *Vit. Romul.*

174. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. lxiii. lxx. Plut. *Vit. Numa.* Liv. lib. i. cap. xx.

175. Liv. *ubi sup.*

176. Id. *ibid.* et Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. lxx.

177. Plut. et Dion. Halicarnass. *ubi sup.*

178. Id. *ibid.*

PART I. tor had secretly procured, beacuse better fitted for defence in war, than any formerly in use among the Romans. And the *fashion of which he took care should not be lost by rendering it sacred, and getting many others made, by an ingenious workman, exactly to resemble it* ^{179.}

IN order to bridle the warlike spirit, which might be awakened by such an institution, and to prevent the Romans from rashly engaging in hostilities, Numa built a temple to JANUS ¹⁸⁰, or *Political Prudence*, represented with two faces, looking different ways ¹⁸¹; examining, at the same time, the past, and probable future, and weighing the consequences to be hoped or feared from any public measure. This temple was shut in peace, and left open during war ¹⁸².

YET farther to curb the predatory disposition of his people, and make them respect the laws of equity, in entering into war with their neighbours, Numa instituted the sacred college of *Feciales* ¹⁸³; whose peculiar province it was, to take care that the Romans did not unjustly commit hostilities against any nation or state; and if any other people with whom the Romans

179. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. lxxi. Plut. *Vit. Numa*.

180. Liv. lib. i. cap. xix.

181. Plut. *Vit. Numa*. But Janus, like Vesta and other Roman Deities, had a mythic as well as a political character. (Ovid. *Fastor.* lib. i.) The most learned Romans, however, if we may not except the priesthood, seem to have known only the political part of their religion; until their empire had attained that height to which it was calculated to raise them. In proof of this, see the declaration of Tarentius Varro, ap. Augustin. de *Civ. Dei*, lib. vi. cap. v. et lib. vii. cap. vi. There are, observes he, three methods of treating of the nature of the Gods; one *mythical*, another *natural*, and a third *political*. That called *mythical* is chiefly made use of by the Poets; the *natural* belongs to Philosophers, and the *political* to the state.

182. Liv. ubi sup.

183. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. lxxii.

were in alliance, had violated engagements, to go as ambassadors, and demand satisfaction, in the first place; then, if such satisfaction was refused, to give their sanction to the commencement of war, and boldly declare it in the name of the Roman Senate and people¹⁸⁴. The mode of denouncing hostilities by the *Feciales*, and the whole proceedings on such occasions, I shall afterward have occasion to describe.

ALL the other institutions of Numa were dictated by the same mild and honourable principles, and directed to the same wise ends; the good of his subjects, and the happiness of the human race. Conscious that the secure possession of private property, is essential to the encouragement of industry among the people of any state, and contributes greatly to inspire a love of justice, the guardian of concord, he made an accurate division of the lands of the Romans; and ordered every man to surround his own portion with a ditch or furrow, and to set up stones to mark the boundaries¹⁸⁵.

These stones he consecrated to *Jupiter Terminalis*; and instituted a solemn festival, to be observed annually, by the whole body of the Roman people, in honour of the God supposed to preside over those boundries or marches¹⁸⁶. And he at the same time enacted a law, which made it sacrilege to demolish or displace any of the *Termini* or boundary stones; and every person guilty of such crime, might be killed with impunity, by any one, and without the imputation of blood, as a sacrifice to the vengeance of the offended Deity¹⁸⁷. This law did not relate only to private possessions, it comprehended also those of

184. Id. *ibid.*

185. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. lxxiv.

186. Id. *ibid.*187. Dion. Halicarnass. *ubi sup.*

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the state; which were likewise circumscribed within obvious boundaries, and placed under the guardianship of the Terminal God; that the territory of the Romans, thus protected, might be distinctly separated from that of the neighbouring nations, and the public lands, from such as belonged to individuals¹⁸⁸.

BUT Numa was not satisfied with teaching his subjects to respect the property of other men, by securing each in his own: he wished to make them not only just in their actions, but true to their word. He therefore erected a temple, and instituted sacrifices, to be performed at the public expence, to FAITH¹⁸⁹; or truth in the performance of engagements, and honesty in trust.

THE influence of this institution upon the character of the Romans, both in their public and private capacity, was eminently conspicuous, and continued to distinguish them above all other nations to a very advanced stage of their political progress¹⁹⁰; in so much, that the faith of the state was preserved inviolate, and a Roman citizen paid as much regard to his word, or solemn engagement in private, as to a written contract attested by witnesses¹⁹¹. Hence the memorable observations of a philosophical historian: That whereas amongst the Greeks, a man in office was rarely to be found, whose hands were clean from public robbery; it was no less rare, among the Romans, to discover one who was stained with the crime. And that, in the course of their magistracies and embassies, they disbursed the greatest sums with inviolable honesty, on the single obligation of an oath¹⁹². And the most

188. Id. *ibid.*

189. Liv. lib. i. cap. xxi. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. lxxv.

190. Polyb. lib. vi. cap. liv.

191. Id. *ibid.* et Dion. Halicarnass. *ubi sup.*

192. Polyb. *ubi up.*

sacred oath a Roman could take was, "By his Faith¹⁹³".

LETTER
VIII.

AFTER having taken such effectual measures for making the Romans observant of justice and good faith, it became incumbent on Numa to free the common people, as far as possible, from the temptation to violate either, by furnishing them with employment, and placing them above want. With this view, he divided the public territory of the state, or the unappropriated lands, which had been taken from the enemies of Rome, among the indigent citizens¹⁹⁴. Those he planted in a certain number of *Pagi* or Villages; over each of which he appointed a magistrate, whose peculiar province it was to inspect the cultivation of the lands in his own district; and by reprimanding and punishing the slothful husbandmen, to stimulate them to greater industry; while the labours of the diligent were rewarded by the king, with distinguished marks of his favour and approbation¹⁹⁵.

THESE agrarian regulations were attended with the most beneficial effects. The Romans became as frugal and industrious, as they were faithful and just; and many of them learned to prefer the sober plenty acquired by agriculture, to the precarious affluence of a military life¹⁹⁶. Instead of being the terror, they grew the admiration of their neighbours; who often employed them as mediators of their differences, during this peaceful period. And all the adjacent states frequently put an end to their most important disputes, by submitting them to the arbitration of Numa¹⁹⁷. The good old king, who was worthy of such confidence, died in the forty-third year of his

193. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. lxxv.

194. Plut. *Vit. Numa*.

195. Id. *ibid.* et Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. lxxvi.

196. Dion. Halicarnass. *ubi sup.*

197. Id. *ibid.*

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reign, and the eighty-second of his age, with the same tranquillity in which he had lived; and universally respected and regretted over Italy¹⁹⁸.

Ant. Chr.
668.
Ann. Rom.
84.

BUT great as the veneration was which the Romans had for the memory of Numa, they chose, as his successor, a person of a very different description. Tullus Hostilius, an opulent Patrician, of a bold and enterprising character, the grandson of one of the first Roman heroes, was elected king by the people; confirmed by the senate, and declared by the augurs to be worthy of the supreme dignity, in the eye of Heaven¹⁹⁹. And it must be admitted, that the choice was worthy of approbation, in the eye of human policy. The Romans now stood in need of a warlike king.

If the pacific reign, and mild administration of Numa, had softened the manners of his subjects, and given stability to the Roman state, by promoting agriculture and the arts of civil life, the neighbouring states had also gathered strength; and if their hostile animosity was abated, their jealousy was not extinguished. Alba was even become jealous of the growth of her own colony²⁰⁰. And Alba, though inferior to Rome in power, was still considered as the capital of the Latin nation, of which the Romans were a branch.

198. Plut. *Vit. Numa*. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup. Plutarch bestows great praise upon an institution, by which Numa divided the Roman citizens into companies, according to their several arts or trades; as these smaller divisions, he supposes, more readily mixing, tended finally to abolish the distinction of Romans and Sabines. (*Vit. Num.*) But after the Sabines, who removed to Rome, had been incorporated with the Roman Tribes and Curiae, I cannot see the necessity of such subdivision, considered in a political light, though it might be a very good civil arrangement. Accordingly, no notice is taken of it by Dionysius or Livy. Numa deserves more praise for his reformation of the Roman Calendar, in which he appears to have been not a little successful. Plut. ubi sup.

199. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. i. Liv. lib. i. cap. xii.

200. *Id.* ibid.

For the elucidation of these matters, some retrospect will be necessary.

LETTER
VIII.

ROMULUS, on the death of his grandfather Numinator, did not claim the Alban sceptre, though lineal heir to the kingdom; but in order to conciliate the favour of the parent-state, he left the administration of government in the hands of the citizens²⁰¹. And they are said to have chosen an annual chief magistrate, vested with regal powers²⁰².

IN consequence of this indulgence (for as such it seems to have been regarded by Romulus, as head of the more potent and warlike state) a treaty of friendship was entered into between the Romans and Albans; by which it was stipulated, That, in case of any injury, neither party should seek redress by arms, but apply to the other for justice. And if that was denied, that the treaty should thenceforth be considered as void, and war a necessary evil²⁰³.

DURING the subsequent part of the reign of Romulus, and the whole reign of Numa, no complaint or injury appears to have been made by the people of either state. But no sooner was the Roman sceptre bestowed upon Tullus Hostilius, than mutual injuries took place, arising from mutual jealousy; the Albans, who were the aggressors, founding their claim to the sovereignty of Latium on their greater antiquity, and unmingled blood; the Romans, on their superior power²⁰⁴. And all attempts to accommodate those differences proving ineffectual, both parties took the field²⁰⁵. The Albans, however, diffident of their strength, studiously avoided an engagement; and at

201. Plut. *Vit. Numa*.

202. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. v. cap. lxiv.

203. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. iii.

204. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. iv—xiii.

205. Id. *ibid*.

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length, in order to save the effusion of blood, it was agreed, That three champions, on each side, should decide the contest for empire²⁰⁶.

THIS agreement was no sooner made known to the two armies, and ratified by them, than a violent emulation arose among the young warriors, in each, for the honour of contending in the important combat. And the pretensions of rank, of valour, and of strength, were so many, that it seemed both difficult and dangerous, for either the Romans or Albans, to give a preference, by naming any three competitors for glory²⁰⁷. From the dilemma occasioned by those pretensions, however, they were happily relieved by Mutius Fufetius, the Alban general. He recollected that two sisters, Albans by birth, one married to Curatius, an Alban citizen, the other to Horatius, a citizen of Rome, had each brought forth, at one labour, three male children, now arrived at manhood, and distinguished by their mental and personal accomplishments²⁰⁸.

THESE young men Fufetius thought destined by the Gods to determine the dispute between Rome and Alba. He, therefore, demanded a conference on the subject with Tullus Hostilius, the Roman king and commander, who readily adopted the same idea²⁰⁹. The Roman senate and the two fathers gave their consent; and the Horatii and Curatii, proud of the hostile distinction conferred upon them, though closely united by the ties of friendship as well as of kindred, bravely joined battle in sight of the two armies, in a plain between the two camps²¹⁰.

206. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup. Liv. lib. i. cap. xxiv.

207. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. xiii.

208. Id. ibid.

209. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. xiv. xvii.

210. Id. ibid. Liv. lib. i. cap. xiv.

THE combat long remained doubtful, and was distinguished by various turns of fortune. At length victory seemed to declare in favour of Alba; two of the Horatii being slain, and only one of the Curatii. But the surviving Horatius, having received no wound, slew his two antagonists, one after another, by retreating as they advanced, and gained a complete triumph to Rome²¹¹.

IN consequence of this event, and a solemn treaty by which the combat had been preceded, Fufetius saluted Tullus Hostilius as his sovereign, on the field of victory; and asked, What commands he thought proper to impose upon him; as the leader of the vanquished?—"I command you," answered the king of Rome, "to keep the Alban youth in readiness to march at my orders, in case I should find occasion to make war upon the Veientes²¹²." After that acknowledgment, and this act of sovereignty, the two armies separated, and each returned home; the Albans to mourn their humiliation, the Romans to celebrate their triumph²¹³. But the public joy of the victors was dashed with private sorrow, and their triumph stained with guiltless blood.

WHEN young Horatius, named Marcus, approached the gates of Rome, loaded with the spoils of his vanquished antagonists, he was met by his sister, who had been promised in marriage to one of the Curatii; and who, forgetting the delicacy of her sex, and her condition as a bride, had anxiously mingled with the crowd of applauding spectators. On seeing her brother clothed in an embroidered robe, which she had wrought for her lover, and in which he was to have been dressed on their nuptial day, she burst into tears; she wildly

211. Liv. ubi sup. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. xviii—xx.

212. Liv. lib. i. cap. xxvi.

213. Id. ibid.

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tore her hair; and in the anguish of her heart, keenly reproached the exulting conqueror with the murder of his near kinsman, and her bridegroom ²¹⁴

"THY bridegroom!" exclaimed Marcus Horatius; "O sister, lost at once to virtue and to shame! hast though no regard for the blood of thy brothers, or the glory of thy country?—Go then," said he, in the heat of his patriotic indignation, "go to thy bridegroom!" drawing his sword, and sheathing it in her breast; "go! and carry with thee a degenerate passion, which has led thee to disgrace thy family, and fully the splendour of this illustrious day. Begone! and so perish all, who weep at the death of an enemy of Rome ²¹⁵."

OLD Horatius, their venerable father, though deeply stung with grief, entered into the feelings of his heroic son; and was so far from resenting the death of his daughter, that he would not permit her body to be buried in the sepulchre of her ancestors, or her funeral to be honoured with the usual solemnities ²¹⁶. Tullus Hostilius, however, found himself under the necessity of bringing the victorious champion to trial, for the violence he had committed. Marcus Horatius was accordingly cited before the tribunal of the Duumviri, the proper judges of such crimes; and they condemned him to lose his life, and ordered the Lictors to bind his hands ²¹⁷. But he, by the advice of the king, appealed to the assembly of the Roman people. And they repealed the sentence of the Duumviri, in consideration of the circumstances of the criminal, rather than out of lenity to his crime ²¹⁸;

²¹⁴. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. xxi. Liv. lib. i. cap. xxvi.

²¹⁵. Id. ibid.

²¹⁶. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

²¹⁷. Liv. lib. i. cap. xxvi.

²¹⁸. Id. ibid.

establishing, by that precedent, their right of judging ultimately in capital cases.

LETTER
VIII.

THE subsequent part of the reign of Tullus Hostilius was spent in perpetual warfare. During the contest between Rome and Alba, the Fidenates had been encouraged to throw off the Roman yoke; and they took the field soon after in conjunction with their allies, the Veientes, in order to assert their independency²¹⁹. The king of Rome, determined to reduce them again to submission, assembled his army; and being joined by his friends and confederates, marched against the enemy; gave them battle near Fidenæ, and gained a complete victory over them, notwithstanding the treachery of Mutius Fufetius, the Alban general; who took no share in the engagement, and intended to have joined the Fidenates, if they had been successful, or if he had found an opportunity, while the fortune of the day remained doubtful²²⁰. This treachery proved fatal to Alba.

TULLUS Hostilius, who had discovered the purpose of the Alban general in the beginning of the action, and prevented its operation by keeping a watchful eye upon him at the same time that he encouraged the Romans to maintain the struggle for victory, by assuring them he had directed the Albans to take their station at a distance, with a view of surrounding the enemy²²¹; Tullus did not fail to concert measures for punishing the traitor and his accomplices. As a mark of seeming confidence, he commanded Fufetius to pursue the flying enemy, and to ravage their country²²². Meanwhile he, in person, made known to

219. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. xxiii. Liv. lib. i. cap. xxvii.

220. Liv. ubi sup. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. xxiii—xxvi.

221. Id. ibid. 222. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

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IN consequence of that resolution, Tullus Hostilius, on his return to the camp, reproached Fufetius with his baseness, in presence of the two armies; ordered the Lictors to seize him, and bind his legs and arms to two chariots; which, being each drawn by two horses, and driven in opposite directions, tore him in pieces ²²⁴. His principal accomplices were also put to death. The city of Alba was utterly destroyed, but without injury to the property of the inhabitants; and the Albans were transplanted to Rome, and incorporated with the Roman tribes and Curiae ²²⁵. The Julii, the Servilii, the Curatii, the Quinctii, the Cloelii, and some other families of distinction, were even raised to the rank of Patricians, and admitted into the senate ²²⁶.

Ant. Chr.
662.
Ann. Rom.
90.

THIS great accession of people, in consequence of the dissolution of the Alban state, enabled Tullus Hostilius to carry on war successfully against all his hostile neighbours. As soon as he had provided his new subjects with accommodation, by enlarging the city of Rome, he reduced the capital of the Fidenates, and obliged them to submit to such conditions as he chose to impose upon them ²²⁷. He humbled the Sabines, who were still a powerful nation ²²⁸; though the kingdom of Cures, as formerly related, had become part of the Roman territory, and its people Roman citizens. He asserted his sovereignty over the Latin cities, which had been subject to Alba; and

223. Id. *ibid.* 224. Liv. lib. i. cap. xxviii. xxix. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. xxxi. 225. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. xxx—xxxii. Liv. lib. i. cap. xxx. 226. Id. *ibid.* 227. Dion. Halicarnass. *ubi sup.* 228. Liv. lib. i. cap. xxx. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. xxxiii.

compelled them, after a long war, to acknowledge their dependence on Rome²²⁹. But he did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his victories. When he had thus exalted the Roman power by his conquering arms, and given stability to it by his vigorous administration, he perished, with all his children and domestics, in a fire that consumed his palace²³⁰; leaving behind him the reputation of a politic and warlike prince, equally resolute in the execution, and cautious in engaging in any enterprise.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS was succeeded in the government of Rome by Ancus Martius, the grandson of Numa by a daughter. He was invested with the ensigns of royalty by the unanimous voice of the senate and people, and approved himself worthy of their choice. Like his grandfather, he was a prince of a mild and moderate disposition, and a lover of the arts of peace. He accordingly endeavoured to revive among his subjects a profound respect for the worship of the Gods, and a taste for agriculture, which had declined during the late hostile reign²³¹. But although naturally disposed to peace, and desirous of cultivating its advantages, he was not afraid of war. And fortunately for his people, he did not want abilities to conduct it with success. His first war was with the Latines.

Ant. Chr.
638.
Ann. Rom.
114.

ASCRIBING the moderation of this pacific prince to want of courage, the Latin cities entered into a confederacy, and refused to acknowledge the authority of Rome; pretending they had submitted to the arms of Tullus Hostilius, but not to the sovereignty of the Roman state²³². They even ventured to make incur-

229. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. xxv.

230. Id. Rom. Antig. lib. iii. cap. xixvi.

231. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. xxvii.

232. Id. Rom. Antig. lib. iii. cap. xxviii.

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fions into the Roman territory²³³. They found themselves, however, deceived in the character of Ancus Martius. No sooner did he see that war was become necessary, than he took the most judicious and vigorous measures, for carrying it on with effect. But he did not commence hostilities until he had convinced his subjects, his allies, and even his enemies, of the justice of his cause.

For this purpose, he assembled the college of Feciales, according to the religious forms prescribed by his pious ancestor, Numa; and they having given their sanction to the war, in case satisfaction was denied, deputed one of their body, clad in his official robes, and bearing the ensigns of his holy dignity, to demand such satisfaction, in the name of the Roman senate and people²³⁴. That sacred messenger, called *Pater Patratus*, declared the object of his mission on the frontiers of the Latin territory; at the gates, and in the market-place, of the first city that he entered; conjuring the people, in the name of Jupiter, to give ear to his just demands²³⁵. On those demands being refused, after he had waited the legal number of days, about thirty, he took his departure with a solemn protestation, in these awful words: "Hear, O Jupiter! and thou, Juno! Quirinus, and all ye Gods of Heaven, Earth, and Hell, hear! I call ye to witness, That the Latin nation is unjust, and void of faith. We will, therefore, hold deliberations at Rome, on the means of procuring redress for such breach of treaty²³⁶."

In consequence of those deliberations, which were conducted with great formality, The *Pater Patratus* was again sent to the Latin frontier, but vested with a

233. Id. *ibid*.235. Id. *ibid*.

234. Liv. lib. i. cap. xxxii.

236. Liv. *ubi sup*.

very different character. He carried in his hand a spear tinged with blood; and uttered, in presence of witnesses, the following denunciation of vengeance:—"Because of the wrongs committed by the Latin nation against the Roman state, the Roman senate and people have resolved to declare war against the Latines; and I and the Roman people," cried he, "declare and begin it!"—And he threw his spear into the hostile territory²³⁷.

LETTER
VIII.

HAVING thus vindicated himself, in the fight of Gods and men, from the imputation of wanton violence or ambitious views, Ancus Martius led his army into the field; reduced successively many of the Latin cities, and transplanted the inhabitants to Rome, which he greatly enlarged for their accommodation: and after a vigorous struggle for dominion, maintained for several years, he gained a complete victory over the whole Latin nation²³⁸. He next humbled the Fidæates, who had revolted along with the other Latin cantons; and he compelled their old confederates, the Veientes, to relinquish a valuable territory, containing salt pits, near the mouth of the Tiber, where he built the city of Ostia, which became the sea-port of Rome²³⁹. Nor did the hostile Sabines escape his just resentment; or the predatory Volsci, an independent and fierce tribe of the Aborigines, who had never felt the force of the Roman arms²⁴⁰.

IN the prosecution of these wars, Ancus Martius had been much indebted for his success to the valour and conduct of Lucius Tarquinius, his general of horse, who succeeded him in the government of Rome²⁴¹. This king, commonly known by the name

Ant. Chr.
614.
Ann. Rom.
238.

237. Id. *ibid*.

238. Liv. lib. i. cap. xxxiii. Dion. Halicarnass.

lib. iii. cap. xxxviii—xliii.

239. Dion. Halicarnass. *ubi sup*.

240. Id. *ibid*.

241. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. xlii—xlix.

PART I.

of Tarquin the Elder, was an Etruscan by birth, but of Græcian extraction; his father having been a rich Corinthian merchant, who had settled in Etruria, and there married a woman of an illustrious family²⁴². The wealth and talents of the son, who removed to Rome in early manhood, procured him, among the Romans, that rank and those honours which he had despaired of attaining in his native country, and at last raised him to the supreme power²⁴³. And his conduct during his whole reign, both in civil and military affairs, was such as shed lustre upon his exalted station.

As Tarquin I. had owed his elevation to the people, he began his administration with a popular act. He created an hundred new senators, chosen from the body of Plebeians²⁴⁴; having first raised them to the rank of Patricians, in order to obviate all objections against the legality of such a measure²⁴⁵; so that the Roman senate now consisted of three hundred members; a number at which it continued for several ages.

WHEN the new king had thus strengthened his civil authority, he proceeded to the exercise of those military talents, which had first lifted him to distinction among the Romans. His predecessor had left the war with the Latines unfinished. They had been vanquished, but not subdued. Tarquin resolved to reduce them under the dominion of Rome; and he accomplished his purpose by vigour and perseverance, in spite of their bravest efforts, though powerfully seconded by the Sabines and Etruscans²⁴⁶. The Latines

²⁴². Id. *ibid.* et Liv. lib. i. cap. xxxiv.

²⁴³. Dion. Halicarnass. et Liv. *ubi sup.*

²⁴⁴. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. lxxviii.

²⁴⁶. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. li-lv.

²⁴⁵. Id. *ibid.*

agreed to yield obedience to all the commands of the Romans²⁴⁷.

LETTER
VIII.

BUT the Romans had other enemies to contend with for dominion. The Sabines and Etruscans were still in arms. Tarquin, by a stratagem, divided their forces; took both camps, by cutting off all communication between them, and routed both armies with great slaughter²⁴⁸. The Sabines, discouraged by their loss, perhaps jealous of their allies, sued for peace; and a truce of six years was granted them²⁴⁹. The pride of the Etruscans withheld them from submission, and their power inspired them with confidence. Their martial spirit was rather roused than humbled, by the defeat they had suffered.

IF the Veientes, one of the twelve tribes into which the Etruscans were divided, had been able alone to dispute the field with the Romans, it was presumable that the whole united nation could not fail to resist the arms, and set bounds to the ambition of that aspiring people. A hostile confederacy was accordingly formed among the twelve Lucumonies or cantons of Etruria, at a general assembly or national council; in which it was decreed, That they should make war upon the Romans with their combined forces; and that, if any canton did not take part in the war, it should receive no assistance from the army of the confederates²⁵⁰.

IN consequence of this confederacy, the Etruscans assembled their forces, and passed the Tiber; took Fidenæ, invaded the territory of Rome, and returned home loaded with plunder²⁵¹. But this insult did not

247. Id. *ibid.*

248. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. lvi. lvii.

249. Id. *Rom. Antiq.* lib. iii. cap. lviii.

250. Id. *ibid.*

251. Dion. Halicarnass. *ubi sup.*

PART I. pass unrevenge'd. Tarquin entered Etruria early next campaign, at the head of a Roman army; vanquished the enemy in a great battle; ravaged their country, and retook Fidenæ²⁵².

THE Etruscans again assembled their forces, after the lapse of some years, and were again defeated by the Romans in another great battle, when preparing to pass the Roman frontier²⁵³. Now convinced of their inability to contend for empire with Rome, while governed by so warlike a king, they sent deputies from their several cantons to treat of peace²⁵⁴. Tarquin met their advances with generous magnanimity. He told them, That he wished neither to deprive them of their possessions, to fetter them with garrisons, oppress them with tributes, or to change the form of their government. But he expected they would voluntarily grant, what the fortune of war had enabled him to force them to yield, the sovereignty of their cities²⁵⁵.

HAVING received this answer, the deputies retired; and, after a few days, returned with the ensigns of sovereignty with which the Etruscans were wont to invest their own kings, who had the controul over all the twelve Lucumonies of Etruria; namely, a crown of gold, an ivory throne, a sceptre, on the head of which was the figure of an eagle, a purple vest wrought with gold, and a purple robe richly embroidered²⁵⁶. These regal ornaments Tarquin wore, with the consent of the Roman senate and people;—and they were retained by all his successors²⁵⁷.

252. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. lix.

253. Id. *Rom. Antig.* lib. iii. cap. ix.

254. Id. *ibid.*

255. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. lxi.

256. Id. *Rom. Antig.* lib. iii. cap. lxii. lxxii.

257. Id. *ibid.*

THE only Italian nation now able to dispute the field of glory with the Romans, was that of the Sabines. And the truce with this warlike people being now expired; Tarquin was desirous of reducing them under his dominion, while the spirits of his troops were elated with conquest, and before they had tasted the sweets of peace. Nor had he occasion, with that view, to force a pretence for commencing hostilities; or to provoke a quarrel. The Sabines, conscious they had encouraged and aided the Etruscans, in their last struggle for independency, were no sooner made acquainted with Tarquin's intentions, than they invaded the Roman territory²⁵⁸. The ambitious and valiant king marched against them with a chosen body of forces; defeated them, as they were dispersed in plundering the country; took from all their booty, and drove them to their camp²⁵⁹.

THE Sabines, however, were not disheartened by that severe check. Confiding in their strength, they remained firm within their entrenchments, until their broken troops had recovered from their consternation: Meantime the Roman army having been greatly augmented, advanced against the invaders in order of battle. The Sabines did not decline the challenge. They boldly led out an army not inferior to Tarquin's either in numbers or in valour. But that prince far surpassed their general in military skill. While both armies were fighting with desperate resolution, and the event of the day seemed doubtful, a Roman body of reserve, which had been posted in a concealed place, appeared behind the Sabines, and struck them with terror. Thinking it a fresh army, they fled in all directions; and being pursued, and surrounded by the Romans, were almost utterly cut off²⁶⁰. Their camp was forced;

258. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. lxiv.

259. Id. ibid.

260. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. lxx.

PART I. and the troops left to guard it surrendered themselves prisoners, without striking a blow ²⁶¹.

THOUGH mortified at this disaster, the Sabine cantons were not dismayed. Considering their defeat as the effect of stratagem, rather than a proof of the superior power or valour of the enemy, they raised a new army, and sent it into the field under a more experienced general ²⁶². Tarquin marched against the Sabines, and offered them battle, before they were prepared to receive him. They were therefore obliged to act on the defensive, and permit their country to be ravaged; yet by their vigour and perseverance, they protracted the war to the length of five years. At last collecting the whole force of their nation, they resolved upon a final trial of strength ²⁶³.

TARQUIN, who had long fought for such an opportunity, embraced it with ardour. He met the enemy at the head of the Roman troops; the Etruscan auxiliaries he intrusted to the command of his nephew Aruns and those of the Latines to the conduct of Servius Tullius, who became afterward his son-in-law, and who was a man of tried courage and consummate prudence ²⁶⁴. The Sabines also divided their forces into three bodies. And the battle that ensued was fierce, obstinate, and bloody. The Sabines maintained their ground, with great firmness, from morning until the approach of night. But they were at length broke by the Romans, who occupied the left wing of the royal army, and routed with incredible slaughter ²⁶⁵. Despairing of being able any longer to support their independency, they now sent deputies to the conqueror with proposals of peace; and Tarquin granted

261. Id. *ibid*.262. Dion. Halicarnass. *ubi sup*.263. Id. *Rom. Antiq.* lib. iii, cap. lxvi.

264. Dion. Halicarnass.

lib. iii, cap. lxvii.

265. Id. *ibid*.

them, on their submission, the same favourable conditions, which his generosity had extended to the Etruscans²⁶⁶.

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VIII.

HAVING thus brought under the dominion of the Romans all the neighbouring nations, this victorious king devoted himself, during the latter part of his reign, to the arts of peace; and executed such magnificent public works, as have made his memory immortal. He built the great Circus at Rome; adorned the Forum with porticoes; surrounded the city with a superb wall of hewn stone, and began the sinking and building of the capacious common-sewers²⁶⁷; which were finished by Tarquin II. and have been ranked, by all succeeding ages, among the most extraordinary monuments of human labour²⁶⁸.

BUT all these civil and military services could not save the first Tarquin from the vengeance of private enemies. He was murdered, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, by assassins hired by the sons of Ancus Martius²⁶⁹. Envious of his greatness, they seemed to think he had robbed them of their paternal inheritance; though they could not fail to know, That the regal office in Rome was elective, not hereditary.

THE Romans, however, who detested such an atrocious action, as much as they valued their constitu-

²⁶⁶. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup. * ²⁶⁷. Id. lib. iii. cap. lxviii.

²⁶⁸. These sewers, through which the water and filth collected from every street in Rome were conveyed into the Tiber, Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls "a wonderful work, exceeding all description." (*Rom. Antig.* lib. iii. cap. lxviii.) And Pliny tells us, that they were of sufficient height and breadth to admit a waggon loaded with hay. (*Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxvi. cap. xv.) The walls of Rome were scarcely less wonderful; each of the square stones, with which they were built, being of a ton weight, if we may credit the accurate Dionysius. *Rom. Antig.* ubi sup.

²⁶⁹. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iii. cap. lxxiii. lxxiv.

PART I.

Ant. Chr.

576.

Ann. Rom.

176.

tional rights, raised to the supreme power Servius Tullius; the son of a famous Latin captive, and son-in-law of the late king ²⁷⁰. This man owed his elevation partly to his own high character; to his distinguished civil and military talents, and partly to the interest which he took in prosecuting the conspirators, while he acted as guardian to the two grandsons of his illustrious predecessor ²⁷¹. Of these young princes I shall afterward have occasion to speak.

SERVIVS Tullius was no sooner seated on the throne of Rome, than he found himself involved in hostilities with the Etruscans; who hoping to profit by the disorders, that followed the murder of Lucius Tarquinius, had refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the new king ²⁷². The war occasioned by this revolt lasted twenty years; in which period both parties made frequent incursions into each other's territories, and many battles were fought between them with great armies. But Tullius having been victorious in all these battles, for which he was honoured with three splendid triumphs, forced not only particular cantons, but the whole Etruscan nation, at last to supplicate his clemency, and again submit to the Roman yoke ²⁷³. He upbraided the deputies of the several cities with folly and breach of faith, in wantonly violating their engagements, and drawing upon their country so many calamities. Yet he politically granted peace to nine of the twelve Lucumonies of Etruria, on the same conditions prescribed by his predecessor. But the Caeretani, the Tarquinienfes, and the Veientes, who had been the authors of the revolt, he punished, by seizing their lands ²⁷⁴.

270. Id. lib. iv. cap. i.—iii.

271. Id. ibid.

272. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xxvii.

273. Id. ibid.

274. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

LETTER
VIII.

DURING this tedious war, Servius Tullius established many civil institutions for the better government of the city of Rome, which he had adorned and enlarged, as well as for the general good of the state. And a long reign of forty-four years enabled him to perfect the plan of Roman polity. He began his administration with dividing the lately conquered lands, or the unappropriated part of the public territory, among such of the Roman citizens as, having no lands of their own, were employed in cultivating the possessions of others ²⁷⁵. And he enacted, among many statutes for the benefit of the poorer Plebeians, a law which provided, That no man should lend money on the liberty of the persons of freemen, as a security; but that the property of the debtor should be deemed sufficient security to the creditor ²⁷⁶.

AFTER Tullius had taken these measures for the benefit of the commonalty, he made a new division of the free inhabitants or citizens of Rome, of all ranks, into four tribes or wards, instead of three ²⁷⁷. He at the same time divided the Roman citizens, or free inhabitants of the country, into twenty-six tribes ²⁷⁸; and built places of strength upon such eminences as could most easily be made defensible, for the security of the husbandmen ²⁷⁹. In those strong holds, which might be considered as the citadels of the Pagi or villages, the people of the neighbourhood took shelter, on the appearance of an enemy ²⁸⁰.

It was the business of the governors of such fortified places to take cognizance of the industry, as well as of the morals of the inhabitants, conformable to

275. Id. lib. iv. cap. ix.—xiii.

276. Id. *ibid.*

277. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xiv.

278. Fabius Pictor ap. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xv.

279. Dion. Halicarnass. *ubi sup.*

280. Id. *ibid.*

PART I. the laws of Numa²⁸¹. Tullius ordered them also to collect the taxes, and keep a register of the number of people, of all descriptions, in their several districts. And he appointed, for each Pagi, an annual festival of great solemnity, called the *Paganalia*²⁸². So high can we trace the appellation *Pagan*, which was afterward employed, as we shall have occasion to see, by the first Christians, to denominate the whole unconverted world, except the Jews.

THE next institution of Servius Tullius was of yet more importance; namely, the CENSUS, which made the government of the Roman state as simple and regular as that of a private family, and which was equally well calculated for peace and war. He wished to lighten the taxes upon the poor citizens, and give the rich an interest in public affairs in proportion to their property²⁸³; a regulation which was become highly necessary, and could not fail to be acceptable to both parties. For the possessions of the Romans having been originally almost equal, every citizen was assessed alike for the support of the state, and had an equal power of influencing its measures, as we have seen, by his equal vote in the assembly of the people; though the poorer sort, by reason of their indigence, were now in danger of being corrupted by the rich, and wanted the means of fulfilling their constitutional engagements, either in a civil or military capacity²⁸⁴.

As a prelude to such regulation, the wise and politic king ordered all the Roman citizens, arrived at the military age, to insert their names in a public register, opened in the Forum; and to give in, upon oath, a

281. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xv.

283. Dion. Halicarnass. iv. cap. xix.

282. Id. ibid.

284. Id. ibid.

valuation of their property²⁸⁵. They were also required to give in their own age, with the names of their wives and children; and to specify in what ward of the city, or district of the country, they resided²⁸⁶.

LETTER
VIII.

HAVING completed this register, or Census of persons and possessions, Tullius proceeded to the execution of that great political plan, for which chiefly the Census had been taken; the proportioning of taxes to property, and connecting the interests of the state with the opulence of its members. Actuated with these views, he divided the whole body of Roman citizens able to bear arms, amounting to about eighty thousand men, into six classes, according to the value of their property. The first class consisted of citizens, whose lands and effects exceeded the value of one hundred thousand *Asses* or pounds of copper. This class was subdivided into ninety-eight Centuries or companies; fourscore Centuries of foot, and eighteen of horsemen²⁸⁷.

THE second class was composed of citizens, whose property was valued at seventy-five thousand *Asses*, and divided into twenty-two Centuries; the third class, consisting of citizens whose property was valued at fifty thousand *Asses*, was divided into twenty Centuries; the fourth class, consisting of citizens whose property was valued at twenty-five thousand *Asses*, was divided into twenty-two Centuries; the fifth class, consisting of citizens whose property was valued at eleven thousand *Asses*, was divided into thirty Centuries; and the sixth and lowest class, which consisted of citizens whose property was below the value of

²⁸⁵. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

²⁸⁶. Id. ibid.

²⁸⁷. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xvi — xviii. Liv. lib. 3. cap. xliii.

eleven thousand Asses, formed only one Century,
though it concluded a multitude of people ²⁸⁸.

THE citizens of all these classes, except the last, paid taxes in proportion to their property ²⁸⁹, and occupied their station in the army according to their priority of class; those of the first class, between the age of seventeen and forty-five; being posted in the front line; while those, above forty-five, were entrusted with the defence of the city ²⁹⁰. The younger citizens of the second and third classes held their stations, in like manner, in the second and third lines, and the elder on the walls of Rome ²⁹¹. The citizens of the fourth class, within the military age, formed a body of reserve; and those of the fifth class acted as light troops, out of the line of battle ²⁹². But the citizens of the sixth class were exempted from all taxes, and excused from all military service; Tullius considering it as unreasonable, that men who were in want of the common necessities of life, or but slenderly provided, should be loaded with any assessment. And he was not willing that men, who had nothing to lose, should be entrusted with defence of the state; especially as they must, in such case, be maintained, like

²⁸⁸ Id. *ibid*. The value of the pound of copper among the Romans, in those early times, and its proportion to that of silver or gold, are so doubtful, that it cannot, with certainty, be reduced to English money. I shall, therefore, only observe, That by the *As* is here to be understood the pound weight, (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxiii. cap. iii.) and not the Roman coin of the same name afterward in use, and which was reduced to low as half an ounce. (Id. *ibid*.) Consequently the estates of the Roman citizens of the highest class, computed by the present value of copper, were worth about five thousand pounds sterling, and those of the lowest class about five hundred and fifty pounds.

²⁸⁹ Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xix.

²⁹⁰ Id. *Rom. Antig.* lib. iv. cap. xvi. Liv. lib. i. cap. xliii.

²⁹¹ Id. *ibid*.

²⁹² Liv. *ubi sup*. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xvii.

common

common mercenaries, at the expence of the community²⁹³,

LETTER

VIII.

THE Roman citizens of the superior classes enjoyed, by the institutions of this sage king, the same priority in the public assembly, as in the army; in voting for the enacting of laws, or on the resolutions concerning peace and war²⁹⁴. In that assembly or *Comitia*, the Romans no longer voted as individuals, in their several *Curia*, but by Centuries²⁹⁵; and as the first class consisted of ninety-eight centuries, which formed a majority of the whole one hundred and ninety-three, it had the power, as its Centuries were first called, of deciding ultimately upon every question, if unanimous²⁹⁶.

If the centuries of the first class disagreed, those of the second, the third, and of other inferior classes, were called in to vote. But there was seldom occasion to go below the Centuries of the third class²⁹⁷:—so that, by this politic regulation, all public measures came to be determined by the more considerable citizens; who understood the interests of the state better, and were less liable to corruption, or subject to undue influence, than the lower populace. That mode of voting, however, was afterward changed for one more popular²⁹⁸; the Centuries no longer being called to give suffrage in the order of their classes, but by the drawing of lots²⁹⁹.

WHEN Servius Tullius had thus established the Census, and the several institutions connected with it,

293. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xviii. sic Liv. lib. i. cap. xliii.

294. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xx.

295. Id. ibid.

296. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

297. Id. ibid.

298. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xxi.

299. Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. xxii. At what time this change took place is not known, no historian having made particular mention of it.

PART I.

he ordered all the Roman citizens to assemble in arms, in the *Campus Martius*; a large field in the neighbourhood of Rome, and on the banks of the Tiber, which Romulus had dedicated to Mars, and there perform an expiatory sacrifice to the God of war³⁰⁰. This sacrifice, called *Lustrum*, continued to be regularly repeated after the Census, which was taken at the end of every five years³⁰¹. Hence the Romans came to compute time by Lustrations, as the Greeks did by Olympiads. And by repeating the Census, after such short intervals, they were at all times acquainted with the strength and resources of the state.

ANOTHER institution was still necessary to perfect the system of Roman polity. And it was not overlooked by this truly sagacious and beneficent prince. The Romans, from maxims of sound policy, had originally admitted into the number, and communicated the privileges of Roman citizens, as we have seen, to refugees from the neighbouring states, and to the prisoners made in war, as well as to the people of several cantons which they had conquered. But when any of the vanquished people rebelled, they were generally deprived of their lands, on being again subdued, and the captives taken in war were subjected to the condition of slaves³⁰². Numbers of those captives, however, had now obtained their freedom; some by purchase, some as the recompense of long and faithful service³⁰³.

AMONG the slaves thus manumitted, were many men of high birth, tried courage, and distinguished talents, who could have contributed to the advancement of any state; but who, having no share in the government

300. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xxii. Liv. lib. i. cap. xlv.

301. Id. ibid. et Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. xlviii.

302. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xxi. — xxv.

303. Id. ibid.

of Rome, might be considered as its concealed enemies. Tullius therefore, with the consent of the senate, and the approbation of the people, passed a law, which gave those freedmen the choice of returning to their several countries, or becoming Roman citizens³⁰⁴. And such as embraced the latter alternative, were distributed among the four city-tribes³⁰⁵. This law continued ever after in force, and was frequently abused by the Romans; especially in latter times, when freedom and citizenship were often the reward of the vilest services, and most abominable prostitution.

THE last institution of Servius Tullius was no less worthy of praise than any of the former; and it gives us a very high idea of the extent of his capacity. Desirous of forming a grand confederacy of the Latin nation, resembling that of the Amphictyons in Greece, he invited deputies from the several cities to meet at Rome; and there explained to them his purpose, in presence of the Roman senate³⁰⁶. Having obtained their concurrence, and acknowledgement of Rome as head of the confederacy, he built a temple to Diana on mount Aventine, the highest of the seven hills, then inclosed within the walls of the city; and instituted an annual festival, and communion of sacrifices for the whole people of the Latin name, with a general council or assembly; in which measures should be taken for mutual defence, and where all differences might be amicably adjusted³⁰⁷. He at the same time composed laws for regulating those matters, and ordered them to be engraved on a pillar of brass,

304. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

305. *Id. ibid.*

306. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xxvi.

307. *Id. ibid.* Livy (lib. i. cap. xlv.) has included the Sabines in this confederacy; but I have chosen to follow probability, and the authority of Dionysius, who confines it to the Latin nation.

which

PART I. which were to be seen in the temple of Diana, as late as the reign of Augustus ³⁰⁸.

WHILE this politic and moderate king was employed in taking these, and other wise measures, for the security and happiness of his people, and had relinquished to them every privilege not utterly inconsistent with royalty; when he was ready to resign even royalty itself, he was assassinated at the instigation of Lucius Tarquinius II. his ambitious son-in-law, commonly known by the name of *Tarquin the Proud*, who usurped the government of Rome, and reigned with absolute authority ³⁰⁹. That usurpation was preceded by circumstances sufficiently interesting to merit notice,

SERVIVS Tullius, who had acted the part of a faithful guardian to the two grandsons of Tarquin I. married them, when they came of age, to his two daughters; Lucius, the eldest, to his eldest daughter, and Aruns to Tullia, the youngest. But unfortunately they happened to be ill matched. Tullia, a woman of bold and insatiable ambition, therefore contrived, by poison, to get rid of her husband, who was a man of a mild and unassuming disposition. Lucius Tarquinius, at her solicitation, also poisoned his wife, whose gentle virtues did not suit his haughty character ³¹⁰. Thus disengaged, the two fierce spirits, who had before indulged in a criminal commerce, were united in wedlock; and to crown their atrocious guilt, made their way to the throne by the murder of the good old king ³¹¹.

308. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

309. Liv. lib. i. cap. xlviii. xlix.

310. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xviii—xxx. Liv. lib. i. cap. xlv.

311. Liv. ubi sup. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xxxix. The particulars of this horrid transaction, as related by ancient historians, are too shocking for modern ears.

As Tarquin II. founded his title to the supreme power on his being the grandson of Tarquin I. and pleaded his hereditary right, as an apology for seeking to depose, if not for assassinating Servius Tullius, he no sooner saw himself possessed of the Roman sceptre, than he acted as if he had been born master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects. Equally regardless of the privileges of the Patricians, who had abetted his ambitious claim, and of those of the Plebeians, who had opposed it, he directed all things by his own arbitrary will, without either consulting the senate or the assembly of the people ³¹².

LETTER
VIII.

Ant. Chz.

535
Ann. Rom.
320.

CONSCIOUS that a dominion so absolute, over a brave and high spirited race of men, jealous of their natural and constitutional rights, could only be maintained by force and fear, Tarquin paid peculiar attention to the army, and to all the enslaving arts of despotism. For the security of his person, he supported a strong body of guards; composed of the most resolute and daring soldiers, both natives and foreigners, that he could bribe into his service; and who continually surrounded his palace, or attended him when he went abroad ³¹³. He seldom appeared in public, until he had firmly established his authority; and when he did, he assumed an imperious air, more calculated to inspire terror than love, which procured him the surname of *Superbus* ³¹⁴. He brought before his own arbitrary tribunal causes of all kinds; and such of the Patricians as had opposed his elevation, or were otherwise obnoxious to him, saw themselves, by means of false accusations, condemned to death or banishment ³¹⁵.

312. Liv. lib. i. cap. xlix. *Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xli.

313. Id. ibid. 314. Dion. Halicarnass. et Liv. ubi sup.

315. Liv. lib. i. cap. xlix. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xlii.

PART I.

THE Plebeians, at first, beheld with indifference these attainders and executions, from which they were exempted; and seemed even to rejoice in the sufferings of their haughty superiors, as if they had hoped to share in the forfeitures and confiscations, while they considered them as just judgments, for the countenance the Patricians had shewn to the tyrant³¹⁶. But they soon found, that they also were become the objects of his jealousy. He prohibited all those assemblies, both in the city and country, to which they used to resort, for the performance of their religious ceremonies; being afraid lest a multitude of people, thus collected together, and connected by the common tie of religion, might hatch some conspiracy against his life or throne³¹⁷. Nor was this all. Having selected from among the body of Plebeians, fit for military service, such as seemed attached to his interest, and ingrafted them into his army, he employed the greater part of the rest in laborious public works; in finishing the Common Sewers begun, as we have seen, by his grandfather; in surrounding the Circus with porticoes, and in building a magnificent temple to the three Great Gods; Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; under one roof³¹⁸.

THE building of that temple is said to have been attended with a singular circumstance. As the workmen were sinking the foundations, on the Saturnian or Tarpeian-hill, they found deep in the ground, we are told, the head of a man, as if newly killed, from which the blood flowed warm and fresh³¹⁹. Alarmed at this prodigy, Tarquin ordered the workmen to leave off digging, and consulted the sooth-sayers concerning its meaning. The interpretation artfully given was,

316. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xliii.

317. Id. *ibid.*

318. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xlv. xlv. lxii.

319. Id. *Rome Antiq.* lib. iv. cap. lix. Liv. lib. i. cap. iv.

That the place where the *Head* was found should become the *head* of all Italy, and ROME the *metropolis* of the universe ³²⁰. Hence the Tarpeian was called the *Capitoline-hill*, from the Latin word for a *Head*; and the temple built upon it, the *CAPITOL* ³²¹.

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WHILE these public works were carrying on, Tarquin was not inactive. Aware that a prince, who has usurped authority over his fellow-citizens, and who exercises it with a high hand, stands in need of foreign support, he began his reign with courting the friendship of the Latines. And through his pliant and insidious policy, in gaining Mamilius, the most powerful man of the Latin nation, by giving him his daughter in marriage; at the same time that he brought to ruin and disgrace, by his treacherous arts, Turnus, the only person of distinction who opposed an alliance with him, he got all the Latin cities to acknowledge him sovereign of the nation; upon the same conditions which they had yielded that dignity, first to his grandfather, Tarquin I. and afterward to Servius Tullius ³²².

THIS supple and aspiring tyrant, next solicited and obtained the friendship of the Hernici, an independent tribe of the Aborigines. He also secured an alliance with two cities belonging to the Volsci; but the great body of the nation set him at defiance ³²³. Tarquin, who eagerly longed for an opportunity of displaying his military talents, and of leading the Romans against some of their old enemies, marched an army into the hostile territory; defeated the Volsci in the field; took Sueffia, their most opulent city, by storm, after an obstinate siege, and collected an ini-

³²⁰. Liv. ubi sup. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. lx.

³²¹. Id. ibid.

³²². Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. xlv—xlvi.

³²³. Id. Rom. Antig. lib. iv. cap. xlix.

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menſe booty; which he liberally diſtributed among his ſoldiers, after ſetting aſide the tenth part for the building of the Capitol ³²⁴.

BEFORE Tarquin left Sueſſa, he received intelligence, that the Sabines had invaded the Roman territory, in two bodies, and were laying waſte the country. Leaving his baggage and the booty under a guard, he inſtantly marched againſt the enemy; defeated their moſt advanced body, and obliged the other to ſurrender at diſcretion ³²⁵. And the Sabines, having thus loſt their whole army, and ſeeing their country defenceleſs, ſent deputies to the conqueror, and ſubmitted to ſuch terms as he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them ³²⁶.

Now victorious on all ſides, Tarquin returned in triumph to Rome, loaded with the ſpoils of his vanquiſhed enemies ³²⁷. But he had ſoon occaſion again to take the field.

THE people of Gabii, a Latin city, encouraged by the Volſci, and ſtrengthened by a band of Roman refugees, threw off the tyrant's yoke; defeated a body of his troops, and purſued them to the gates of Rome ³²⁸. Tarquin aſſembled his forces; advanced againſt the invaders; and obliged them, after various encounters, to ſhut themſelves up within the walls of their city ³²⁹. But they again grew formidable; repeatedly ravaged the Roman territory; and being conſtantly reinforced with diſſatisfied Romans, protracted the war to the length of ſeven years, in defiance of all the

324. Liv. lib. i. cap. liii. Dion. Halicarnaſſ. lib. iv. cap. i.

325. Dion. Halicarnaſſ. lib. iv. cap. ii. lii.

326. Id. ibid.

327. Dion. Halicarnaſſ. ubi. ſup.

328. Id. lib. iv. cap. liii.

329. Dion. Halicarnaſſ. ubi. ſup.

most vigorous efforts of the tyrant to reduce them to obedience ³³⁰.

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TARQUIN, however, got at last possession of Gabii; though not by the superiority of his arms, or his distinguished military skill, but by treachery. Sextus, his eldest son, pretending to desert to the enemy, was admitted into their confidence; and being invested with the command of their forces, delivered up the city to his father by night ³³¹. But the politic tyrant took no advantage of this circumstance to the prejudice of the Gabini. On the contrary, he treated them with the greatest lenity; restored to them their city without plundering it; secured them in the possession of their lands, and admitted them all to the rights of Roman citizens ³³².

HAVING now fully established his authority, as well over the Romans as the neighbouring nations, Tarquin allowed his subjects some respite from the toils of war. But he still continued to harass them with the execution of his great public works ³³³. And the people of Ardea, a city of Latium, soon excited his jealousy; by affording an asylum to Roman fugitives, whose resentment he feared; and they his avidity, by their riches, which he longed to possess ³³⁴. That city he invested ³³⁵. But before he could make himself

³³⁰. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. liv.

³³¹. Liv. lib. i. cap. liv. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. iv—lviii.

³³². Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup. ³³³. Id. lib. iv. cap. lix.

³³⁴. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. lxiv. Liv. lib. i. cap. lvii.

³³⁵. Id. *ibid.* Ardea, we are told by Strabo, was built by a colony of the Rutuli. (*Geog.* lib. v. p. 332. edit. Lutet. Paris Typ. Reg. 1620.) But Dionysius numbers it among the cities of the Latines. (*Rom. Antig.* lib. v. cap. lxi.) And as a Latin city it seems to have been considered in the reign of Tarquin II. by the Roman fugitives taking refuge in it, as they had formerly in Gabii. Yet Livy speaks of it as then belonging to the Rutuli; (*Rom. Hist.* lib. i. cap. lvii.) who were still an independent nation, and had no part in the Latin confederacy. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. v. cap. lxii.

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master of the place, the intemperate lust of his son, Sextus, threw all his affairs into confusion, and roused the depressed spirit of the Romans to sentiments of liberty and vengeance.

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SEXTUS Tarquinius, the eldest son of the tyrant, whose treachery to the Gabini shewed that he was capable of any baseness, had lately become enamoured of Lucretia; a Roman lady of high birth, equally distinguished by her beauty and virtue, and the wife of his relation, Colatinus³³⁶. Taking occasion to visit the city of Colatia, where she lived, while Colatinus was in the camp before Ardea, Sextus was received, and entertained as her husband's kinsman. After supper he went to bed, and kept himself quiet great part of the night. But when he thought the family asleep, he rose; and drawing his sword, entered the room in which Lucretia lay, without being discovered by any of her domestics³³⁷. On approaching her bed-side, he laid his left hand upon her breast, and made her acquainted with his wishes, and the weapon with which he was armed; threatening, at the same time, to kill her, if she attempted to escape, or offered to cry out³³⁸. "I am Sextus Tarquinius," said he:—"be still, or you die!"

LUCRETIA, though much alarmed, remained firm in her resistance; so that Sextus had recourse to entreaties, and menaces in vain. Determined, however, to accomplish his purpose, he sternly desired her to take choice of two conditions; of death with dishonour, or life with happiness. "For if you agree to gratify my passion," whispered he, "I will make you my wife; and with me you shall enjoy all the

336. Liv. lib. i. cap. lviii. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. lxx.

337. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup. Liv. lib. i. cap. lviii.

338. Id. ibid.

"power and honours, which I possess, or have in prospect; the kingdom of Rome, and the sovereignty of Italy. But if you refuse to yield, I will first kill you, and then stab one of your male slaves; and laying your bodies together, declare that I caught you in his embrace, and slew you to revenge the injured honour of Colatinus³³⁹." Subdued by the fear of shame, Lucretia, who had set at defiance the fear of death, submitted to the desire of her ravisher; and Sextus Tarquinius having satiated his lust, returned next morning to the camp, with the exulting air of a conqueror³⁴⁰.

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THE feelings of a beautiful and virtuous lady, thus dishonoured and abandoned, may easier, my Lord, be conceived than described. Lucretia, however, behaved with composure and dignity. Having dressed herself in black, she ordered her chariot, and drove from Colatia to Rome. On entering the house of her father, Lucretius, she threw herself at his feet; and embracing his knees remained for some time bathed in tears, without uttering a word. He raised her affectionately, and asked what misfortune had befallen her. "To you, O father!" cried she, "I fly for refuge, under a dreadful and irreparable injury. In her calamities, forsake not your daughter, who has suffered worse than death³⁴¹."

STRUCK with wonder and astonishment, at what he heard and saw, her father desired her to explain the nature of the injury she had sustained. "That," said Lucretia, "you will know too soon for your peace. In the meantime, assemble your friends and relations, that they may learn, from my lips, the shameful and severe necessity to which I have been com-

339. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. lxxv. lxxvi. Liv. ubi sup.

340. Id. ibid.

341. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. lvi.

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"pelled to submit; and that they may concert with
 "you, the means of revenge ^{342.}"

LUCRETIVS, according to the desire of his daughter, invited to his house, by a hasty message, the most considerable of his kindred and connexions in Rome, both male and female. When they were assembled, Lucretia unfolded to them her melancholy tale, with all its cruel circumstances; then embracing her father, and recommending herself to him, to all present, and to the Gods, the just avengers of guilt, she drew a dagger, which she had concealed beneath her robes; and plunging it into her breast, at one stroke pierced her heart ^{343.} The women, distracted with grief, beat their bosoms, and filled the house with shrieks and lamentations; while Lucretius embraced the bleeding body of his daughter, who expired in his agonizing arms ^{344.}

THIS awful spectacle filled all the Romans, who were present, with so much horror, blended with compassion, that they unanimously exclaimed, they would rather die ten thousand deaths, in defence of their liberties than suffer such abuses to be committed by the Tarquins ^{345.} Among the persons of distinction, thus affected, was included Publius Valerius, afterward surnamed *Publicola*, a man of great prudence and patriotism. He was chosen to go to the camp before Ardea, in order to acquaint Colatinus, the husband of Lucretia, with her fate; and to endeavour, in conjunction with him, to engage the army to revolt ^{346.}

BUT Valerius had hardly begun his journey, when

342. Id. *ibid.*

343. Liv. lib. i. cap. lviii. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. lxvii.

344. Dion. Halicarnass. *ubi. sup.*

345. Id. *ibid.*

346. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. lxvii.

he met Colatinus coming to Rome, yet ignorant of the misfortunes of his family; and with him came Lucius Junius, surnamed *Brutus*, or the *fool*, from the air of stupidity, which had hitherto marked his character³⁴⁷. That stupid appearance, however, was only assumed by Junius as a mask, to conceal his superior talents from the jealous eye of Tarquin II. who had put to death his father, and his eldest brother, as too powerful and highminded men, to submit to his tyrannical government³⁴⁸.

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Thus hid in the disguise of folly, Brutus excited neither envy nor jealousy, while he only waited for a proper opportunity of recovering the lost liberties of his country. And no sooner did he hear Valerius relate the unhappy story of Lucretia, than he lifted his hands and eyes to Heaven, and said, "O Jupiter! and all ye Gods, who superintend human affairs, is the time now come, in expectation of which I have so long worn this humiliating disguise?—Has Heaven ordained, That the Romans shall by me, and through my exertions, be delivered from the accursed tyranny under which they groan³⁴⁹?"—Having uttered that ejaculation, he hastened to the house of mourning; where, finding the father and husband of Lucretia sunk in the deepest sorrow, he told them they would afterward have leisure to bewail her fate: they ought now to think of revenging it³⁵⁰.

In consequence of this advice, a consultation was instantly held; at which Brutus explained the cause of the degrading character he had assumed, and prevailed upon Lucretius, Colatinus, Valerius, and their common friends, to join in a resolution of expelling Tar-

347. Id. lib. iv. cap. lxxiii. Liv. lib. i. cap. lvi.

349. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. lxx.

348. Id. *ibid.*

350. Id. *ibid.*

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quin II. and his usurping family. "But neither words nor promises," exclaimed he, "can accomplish this: actions must!—And I my self will be the first actor ³⁵¹." In so saying, he snatched up the dagger with which Lucretia had stabbed herself; and standing by the body, which was still exposed to view; "I swear," cried he "by that blood which was once so pure, and which nothing but the atrocious villainy of Sextus Tarquinius could have stained—by that once spotless blood I swear, and I call the Gods to witness this my oath, That I will pursue Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, his wicked wife, and all their hated offspring, with fire and sword. Nor will I ever suffer any person of that family, while I live, to reign at Rome; but will persecute, with unrelenting vengeance till death, both the tyrants and their abettors ³⁵²." He next delivered the dagger to Colatinus, then to Lucretius, Valerius, and their other friends, who all took the same oath ³⁵³.

AFTER having entered into this solemn engagement, the sacred band of patriots deliberated in what manner they should accomplish their purpose, and what form of government they should establish, if their generous efforts were crowned with success. These points also being settled to their mutual satisfaction, they prayed to the Gods to assist them in the prosecution of their pious and just designs; then went in a body to the Forum ³⁵⁴. Thither they were followed by their domestics, who carried on a bier, covered with black cloth, the body of Lucretia; and having placed it upon a high and conspicuous place, before the assembled senate, they sent heralds to summon the peo-

³⁵¹. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup.

³⁵². Id. ibid. et Liv. lib. i. cap. lix.

³⁵³. Liv. ubi sup. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. lxxi.

³⁵⁴. Liv. ibid. et Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. lxxi—lxxvi.

ple³⁵⁵. When the assembly was full, Brutus mounted the Rostra; and placing the Patricians near him, explained, in a long and animated speech, the reasons for calling the citizens together, and the views of the confederates³⁵⁶.

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He began his address with claiming the attention of the people, and by laying open his motives for counterfeiting folly. He next recapitulated, and painted in all their horror, the crimes of Lucius Tarquinius II. before he attained the sovereignty. "And how did he attain it?"—cried the patriotic orator. Did he follow, in this matter, the example of former kings?—By no means. They were all advanced to that dignity by us, fellow-citizens! according to the laws and customs of the Roman nation; but he acquired the sovereignty by arms, by violence, and the conspiracies of wicked men, according to the custom of tyrants. And after he had possessed himself of the supreme power, did he use it in a manner becoming a king? No man in his senses will say so; who sees the miserable condition to which we are reduced, or who knows the cruelties to which we have been exposed.

"I SHALL say nothing," continued he, "of the calamities which we, who are Patricians, suffer; calamities, which even our enemies could not hear described without tears, and which have reduced us from a numerous body to a few; from splendour, to obscurity; from prosperity and affluence, to poverty and want. But what is your condition, Plebeians?—for that I cannot pass over in silence. Has not Tarquinius Superbus robbed you of your na-

355. Id. *ibid*.

356. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. lxxvii—lxxxiii. Liv. lib. i. cap. lix.

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tional rights?—Has he not abolished your meetings on account of religion?—Your solemn festivals and sacrifices! Has he not put an end to your election of magistrates?—to your right of voting, and your assemblies for the concerns of the state?—Does he not force you, like slaves purchased with money, to labour in a degrading manner?—to cut stones, saw timber, carry burdens, and waste your strength in deep pits and subterraneous caverns, without allowing you the least respite from servile toils!—What then will be the issue of your calamities?—Where will your miseries terminate?—How long shall we submit to these indignities, or when shall we recover our native liberty?—When Tarquin dies, do you say?—And shall we then be in a better condition?—No! but in a worse; for instead of one Tarquin, we shall have three, and each more detestable than the present tyrant.”

HERE Brutus gave an account of the horrid triumph of Sextus Tarquinius over the virtue of Lucretia, with a description of her intrepid death. “O admirable woman!” exclaimed he, “great are the praises you merit, for your heroic resolution. To you, after being robbed of your unsullied chastity, by the violence of one night, death appeared more eligible than life; and shall we not adopt the same noble sentiment?—we whom Tarquin has robbed of all the pleasures of life, in robbing us of our liberty; and who yet have suffered his haughty domination, and oppressive tyranny, for twenty-five years!—We cannot live any longer, fellow-citizens! under these grievances. If we would prove ourselves the descendants of those illustrious Romans, who thought themselves worthy to give laws to the neighbouring nations, we have now no other choice left, but life with liberty, or death with glory³⁵⁷.”

³⁵⁷. Dion. Halicarnass. *Rom. Antig.* lib. iv. cap. lxxx—xxxiii.

AT these words, the whole body of the people, as if with one voice, called out for arms. "Hear first," subjoined Brutus, charmed with such alacrity, "hear the resolution of our associates. We have determined, That the Tarquins, and all their posterity, shall be banished from the city of Rome and the territories of the Roman state; and that, if any person shall act contrary to our determination, in abetting, either by words or deeds, the cause of the tyrants, he shall be put to death. If you are willing this resolution be confirmed, divide yourselves into your Curiae, and give your votes. And let the exercise of that right be considered as the beginning of your restored liberty ³⁵⁸."

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THOSE forms were complied with; and all the Curiae having given their votes for the banishment of the Tarquins, Brutus again stood up, and said, "Citizens, since you have confirmed the first resolution, in a manner worthy of the Roman people, hear what we have resolved concerning the plan of our future government. After we had considered," observed he, "what order of magistracy should be invested with sovereign authority, we came to a resolution to chuse no more Kings; but to elect two annual magistrates, under the name of *CONSULS*, to be chosen by yourselves in the *Comitia Centuriata*, and invested with regal power. If it is your pleasure, that this resolution also do pass, give your votes ³⁵⁹." They were unanimous in their approbation of it.

HAVING thus collected the sense of the people, and obtained their sanction to the proceedings of the confederates, Brutus appointed Spurius Lucretius to

358. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. lxxxiv.

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359. Id. *ibid.*

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preside, as *Inter-vex*, at the election of chief magistrates, according to the laws in that case established. And he, having dismissed the assembly, ordered all the people to appear in arms, in the Campus Martius, the usual place for such elections. When they were there mustered, Lucretius nominated two persons to discharge the functions which had belonged to the Roman kings; namely, Brutus the head of the confederacy, and Colatinius the husband of Lucretia. And the people being called to give their votes, in their Centuries, confirmed, by their election, the magistracy of the first Consuls ³⁶⁰.

MEANWHILE Tarquin having received intelligence, by certain messengers, who had left the city before the gates were shut, That Brutus was haranguing the people, and exciting them to attempt the recovery of their freedom, took with him his three sons, and a chosen body of troops, in which he could confide, and advanced to Rome, in hopes of suppressing the insurrection. But finding the gates fast, and the battlements planted with armed men, he returned to the camp with all speed; bewailing his misfortune, and boiling with resentment against the insurgents ³⁶¹.

TARQUIN, however, on his arrival at Ardea, found new cause to complain of fortune; and, instead of harbouring revenge, to blame himself for that despotic government which had made him obnoxious to his subjects of all descriptions. For the Consuls, foreseeing that he would present himself before the walls of Rome, had sent letters, by secret roads, to their friends in the camp; exhorting them to revolt from the tyrant, and informing them of the votes passed in the assembly of the people. And Titus Herminius, and Marcus Ho-

360. Dion. Halicarnass. ubi sup. Liv. lib. i. cap. lx.

361. Id. ibid.

ratius, who had been appointed by Tarquin to command in his absence, having received these letters, and read them to the army, refused to admit the king into the camp on his return, as the soldiers had unanimously declared, That they considered the votes passed in the city, for his exclusion, to be valid ³⁶².

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TARQUIN II. who had reigned twenty-five years, and was now grown grey with age, finding himself thus disappointed in his last hopes, by the desertion of his army, fled with a small retinue to the city of Gabii, into which he had thrown a strong garrison. And Hefminius and Horatius, having made a truce with the Ardeates, returned home with the troops under their command ³⁶³.—In this manner, my Lord, was monarchy abolished at Rome, after it had continued two hundred and forty-four years; because under the last king, it had degenerated into tyranny, rather than because of the violent and illegal means by which he had obtained the Roman sceptre.

WHILE liberty, in consequence of the abuse of kingly power, was thus advancing toward its full establishment in Europe, despotism, in the train of conquest, was making giant strides in Asia.

³⁶². Dion. Halicarnass. lib. iv. cap. lxxv.

³⁶³. Id. *ibid*.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.





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