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T H E
M E T H O D
O F
TEACHING and STUDYING
T H E
B E L L E S L E T T R E S,
O R,

AN INTRODUCTION TO LANGUAGES, POETRY,
RHETORIC, HISTORY, MORAL PHILOSOPHY,
PHYSICS, &c.

W I T H
REFLECTIONS ON TASTE, and INSTRUCTIONS
with regard to the ELOQUENCE of the PULPIT,
the BAR, and the STAGE.

The whole illustrated with PASSAGES from the most famous
POETS and ORATORS, ancient and modern,
with CRITICAL REMARKS on them.

Designed more particularly for STUDENTS in the
UNIVERSITIES.

By MR. R O L L I N,
Late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence
in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of
Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

Translated from the FRENCH.

V O L. III.

The SIXTH EDITION, with ALTERATIONS.

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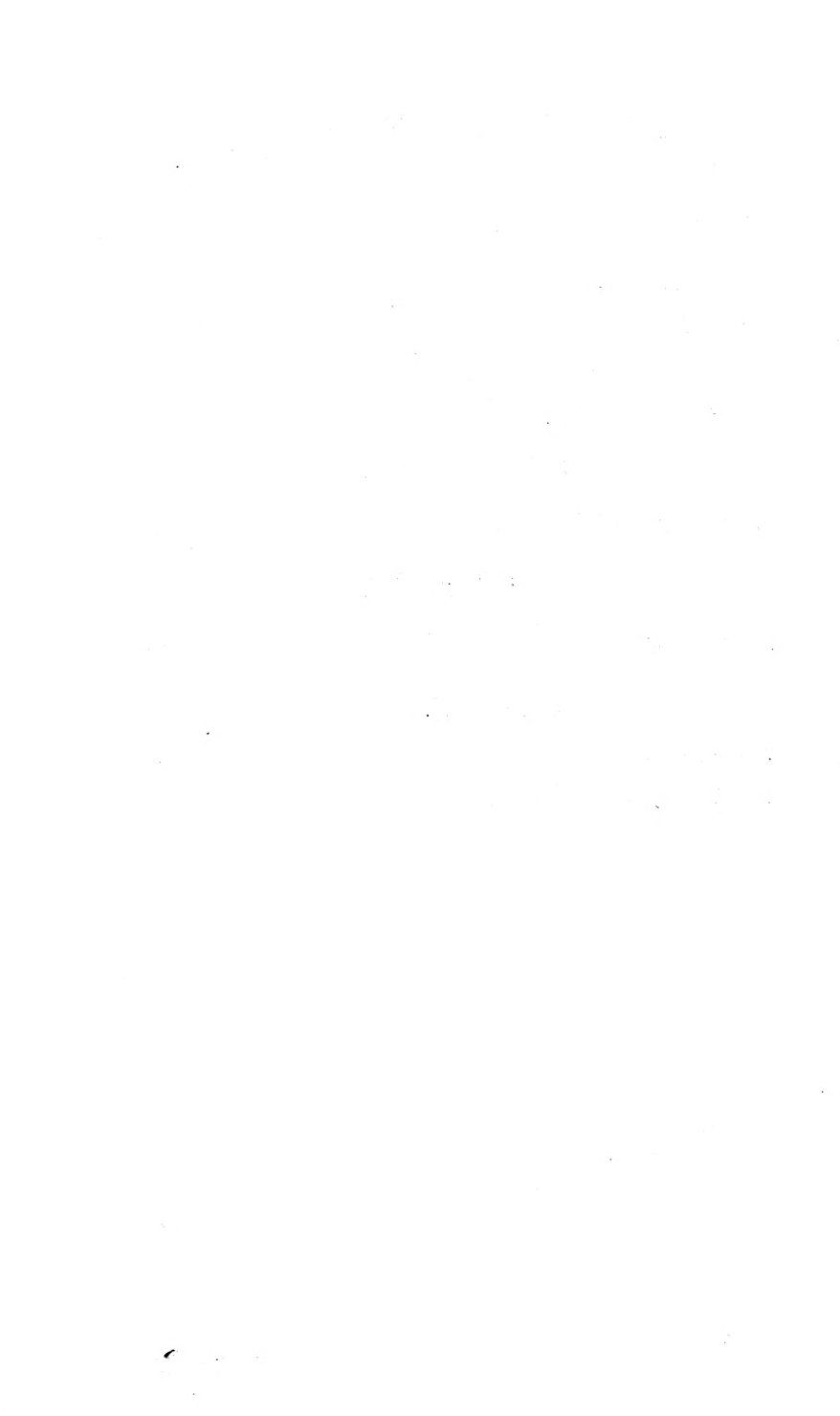
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Of the LACEDÆMONIAN GOVERNMENT.

THERE is nothing perhaps in all Profane History better attested, nor at the same time more incredible, than the Lacedæmonian government and the discipline established by Lycurgus. This wise legislator was son to one of the two kings of Sparta, who governed jointly; and might easily have obtained the crown, if he had pleaded, upon the death of his elder brother, who left no male issue behind him. But he thought himself obliged to wait till the queen his sister was brought to bed, who was then with child; and upon her happy delivery, he took upon him to be tutor and guardian to the infant against the attempts of its own mother, who had offered to make away with her son, if Lycurgus would marry her.

He formed the bold design of thoroughly reforming the Lacedæmonian government; and that he might be the better enabled to make wise regulations in it, he judged it expedient to take several journies, to inform himself personally of the different manners of nations, and advise with such persons as were best skilled and most experienced in the arts of govern-

ment. He began with the isle of Crete, which was famous for its rigid and severe laws; from thence he passed into Asia, where the opposite extreme prevailed; and lastly, he went into Egypt, the seat of the sciences, wisdom, and good counsel.

His long absence served only to make him the more desired by his citizens; and the kings themselves pressed him to return, as being sensible they stood in need of his authority to keep the people within the bounds of duty and obedience. At his return to Sparta, he took pains to change the whole form of the government, upon a persuasion that some particular laws would produce no great effect. He began with gaining over the principal men of the city, to whom he communicated his views; and being fully assured of their concurrence, he came into the public assembly, attended by a body of soldiers, to terrify and intimidate all such as should oppose his design.

The new form of government he introduced at Lacedæmon, may be reduced to three principal institutions.

The first INSTITUTION. *The* SENATE.

The greatest and most considerable of all the new institutions of Lycurgus was that of the Senate, which, as Plato observes, tempering the too absolute power of the kings by an authority equal to theirs, was the principal cause of the safety of the state. For whereas before it was always tottering, sometimes inclining towards tyranny through the violence of their kings, and sometimes to a democracy through the too absolute power of the people; the senate served as a counterpoise to keep it in equilibrium, and give it a firm and certain situation; [a] the eight and twenty senators, of which it was composed, adhering to the kings, when the people were for assuming too much power; and going over on the other hand to the side

[a] This council consisted of thirty persons, including the two kings.

of the people, whenever the kings attempted to carry their authority too high.

Lycurgus having thus qualified the government, those who came after him found the power of the thirty, who composed the senate, still too strong and powerful; for which reason they gave it a curb, by opposing the authority of the [b] ephori to it above an hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus. The ephori were five in number, and continued but one year in office. They had a right to arrest the kings, and commit them to prison, as happened in the case of Pausanias. These ephori were first instituted under king Theopompus. And as his wife reproached him with leaving his children a far less authority than he had received, *No*, [c] says he, *I shall leave them a much greater, as it will be more lasting.*

The SECOND INSTITUTION. The DIVISION of the LANDS, and PROHIBITION of GOLD and SILVER MONEY.

The second institution of Lycurgus, and the boldest of all, was the division of the lands. He judged it absolutely necessary for the establishment of peace and good order in the republic. Most of the inhabitants of the country were so poor, that they had not an inch of ground belonging to them, and all the wealth lay in the hands of a few private persons. That he might therefore banish insolence, envy, fraud, and luxury from the government, with two other evils, still greater and of longer standing than these, I mean indigence and excessive riches; he persuaded all the citizens to give up their lands in common, and to make a new distribution of them, that they might live together in a perfect equality, without any other preheminance and honour than what was given to virtue and merit.

[b] That is, comptrellers, inspectors.

[c] Μελίζω μὲν ἐγὼ, εἴπεις, ὅσα χρονιώτερον.

This was immediately done. He divided the lands of Laconia into thirty thousand parts, which he distributed amongst the people of the country; and made nine thousand parts of the territory of Sparta, which he distributed among so many citizens. 'Tis said, that some years after, as Lycurgus was returning from a long journey, and crossing the lands of Laconia, which had just been reaped, observing the heaps of the sheaves to be perfectly equal, he turned towards those that followed him, and said to them smiling, *Is not Laconia like the inheritance of several brethren, who have just divided it between them?*

After he had thus divided their immoveable estates, he endeavoured to make them also divide their other wealth, that there might be no kind of inequality among them. But finding he should meet with more difficulty in this, if he attempted it openly, he went another way to work, by sapping the very foundations of avarice. For first of all he prohibited all gold and silver money, and ordered that only iron money should be in use; and this he made so heavy, and of so little value, that a man must have a cart with two oxen to carry the sum of ten [d] *minæ*, and a whole chamber to lock it up in.

Further, he drove all useless and superfluous arts from Sparta, which indeed, if he had not done, most of them must have dropt of themselves, and been lost with the old money; for the artificers would not have known what to have done with their work; and this iron money was not current in the other parts of Greece, where instead of setting a value upon it, they only laughed at it, and made it the subject of their raillery.

The THIRD INSTITUTION. PUBLIC MEALS.

Lycurgus, resolving to make a still more vigorous war upon softness and luxury, and entirely to root up the love of riches, made a third institution, relating to

[d] Five hundred livres.

meals. That he might banish thence all costliness and magnificence, he ordered that the citizens should all dine together upon the same victuals which were prescribed by the law, and expressly prohibited them from eating in their own private houses.

By this institution of common meals, and a frugal simplicity in diet; we may say that he changed in a manner the nature of riches, [ε] by leaving nothing in them to make them desirable, or likely to be stolen, or even capable of enriching those who possessed them; for there was no longer any opportunity of using or enjoying their wealth, nor even of making a shew of it, since the poor and rich were to eat together in the same place; and no one was allowed to come into the common halls, after having satisfied his hunger with other food; for whoever refused to eat and drink, was carefully marked out, and reproached with his intemperance or too great delicacy, which induced him to despise these public meals.

The rich were extremely incensed at this institution, and it was upon this occasion, in a popular insurrection, that a young man named Alcander, struck out one of Lycurgus's eyes with a cudgel. The people enraged at such a violence gave up the young man into Lycurgus's hand, who well knew how to be revenged of him, for he treated him with so much mildness and good-nature, that from being very hot and passionate, he soon brought him to be very calm and discreet.

The tables contained each about fifteen persons, and before any one could be admitted, he must be agreeable to the rest of the company. Every one sent in monthly a bushel of meal, eight measures of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and some small matter of their money for the dressing and seasoning of the provisions. Every one was obliged to be present at the public meal, and king Agis a long while after, returning from a glorious ex-

[ε] Τὸν πλοῦτον ἄστυον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄζηλον, καὶ ἄπλετον ἀπειργάσατο. Plut.

pedition, and dispensing with himself from doing so, that he might dine with the queen his wife, was reprimanded and punished. Children were allowed also to be present at these meals, and were brought thither as to a school of wisdom and temperance. There they heard grave discourses upon government, and saw nothing but what was instructive. The conversation was often enlivened by refined wit and raillery, but such as was never low or shocking; and as soon as any one was perceived to grow uneasy at it, they always left off. Here also they learned to keep a secret; and when a young man entered the hall, the eldest would say to him, pointing to the door, *Nothing of what is said here, goes out there.*

The most elegant part of their food was what they called *the black broth*, and the old men preferred it to whatever else was served up to table. [f] Dionysius the tyrant, being invited to one of these entertainments, seemed to think quite otherwise of it, and thought it a very insipid ragoo. I do not wonder at that, says the person who made it, for there wanted the seasoning. What seasoning? replies the tyrant. The chace, sweat, fatigue, hunger and thirst. For with these, adds the cook, we season our provisions.

IV. OTHER INSTITUTIONS.

Lycurgus looked upon the education of children as the most important concern of a legislator. It was his great principle that they belonged more properly to the state than their parents; and for this reason he would not suffer them to be brought up as they pleased, but obliged the public to take care of their education, that they might be formed upon constant and uniform principles, and early inspired with the love of virtue and their country.

[f] Ubi cum tyrannus cœnavisset, Dionysius, negavit se jure illo nigro, quod cœnæ caput erat, delectatum. Tum is, qui illa coxerat: minime mirum, inquit; condimenta enim defuerunt. Quæ tan-

dem, inquit ille? Labor in venatu, sudor, cursus ab Eurota, fames, fitis. His enim rebus Lacedæmoniorum epulæ condiuntur. Tuscul. quæst. 5. n. 93.

As soon as a child was born, it was visited by the elders of every tribe; and if they found it well made, strong and lively, they ordered it to be brought up, and assigned it one of the nine thousand portions for its inheritance. If on the other hand they found it ill-shaped, tender and weakly, and judged it to want health and strength, they condemned it to perish, and caused it to be exposed.

Children were early accustomed not to be difficult or nice about their victuals; not to be afraid in the dark; not to be frightened at their being left alone; not to be peevish, brawling, or crying; to walk bare-foot; to enure themselves to fatigue; [g] to lie upon the bare ground; to wear the same clothes in winter as in summer, to harden themselves against heat and cold.

At seven years old they were distributed into classes, where they were all brought up together under the same discipline. [b] Their education properly speaking was no more than an apprenticeship to obedience; their legislator being thoroughly convinced, that the surest means of forming citizens submissive to the laws and magistrates, in which the good order and happiness of a state consists, was to teach children from their infancy to be perfectly obedient to their masters.

Whilst they were at table, the master proposed questions to the boys. As for instance, *Who is the best man in the city? What say you to such an action?* Their answer was expected to be ready, and attended with a reason and proof conceived in a few words; for they early accustomed them to the laconic style, *i. e.* to a short and concise one. Lycurgus required that the money should be very heavy and of small value; and that their discourse on the contrary should express a great deal in a little compass.

As to letters, they learned no more than was absolutely necessary. All the sciences were banished their country. Their study was only how to obey, to endure

[g] Xenophon. de Lacedæm. republic.

[b] Ὡσε τὴν παιδείαν εἶναι μελέτην εὐπαιθείας.

labour and fatigue, and to conquer in battle. One of the most worthy and capable citizens presided over their education, and appointed each class such masters as were generally esteemed for wisdom and probity.

Theft was not only not prohibited the boys, but even commanded; I mean theft of a particular kind, which properly speaking had no more of it but the name. I shall explain in my reflections the reasons and views of Lycurgus in allowing it. They crept the most dextrously and cunningly they could into the gardens and public halls, and carried off what herbs or victuals they were able; if they were discovered, they were punished for want of skill. It is said, that one of them having stole a young fox, hid it under his clothes, and let it tear into his belly with its teeth and claws, without crying out, till he fell down dead upon the spot.

The patience and resolution of the Lacedæmonian youth were put to the severest trial upon the celebration of a feast in honour of Diana, surnamed *Orthia*, [i] when the children, in the sight of their parents, and in presence of the whole city, suffered themselves to be lashed till the blood ran down upon the altar of that inhuman goddess, and sometimes expired under the blows, without crying out, or so much as uttering a groan. [k] And their own fathers, who stood by and saw them all covered over with blood and wounds, were the persons who exhorted them to hold out constantly to the end. Plutarch assures us, that he saw several children with his own eyes lose their lives in this cruel diversion. Hence [l] Horace gives the epithet of patient to the city of Lacedæmon, *patiens Lacedæmon*; and another author makes a man who

[i] Sparte pueri ad aram sic verberibus accipiuntur, ut multus è visceribus sanguis exeat, nonnunquam etiam, ut cùm ibi effem audiebam, ad necem: quorum non modò nemo exclamavit unquam, sed ne ingemuit quidem. Cic. lib.

2. Tusc. quæst. n. 34.

[k] Ipsi illos patres adhortantur, ut ictus flagellorum fortiter perferant, & laceros ac semianimes rogant, perferent vulnera præbere vulneribus. Senec. de Provid. cap. 4.

[l] Od. 7. lib. 1.

had endured three good blows of a cudgel without complaining, say, *Tres plagas Spartanâ nobilitate concoxi.*

The most usual employment of the Lacedæmonians was hunting and the different exercises of the body. They were prohibited the exercise of any mechanical art. The Ilotes, who were a kind of slaves, cultivated their lands, and paid them a certain revenue for them.

It was Lycurgus's will that his citizens should have a great deal of leisure. They had common halls, where they met together for conversation. And tho' their discourse frequently turned upon grave and serious subjects, it was seasoned with a wit and agreeableness, which instructed and corrected, whilst it diverted them. They were seldom alone; but were accustomed to live like bees, in swarms, and always around their chiefs. [m] The love of their country and the common good was their prevailing passion. They thought they were not to live for themselves, but for their country. Pedareus not having had the honour of being chosen one of the three hundred, who held a certain place of distinction in the city, returned home very chearful and easy, saying, *he was overjoyed to find there were three hundred better men in Sparta than himself.*

Every thing at Sparta inspired the love of virtue, and hatred of vice; the actions of the citizens, their conversations, and even the public inscriptions. It was hard for men, brought up in the midst of so many precepts and living examples, not to become as virtuous as Pagans could be. It was to preserve this happy habitude in them, that Lycurgus did not allow all sorts of persons to travel, lest they should return with foreign manners, and licentious customs, which would soon have inspired them with a disgust for the life and maxims of Lacedæmon. He likewise Expelled all foreigners the city, who came only for curiosity, and not out of some useful or profitable intention; apprehending that they might bring with them the

[m] Εἶθιζεν τὰς πολιτάς, μικροῦ κ' φιλοτιμίας, ὅλης εἶναι τῆς αἰσθῆσις ἐξέστῳτας ἑαυτῶν ὑπ' ἰθυσιακῶν τριδός.

faults and vices of their country; and fully convinced that it was more important and necessary to shut the gates of the city against corruption of manners than against plagues and pestilence.

Properly speaking, the business and exercise of the Lacedæmonians was war. Every thing had a tendency that way, and breathed nothing but arms. Their manner of life was far less rigid in the field than at home; and they were the only people in the world to whom war was a season of repose and refreshment; because then the obligations to that hard and severe discipline, which they observed at Sparta, were somewhat relaxed, and greater liberty allowed them. With them the first and most inviolable law of war, [n] as Demaratus told Xerxes, was never to turn their backs, how far superior soever in number the enemy might be; never to quit their post; never to surrender their arms; in a word, to conquer or die. [o] And hence it was, that a mother advised her son, who was setting out for a campaign, to return with his buckler, or upon his buckler; and another hearing that her son was slain in battle in defence of his country, replied coldly, [p] *It was for that end I brought him into the world.* And this was the common disposition of the Lacedæmonians. [q] After the famous battle of Leuctra, which was so fatal to them, the parents of those who were killed in fighting congratulated one another, and ran to the temples to thank the gods, because their children had done their duty; whereas the parents of those, who survived the defeat, were inconsolable. Such as fled were ever after infamous at Sparta. They were not only excluded all offices and employments, the assemblies, and shows, but it was a disgrace to marry a daughter to them, or take a daughter from them, and they were publicly affronted upon every occasion without any remedy for the injury offered.

[n] Herod. l. 6.

[o] Ἄλλη προσαναδιδοῦσα τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα, καὶ παρακελευομένη: Τίκνω, ἔφη, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰς. Plut. de virtut. mulier.

They sometimes brought back such as were slain upon their buckler.

[p] Cic. l. i. Tusc. Quest. n. 102.

[q] Plut. in vit. Agel.

They never went to battle, till they had implored the assistance of the gods by sacrifices and public prayers, and then they marched against the enemy in full confidence, as being thoroughly assured of the divine protection, or to use the expression of Plutarch, as if God were present, and fought with them; ὡς τῷ Θεῷ Συμπαρόντος.

When they had broke their enemies, and put them to flight, they pursued them no farther than was necessary to secure the victory; after which they retired, as judging it neither glorious, nor worthy of Greece, to cut in pieces such as yielded or made no resistance. And this was no less useful than honourable to them; for their enemies knowing that all who opposed were put to the sword, and that only such as ran away escaped, generally preferred flight to resistance.

After the first institutions of Lycurgus were received and confirmed by use, and the form of government he had established seemed strong enough to support itself without any other assistance; [r] as Plato says of God, that having finished the creation of the world, he rejoiced when he saw it first move with such harmony and exactitude; so this wise legislator, charmed with the grandeur and beauty of his laws, found a double satisfaction in seeing them subsist alone, and make so happy a progress.

But desiring to make them as immortal and unchangeable as human prudence would admit, he told the people there was one point still remaining, more important and essential than all the rest, about which he would consult the oracle of Apollo; and in the mean time he obliged them all by an oath to keep up the form of government he had established, till such time as he should return. When he came to Delphos, he enquired of the god, whether his laws were good, and tended to make the Spartans happy and virtuous.

[r] This passage of Plato is in his *Timæus*, and gives us reason to believe, that he had read what Moses says of God, upon the creation of

the world. *Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, & erant valde bona.* Gen. i. 31.

Apollo answered, that his laws were perfect; and that so long as Sparta should observe them, it would be the most glorious city in the world, and enjoy entire felicity. Lycurgus sent this answer to Sparta, and judging his ministry accomplished, he died voluntarily at Delphos, by abstaining from food. He was of opinion, that the death of great men and ministers should not be insignificant or useless to the commonwealth, but a consequence of their administration, one of their most considerable actions, and as honourable, if not more so, than all the rest of their lives. He thought therefore, to die in this manner would be confirming and crowning all the services he had done his fellow-citizens during his life, as his death would oblige them to observe his ordinances for ever, which they had sworn to observe inviolably till his return.

The heathen were generally of opinion, that every man had a right to put himself to death, whensoever he pleased.

REFLECTIONS *upon the* GOVERNMENT of SPARTA,
and the LAWS of LYCURGUS.

I. *Things* LAUDABLE *in the* LAWS of LYCURGUS.

Were we to judge only by the event, there must have been a large fund of wisdom and prudence in the laws of Lycurgus, since so long as they were observed at Sparta, which was for above five hundred years, that city was so powerful and flourishing. They were, says [s] Plutarch, speaking of the laws of Sparta, less a form of government and civil administration, than the conduct and rules of a wise man, who passes his whole life in the exercises of virtue. Or rather, adds the same author, as the poets feign of Hercules, that with his lion's skin and club only he ran through the world, and purged it of robbers and tyrants; so

[s] Οὐ πόλιος ἡ Σπάρτη πολιτίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς ἀσκητοῦ καὶ σοφοῦ βίον ἔχεσα.

Sparta with a [t] simple roll of parchment and a sorry cloak, gave law to all Greece, which willingly submitted to their empire, threw down tyrannies and usurpations, put an end to wars at their pleasure, and calmed seditions, most frequently without taking up arms, and by the dispatch of a single ambassador, who no sooner appeared, than all the states in subjection ranged themselves around him, like bees about their king; so great an awe and reverence had the justice and good government of that city imprinted on all mankind.

II. *The NATURE of the SPARTAN GOVERNMENT.*

There is a reflection in Plutarch at the close of the life of Lycurgus, which is itself a great elogium upon this wise legislator. He says that Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and all the rest, who have undertaken to treat of the establishment of civil government, have formed their schemes upon Lycurgus's plan; with this difference, that they went no farther than mere description, whereas Lycurgus, without stopping at ideas and projects, reduced his inimitable designs to practice, and formed a whole city of philosophers.

To succeed the better, and to establish a republic as perfect as possible, he in a manner blended together whatever was to be found in any kind of government, that seemed most conducive to the interest of the republic, by qualifying one with the other, and balancing the inconveniencies of each in particular by the advantages arising from the union of all together. Sparta was in some respects monarchical from the authority of their kings; the council of the thirty, or senate, was a true aristocracy; and the power the people had of nominating the senators, and giving a sanction to the laws, was a branch of democratical government. The institution of the ephori afterwards

[t] This was what the Lacedæmonians called *scytale*, a roll of leather or parchment turned round a staff, whereon the orders of the public to the generals were written as it were in cypher.

corrected what was amiss in the first regulations, and supplied whatever could be wanting. Plato, in more than one passage admires the wisdom of Lycurgus in the establishment of the senate, which was equally beneficial to the kings and people; as by this means the law became the measure of the regal power, and the people's obedience. Or as Plato says in the note at bottom; *the laws became the sovereigns of men, and not men the tyrants of the laws* [u].

III. *The EQUAL DIVISION of LANDS, and PROHIBITION of GOLD and SILVER MONEY.*

The design of Lycurgus in making an equal distribution of lands amongst the citizens, and banishing luxury, avarice, quarrels, and dissensions from Sparta, at the same time that he prohibited the use of gold and silver, would appear to us a fine scheme of a republic, but impossible to be executed, if we did not learn from history that Sparta subsisted in this state for several ages. Could we conceive, that he could ever have prevailed upon the rich and opulent to give up all their stores and revenues, to blend themselves with the poor in every circumstance, to submit to a painful and severe regimen of life, and in a word, to forbear the use of every thing they considered before as essential to the ease and happiness of life? And yet this Lycurgus brought about.

Such an establishment would be the less surprising, if it had subsisted only during the life of the legislator; but we know it survived him many ages. Xenophon in the panegyric he has left upon Agesilaus, and Tully in one of his orations, takes notice that the Lacedæmonians were the only people in the world, who made no alterations in their discipline and laws for the course of so many ages. *Soli*, says he, speaking of the Lacedæmonians, *toto orbe terrarum septingentos jam annos amplius unis moribus & nunquam mutatis legibus vivunt.*

[u] Νόμος ἐπειδὴ κύριος ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐκ ἀνθρώπων τύραννοι νόμων. Plat. epist. 8.

There is good reason to believe, that in Tully's time the discipline of Sparta, as well as its power, was very much enfeebled and diminished: but all historians agree, that it was kept up in its full force till the reign of Agis, under whom Lyfander, who, though incapable himself of being dazzled or corrupted by gold, introduced luxury into his country and a fondness for riches, by carrying thither the immense sums of gold and silver he had gained by his victories, and thereby subverting the laws of Lycurgus. This event well deserves to be here taken notice of.

[x] Lyfander having got great spoils at the taking of Athens, sent all the gold and silver to Lacedæmon. They held a council to debate whether or not they should receive it; a rare and excellent deliberation, and the only instance of the kind to be met with in history! The wisest and most understanding men of Sparta, adhering strictly to the law, were of opinion [y] that this gold and silver should be thrown out of the city with horror and execration, as a fatal plague and a dangerous allurements to all kinds of mischief. But others, and the far greater number, proposed a middle way, and the expedient was followed. They ordered the gold and silver to be retained, but to be only employed in the public treasury, and affairs of state; and that if any private man should be found to have any of it, he should immediately be put to death. [z] They were imprudent and blind enough to imagine, says Plutarch, that it was sufficient to hinder gold and silver from entering into their houses, by placing the law and the fear of punishment as a centinel at their doors; whilst they left the hearts of their citizens open to the admiration and desire of riches, and introduced a strong passion for accumu-

[x] Plut. in Lyfand.

[y] Ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι πᾶν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ὥσπερ κῆρας ἐπαγωγίμους.

[z] Οἱ δὲ ταῖς μὲν οἰκίαις τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅπως ἔπαρεισιν εἰς αὐτὰς νό-

μισμα, τὸν φόβον ἐπέστησαν φύλακα καὶ τὸν νόμον· αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνεκπλήκτους καὶ ἀπαθείς πρὸς ἀργύριον οὐ διετήρησαν, ἐμβολόλιες εἰς ζῆλον, ὡς Σεμινοῦ δὴ τίνος καὶ μεγάλου, τοῦ πλεῖν ἅπαντας.

lating

lating them, by making it to be considered as great and honourable to become rich.

But the introduction of gold and silver money was not the first wound the Lacedæmonians gave to the laws of their legislator. It was the consequence of the violation of another more fundamental law. Ambition paved the way to avarice. The desire of conquest drew after it a desire of riches, without which they could no longer think of extending their dominion. The principal end of Lycurgus in the institution of his laws, and especially in the prohibition of gold and silver, was, as Polybius and Plutarch have judiciously observed, to bridle and restrain the ambition of the citizens, to disable them from making any conquests, and to force them in some measure to confine themselves within the narrow precincts of their own country, without carrying their views or pretensions any farther. In short, the government he had established sufficed to defend the frontiers of Sparta, but was insufficient to give her dominion over other cities.

The design of Lycurgus was not to make conquerors. To take away all such thoughts from his citizens, though they dwelt in a country surrounded by the sea, [a] he expressly forbid them the use of navigation, the having a fleet, or fighting by sea. And this prohibition they religiously observed for near five hundred years, till after the defeat of Xerxes. Upon that occasion they resolved to make themselves masters by sea, to keep so formidable an enemy at a distance. But soon perceiving, that these remote and maritime offices of command corrupted the manners of their generals, they readily gave them up, as we have already observed in the case of king Pausanias.

Lycurgus armed his citizens with bucklers, and lances only for their own defence, not to enable them to commit wrongs with the greater impunity. [b] He made

[a] Ἀπέχετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ναύταις εἶναι καὶ ναυμαχεῖν. Plut. in moribus Laced.

[b] Οὐ μὲν τοῦ τόγε Λυκέρῳ κεφάλαιον ἦν τότε πλείων ἡγεμένη ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν· ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἐνός ἀνδρός

made them a people of soldiers and warriors, that under the protection of their arms they might live in liberty, moderation, justice, union, and peace, contenting themselves with their own territories, without usurping those of others, and convinced that a city, no less than a private man, can never hope for solid and lasting happiness by any other means than virtue. Men of corrupt manners, [c] adds Plutarch, who think nothing more valuable than riches, and a powerful and large dominion, may give the preference to those vast empires, which have subdued the world by violence; but Lycurgus was convinced that nothing of this kind was necessary to make a people happy. Equity, moderation, liberty, and peace, were the principal end of his policy, which has so justly been the admiration of all ages, as it was an utter enemy to all wrong, violence, ambition, or a desire of ruling and extending the bounds of the Spartan republic. Reflections of this kind, which are frequent in Plutarch's lives, and are the greatest and most valuable beauty, may very much contribute to give youth a true notion of the solid glory of a state really happy, and may early undeceive them in the mistakes they are apt to form of the vain grandeur of those empires, which have swallowed up the kingdoms of the earth, and those famous conquerors, who owe their rise to usurpation and violence.

III. *The excellent* EDUCATION of YOUTH.

The long duration of the laws established by Lycurgus, is certainly a very wonderful circumstance; but the method he made use of to make them so lasting, is no less worthy of our admiration; and this was the extraordinary care he took in training up the children of the Lacedæmonians to an exact and severe

ἀνδρὸς βίῳ καὶ πόλεως ὅλης νομίζων εὐ- εἰς καὶ αὐτάσκεις γενόμενος καὶ ζωφρονοῦν-
 δαιμονίαν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἐργάσθαι καὶ τες ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον διατελλῶσι.
 ἡμινοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν, πρὸς τοῦτο Plut. in vit. Lycurg.
 συνέταξε καὶ συνέρμισεν, ὅπως ἐλευθέ- [c] Plut. ibid. & in vit. Agesil.

discipline. For, as Plutarch makes him observe, the religion of an oath would be but a feeble tie, if the laws were not imprinted in their manners by education and habitude, and a regard for his institutions sucked in almost with their milk. And thus we see his ordinances lasted for above five hundred years, [d] like a strong dye, that had penetrated quite through the substance. [e] Tully makes the same remark, and imputes the courage and virtue of the Spartans, not so much to their good natural disposition, as to the excellent education they received at Sparta. *Cujus civitatis spectata ac nobilitata virtus, non solum naturâ corroborata, verum etiam disciplinâ putatur.* Which shews us how nearly the state is concerned to see its youth brought up in a manner proper to inspire them with a love for the laws of their country.

It was the great principle of Lycurgus, [f] which Aristotle repeats in express terms, that as children belong to the state, they should be brought up by the state, and according to the intention of the state. For this reason he required them to be educated publicly and in common, and not left to the fancy of parents, [g] who generally, through a blind indulgence, and mistaken tenderness, enervate at once both the body and mind of their children. At Sparta they were inured from their infancy to labour and fatigue, by the exercises of hunting and running; they were taught to bear hunger and thirst, heat and cold. And what mothers can hardly be persuaded to believe, all these severe and painful exercises tended to make them healthful and robust, capable of supporting the fatigues of war, to which they were all destined, and actually did so.

[d] Ὡσπερ βαφῆν ἀκράστε καὶ ἰσχυρᾶς καθαψαμένης.

[e] Orat. pro Flacco, n. 63.

[f] Οὐκ χρὴ νομίζειν αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ τινα εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας τῆς πόλεως. Δεῖ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν

κοινὴν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀσκησιν. Arist. l. 8. Polit.

[g] Mollis illa educatio, quam indulgentiam vocamus, nervos omnes & mentis & corporis frangit. Quint. l. 1. c. 2.

IV. OBEDIENCE.

But the most excellent branch of the Spartan education was, that it taught children perfectly to obey. [*b*] Whence the poet Simonides gives this city a magnificent epithet, implying that Sparta alone could tame the mind, and render men pliable and submissive to the laws, like horses that are curbed and brought under whilst they are very young. For this reason Agelaus advised Xenophon to send his sons to Sparta, [*i*] that they might learn there the greatest and best of sciences, how to govern, and be governed. He had been well instructed in it himself, and knew the full value of it. Plutarch observes, that he did not attain the supreme command, [*k*] like the other kings, without having first perfectly learnt to obey, and for this reason [*l*] he was the only one amongst all the Lacedæmonian kings, who had the refined art of agreeing entirely with his subjects, and uniting in his person with a greatness truly royal, and a natural nobleness of manners, that air of goodness, humanity, and popular affability, which he had derived from his education.

He afterwards gave the most memorable example of submission to the law and public authority to be found in history; and Xenophon and Plutarch justly prefer it to the most glorious of his other actions. After having gained very considerable victories over the Persians, all Asia being in commotion, and most of the provinces ready to revolt, he determined to fall upon the king of Persia in the heart of his dominions, and was preparing to set out for this great expedition. In the mean while a messenger arrives to tell him that Sparta was threatened with a terrible war, that the ephori recalled him to the assistance of his country.

[*b*] Δαμασήμερον· *the tamer of men.*

[*i*] Μαθησομένους τῶν μαθημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον, ἀρχεσθαι ἢ ἀρχεῖν.

[*k*] At Sparta, the children designed for the throne were excused the severity of their discipline.

[*l*] Διὸ καὶ πολὺ τῶν βασιλέων εὐαρέσαστον αὐτὸν τοῖς ἱππείοις παρέσχε, τῷ φύσει ἡγεμόνικῳ καὶ βασιλικῷ προσκλήσασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγωγῆς τὸ δημότικον καὶ φιλάθροπον.

Agefilaus immediately sets forward without deliberating a moment, crying out, *Oh wretched Greeks, greater enemies to yourselves than the Barbarians!* A man must have been absolutely master of himself, and have a great respect for public authority, to abandon with so instant an obedience all the conquests he had made, and the future hopes of success, which were almost as certain as the past.

Princes, [m] says Plutarch, generally place their grandeur in commanding others, and being subject to nobody. They often affect an ignorance of their duty, lest the light of reason should subject themselves, and blunt the edge and force of an authority, to which they would willingly set no bounds. Who then, adds Plutarch, shall be the master of kings, who have no other? Why the law, that sovereign queen of gods and men, as Pindar calls it; a law, not written in tables, but engraven on the heart, which will constantly attend upon them, and never forsake them, but exercise a mild though absolute dominion over their minds. An officer stood by the king of Persia's bed-side every morning, to say to him, *Sir, remember you fulfil the ordinances of Oromasdes:* he was the lawgiver of the Persians. The love of justice and the public good says as much to every understanding and sensible prince.

To give us a better notion of the character of the Lacedæmonians, and their perfect submission to the laws, I shall here quote a passage from Herodotus, which well deserves our notice. When Xerxes was upon the point of entering Greece, he asks Demaratus one of the Spartan kings, who had fled to court for refuge, if he thought the Greeks would dare to withstand him, and desired he would speak his sentiments sincerely. "Since you require it, replies Demaratus, "truth shall speak to you by my mouth. [n] Greece "indeed has ever been bred up in poverty; but has

[m] Plut. ad principem inductum.

[n] I shall insert the Greek text of this passage of Herodotus at

the close of this article, with some remarks upon a difficult expression in it.

“ had virtue also, improved by wisdom, and supported by the vigour of the laws. And from the use she has made of this virtue, Greece has equally preserved herself from the inconveniencies of poverty, and the yoke of subjection. But to confine myself to my own Lacedæmonians, be assured, that, born and nurtured as they are in liberty, they will never hearken to any proposal that tends to slavery. Were they forsaken by all the other Greeks, and reduced to a troop of a thousand soldiers, or even a less number, they would make head against you, and never decline the battle.” The king smiled at his discourse, and as he could not comprehend, how men so free and independent as the Lacedæmonians were said to be, without any masters to controul them, should be capable of exposing themselves in such a manner to dangers and death; [o] “ They are free and independent of every man, replies Demaratus, but they have a law above them by which they are ruled, and they are more afraid of that law, than your subjects are of you. Now this law forbids them ever to fly in battle from their enemies, how great soever the number of them may be, and commands them to keep firm to their posts, and either conquer or die.” And it happened as Demaratus had foretold. Three hundred Lacedæmonians, with Leonidas one of the Spartan kings at their head, ventured to dispute the passage of Thermopylæ with the innumerable army of the Persians. And at last, after incredible efforts of valour, overpowered by numbers rather than conquered, they all fell with their prince, except one man who escaped to Lacedæmon, where he was used like a coward, and a traitor to his country. A magnificent monument was afterwards raised for those brave champions of Greece on the very spot

[o] Ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἔόντες, οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροι εἰσι· ἔπειτα γὰρ Ὀψι δεσπότης, ἰσχυρῶς, τὸν ὑποδειγμαίνουσι πολλῶν ἢ μάλλον, ἢ οἱ τοῖς αἰσίουσι γούν τὰ

ἀν' ἐκεῖν' ἀνάγη· ἀνάγει δὲ τ' αὐτὸ αἰεὶ, οὐκ ἔαν φεύγειν οὐδὲν πληθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξει, ἐπικραΐεσθαι, ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι.

where they were slain, [p] with this inscription made by the poet Simonides :

Ὦ ξείν', ἀγγεῖλον Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇ δὲ
Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις.

i. e. Go traveller, and say at Lacedæmon, that we lie buried here for obeying her sacred laws. It may not be amiss upon this occasion to give the boys a hint of the simplicity of the old inscriptions.

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS upon a PASSAGE in
HERODOTUS.

[q] Τῇ Ἑλλάδι πεινὴ μὲν αἰεὶ κοῖε ζυῖτροφός ἐστι· ἀρετῇ δὲ ἔπακτός ἐστι, ἀπότε σοφίης κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμοις ἰσχυρῶς· τῇ διαχρεωμένη ἡ Ἑλλάς, τῆνδε πεινὴν ἀπαμύναται, καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην.

Valla translates the passage thus, *Græcia semper quidem alumna fuit paupertatis, hospes virtutis, quam à sapientia accipit & à severa disciplina; quam usurpans Græcia & paupertatem tuetur, & dominatum.* Harry Stephens, instead of *paupertatem tuetur*, has put in the margin *paupertatem propulsat*, which agrees with the Greek text, τὴν πεινὴν ἀπαμύναται.

This passage has very much embarrassed me, and is certainly a very difficult one. It seems to imply an evident contradiction, in saying first, that poverty was always held honourable in Greece, and then that the same Greece rejected poverty and kept it at a distance. For which reason I was very much pleased with Valla's translation, and thought it gave a beautiful meaning to the passage. "Greece, laid Demaratus to Xerxes, " has hitherto always been the seat of poverty, and " the school of virtue. Instructed by the lectures of " her wise men, and supported by a strict observation " of her laws, she has hitherto always retained the love " of poverty, and the honour of command, & *paupertatem tuetur & dominatum.*" But in this case we must

[p] Pari animo Lacedæmonii in Thermopylis occiderunt, in quos Simonides:

Dic, hospes, Spartæ, nos te hîc vidisse jacentes,

Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.

Cic. l. 1. Tusc. Quæst. n. 101.

[q] Herod. lib. 7. pag. 473. edit. Hen. Steph. ann. 1592.

change

change the text of Herodotus, and instead of ἀπαμύνεται read ἐπαμύνεται, as Valla evidently conjectured.

Finding myself under this difficulty I consulted an absent friend, who is very conversant in the Latin and Greek authors, and whose observations and advice have been of great assistance to me in this work: I shall here insert his answer, as it may be useful to young masters, in shewing them how to explain obscure and difficult passages.

I think, writes my friend, that I have discovered the true meaning of the passage in Herodotus. I will give the translation of it, after I have produced the reasons upon which I ground it.

The principal difficulty lies in the sense of the word ἀπαμύνεται. If there is an ambiguity in construing it with πένειν, it is taken away by δεσποσύνην, which the same verb equally governs. Now δεσποσύνη does not signify the *honour of command*, as you translate it.

1st then, To support this version, ἀπαμύνεται must be changed into ἐπαμύνεται without authority, and in opposition to all manuscripts and printed copies, which should never be admitted, unless the direct meaning of the text required it.

2. The peculiar character of the Greeks, especially in those early ages, was the love of liberty, independency, and freedom from every yoke, αὐτονομία, and not the desire of rule, an ambition to command, or the glory of conquests.

3. Let any one, if he can, instance not a whole nation, but a single city, over which the Greeks had then extended their empire, or affected the *honour of command*. Demaratus would therefore have made himself ridiculous, if he had boasted to Xerxes of the command of the Greeks, when he could not shew any one village, over which they exercised it.

4. Though we should grant for a moment, that this Lacedæmonian intended to exaggerate the jealousy of the Greeks for the honour of command, as capable of making them sacrifice every thing for the conservation of so glorious a possession, he would never

have made use of the word *δεσποσύνη* to express his thought. He would have certainly preferred *ἡγεμονία*, *ἀρχή*, *δυναστεία*, *κράτος*, or it may be *κοιρανία*, if he would have talked like Homer. For *δεσποσύνη* signifies only the dominion of a master over his slaves; *dominatio herilis in servos*. It is an odious term, and carries with it the idea of slavery in the person who is subject to it, and conveys a notion entirely opposite to the genius of the Greeks, who never afterwards, though their ambition had been augmented from their great victories over the Persians, ever thought of establishing that despotic power, *δεσποσύνην*. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians, who alternately shared the honour of command, in all their conquests, affected either to introduce a democracy into the cities subdued, or an aristocracy, and to animate them against the slavery of the Persians by that pleasing image of liberty. This needs no proof here, it is so expressly laid down in all history.

5. What Demaratus immediately adds of the Lacedæmonians, to prove his general thesis by that particular example, clearly shews, that the *δεσποσύνη* here spoke of, was not active, such as they would exercise over others, but a passive *δεσποσύνη*, such as Xerxes required of them, to which the Spartans would never submit, though abandoned by all the Greeks, and left to perish inevitably alone. This is the end of his reasoning, which we should have constantly in view.

I do not see therefore how we can receive a version, at once directly opposite to the express text of the original, the propriety of the words, the true character of the people, the evidence of facts, and the connexion of the speaker's argument.

Thus then I would have it translated :

“ Greece indeed has ever been bred up in poverty ;
 “ but has had virtue withal, improved by wisdom,
 “ and supported by the vigour of the laws. And
 “ from the use she has made of this virtue it is, that
 “ Greece has alike preserved herself from the incon-
 “ veniencies of poverty, and the yoke of subjection.”

II. THINGS

II. THINGS BLAMEABLE *in the* LAWS of LYCURGUS.

Without entering here into an exact detail of all that may be blamed in the laws of Lycurgus, I shall content myself with some slight reflections, which the reader without doubt, justly shocked and offended at the bare relation of them, will have made before me.

I. *Upon the* CHOICE of the CHILDREN to be BROUGHT UP or EXPOSED.

And to begin with the choice of the children to be brought up or exposed, who can avoid being shocked at the unjust and barbarous custom of pronouncing a sentence of death upon infants, who had the misfortune to be born of too tender and delicate a constitution to support the fatigue and exercise, to which the republic destined all her subjects? Is it then impossible, and have we no instances of it, that children, at first weak and tender, may grow strong by age, and become even very robust? But were it otherwise, can our country be served only by the strength of our bodies? And are wisdom, prudence, council, generosity, courage, and greatness of soul, and all the qualities which depend on the mind, of no value? [r] *Omnino illud honestum, quod ex animo excelso magnificoque quærimus, animi efficitur non corporis viribus.* [s] Did Lycurgus himself do less service or honour to Sparta by the institution of his laws, than the greatest officers by their victories? Agesilaus was of small stature, and had something so very disadvantageous in his mien, that the Egyptians at first sight of him could not forbear laughing; and yet he made the great king of Persia tremble upon his throne.

But what is of greater force than all I have urged, has any other a right over the lives of men, except he from whom they received them, that is, God himself? And does not a legislator visibly usurp upon his

[r] Cic. l. 1. Offic. n. 79.

[s] Ibid. n. 76.

authority, when he arrogates to himself such a power independently of him? That command of the decalogue, which was only a repetition of the law of nature, *Thou shalt not kill*, condemns all the ancients in general, who thought they had the right of life and death over their slaves, and even over their children.

II. *The sole CARE of the BODY.*

The great fault of Lycurgus's laws, as Plato and Aristotle have observed, is, that they tended only to form a state of soldiers. This legislator seemed wholly taken up in the care of strengthening the body, without any concern about cultivating the mind. To what end should he banish all arts and sciences from his republic, [t] which principally tend to soften the manners, refine the understanding, improve the heart, and inspire a polite, generous, and honest behaviour, necessary in a word, to the support of society and to render the commerce of life agreeable? Hence the Lacedæmonians had something rigid, austere, and often cruel in their character; which partly arose from their education, and created an aversion for them in all the allies.

III. *Their barbarous CRUELTY to CHILDREN.*

'Twas an excellent custom at Sparta to inure the boys early to bear heat and cold, hunger and thirst, [u] and by severe and painful exercises to bring their bodies within due subjection to reason, so as to make them subservient to its orders, which could not be done, unless they were in a condition to support all kind of fatigues. But was it requisite to carry this trial so far as the inhuman treatment we have mentioned? And was it not brutal and barbarous in the parents to stand unmoved at seeing the blood run

[t] Omnes artes, quibus ætas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet. Pro Arch. n. 4.

[u] Exercendum corpus, & ita afficiendum est, ut obedire consilio rationique possit in exequendis negotiis & labore tolerando. Lib. 1. de offic. n. 79.

down from their children's wounds, and the harmless creatures often expiring under the blows of the rod?

IV. *The unnatural* RESOLUTION of MOTHERS.

The courage of the Spartan mothers is admired, who instead of tenderness and tears upon the news of their sons being killed in battle, expressed a kind of joy. I should have been better pleased that natural affection had shewn itself upon such occasions, and that the love of their country had not entirely stifled the sentiments of the mother and the woman. One of our generals, who was told in the heat of battle, that his son was just slain, spoke far more wisely, "Let us now think, says he, of conquering our enemies, to-morrow I will lament my son."

V. EXCESSIVE LEISURE.

I cannot see how we can excuse Lycurgus for obliging the Lacedæmonians to pass their whole lives in idleness, except what they spent in war. He left all arts and trades to slaves and foreigners, who dwelt among them, and put nothing but the shield and spear into the hands of the citizens. Without mentioning the danger of suffering the number of slaves required for the tilling of lands, to increase to such a degree, as to exceed that of their masters, which often occasioned seditions; into how many disorders must so much leisure throw persons always idle, without any daily employment, or regular business? 'Tis an inconvenience at present too frequent amongst the gentry, and a natural consequence of their bad education. Except in time of war most of our gentlemen pass their lives in a manner entirely useless. They look upon agriculture, arts and trade, as things beneath them, and would think themselves dishonoured by them. They often know nothing but how to handle their arms. They acquire but a superficial knowledge of the sciences, only just what they needs must; and several of them have no knowledge of them at all,

all, nor the least taste for learning. No wonder therefore that entertainments, cards and dice, hunting-matches, visiting and trifling conversations, should be their whole employment. A sad life for men of any understanding.

VI. SHAME *and* MODESTY *absolutely* NEGLECTED.

But the most blameable circumstance in Lycurgus, is the little regard he had for shame and modesty, which shews us into what darkness and disorders the heathen were plunged. A Christian master will not fail to set the holiness and purity of the gospel laws in opposition to that unbounded licentiousness; and by this contrast display the dignity and excellence of Christianity.

This also may be done in as useful a manner by comparing the most valuable part of Lycurgus's laws with those of the gospel. 'Tis indeed worthy admiration, that a whole people should consent to a division of lands, which put the poor upon an equal footing with the rich, and by the alteration of the money reduced themselves to a kind of poverty. But the legislator of Sparta, when he established these laws, had an armed force at his command. The legislator of the Christians said but one word, *Blessed are the poor in spirit*; and thousands of faithful in all after-ages renounce their possessions, sell their lands, and leave all to follow Jesus Christ in poverty.

Upon the THEFT allowed the LACEDÆMONIANS.

I have thought proper to treat this article separately, and with some extent; because, in my opinion, the judgment generally given of it, does not seem sufficiently founded in the nature of things. This custom of the Lacedæmonians is severely condemned, as apt to incline youth to have little regard upon other occasions to the property of others, and as contrary to the law of nature and the decalogue. In the catalogue of crimes said to be tolerated in different nations, as
incest

incest among the Persians, the murder of old and infirm parents among the Indians, adultery among other people, we generally find the theft of the Lacedæmonians, with an observation that among the [x] Scythians, a nation commonly considered as barbarous, and having no laws, without any other notion of justice than what was derived from natural instinct, theft was condemned and punished as one of the greatest crimes.

But can it reasonably be presumed, that one of the greatest of legislators should have expressly authorised so gross a disorder as thieving, whilst every little law-giver, in all ages and countries, has been careful to punish it severely, and even with death?

Plutarch, who mentions this custom in the life of Lycurgus, in the manners of the Lacedæmonians, and in several other places, never gives the least sign of disapprobation, though usually so equitable a judge and so exact a moralist; nor do I recollect that any of the ancients ever charged it as a crime upon Lycurgus or the Lacedæmonians.

Upon what then do the moderns found the sentence they pass upon it? Certainly upon not giving themselves the trouble of weighing the circumstances, and penetrating the motives of it.

1. [y] The Lacedæmonian youth never filched, but by order of their governor.

2. They did it only at a particular time, and in virtue of the law.

3. They never stole any thing but garden-stuff and victuals, by way of supplement to their food, which was purposely given them in very small quantity. And thus all these thefts were considered as instances of dexterity, which were publicly allowed them for the procuring a larger share of provision.

4. The lawgiver had several reasons for permitting this kind of theft.

[x] *Justitia gentis ingeniis culta, eos furto gravius. Just. lib. 2. c. 2. non legibus.* Nullum scelus apud [y] Plut. in vit. Lycurg.

His design was to make the possessors more careful in locking up and preserving their substance.

And to make the boys more hardy and cunning, as designing them for the field.

They gave them little food, that they might never be cloyed, never be too full, or clogged with fat, that they might be alert and nimble, learn to bear hunger, and have better and more regular health.

[z] But the principal motive was, that all these boys being designed for the army without exception, it was necessary to inure them early to a soldier's life, to teach them to live upon a little, to provide a subsistence for themselves without standing in need of ammunition bread, to bear great fatigues, fasting, to maintain themselves long with little provisions in a country where the enemy, accustomed to consume a great deal, must starve in a few days or be forced to quit their ground through the want of necessary provisions; whereas the Lacedæmonians could find wherewithal to subsist without difficulty. This the legislator, who was entirely a warrior, and had no other view but to train up soldiers, was willing to provide for at a distance by their education, inuring them to great frugality and sobriety, for want of which the generality of military expeditions miscarry, and the strongest armies are rendered incapable of maintaining their conquests. Inasmuch that at present, as luxury and an expensive manner of living has multiplied the necessities of armies, the care which embarrasses the officers most is the provision of victuals; and the first obstacle which hinders their advancing into an enemy's country, is want of subsistence. Thus our greatest generals consider the ease and expedition, with which immense armies transported themselves from one country to another, as the most singular and incredible circumstance in ancient history.

These are the advantages Lycurgus intended to procure for a warlike people; and he could not have chosen more effectual, nor more certain means. And

this is necessary for the understanding his law, and doing him justice. After all these observations, I question whether the Lacedæmonian youth were to be blamed for their theft, or obliged to make restitution. In this case they may easily be justified by still stronger and more solid reasons.

It is a certain principle, that from the first division of estates we possess nothing but dependently on the laws, and according to their dispositions; and that by giving up to each particular the enjoyment of that portion which has fallen to his share, the same laws may make such reserves and restrictions, and lay it under such services and burdens as they shall think most proper. Now the whole body of the Spartan state, when they accepted the laws of Lycurgus, did agree by a solemn compact, that upon the nine and thirty thousand lots distributed among the Spartans, the youth should be allowed to take such garden-stuff and victuals as the possessor had not a watchful eye upon, without suffering them to complain of the robbery, or have an action against the robber. Thus we see, that whenever the boy was caught, he was not punished as having committed an injustice, or seized upon another man's property, but for want of dexterity.

Such sort of reserves, and the like privileges granted upon the property of others, are very useful in all states. Thus God not only gave the poor a liberty of gathering grapes in the vineyards, of gleaning in the fields, and even of carrying off whole sheaves, but withal allowed every passenger the freedom of entering into another's vineyard, as often as he pleased, and of eating as many grapes as he would, whether the master of the vineyard liked it or no. And God gives this reason for it, that the land of Israel was his, and the Israelites held it of him on this condition.

Services of this kind are established in other republics, without the least suspicion of any injustice. Soldiers have a right to lodge in private houses, to be subsisted in them on their march, or in their winter quarters, to be furnished with waggons and other necessaries.

ries. The lord of a manor has a right, as he pleases, and whenever he pleases, to take the game and deer of his tenants, though the lands on which they are fed do not belong to him; and even to hinder the proprietors from touching any of them, though bred in their grounds.

Thus the whole body of the Lacedæmonian state, consisting of every individual in it, had publicly transferred to the youth a right of going into their gardens and halls, and taking such provisions as they liked best. And these boys were no more criminal for using this liberty, than the citizens of Athens for going into the gardens and orchards of Cimon, and taking thence what they wanted; because every particular man in Sparta was supposed to have unanimously given the boys, who after all were their own children, the same permission that Cimon granted the Athenians, that were only his citizens.

As to the Scythians, amongst whom theft was severely punished, the reason of the difference is very evident. For the law, which is the sole judge of the property and use of our substance, had granted no privilege to any one private man over the substance of another; whereas the law of the Lacedæmonians had done just the contrary. It would have been a real theft to have gone into the gardens of Pericles, Themistocles, or Alcibiades, and taken the fruit thence, but there was none in gathering it from the orchards of Cimon and Pelopidas, because they had associated all their fellow-citizens into the enjoyment of that part of their estates.

There was no cause to apprehend that this Spartan custom should teach the youth to steal upon other occasions. For the institutions of Lycurgus, which prohibited the use of gold and silver money, and obliged all the citizens to live and eat together, had made the robbery of goods and money either useless or impossible. And thus we do not find, that there ever was a discovery made of so much as one robbery at Lacedæmon for so many ages.

The FOURTH PIECE, *taken from the* HISTORY of
the GREEKS.*The* PROSPEROUS TIMES of THEBES, and DELI-
VERANCE of SYRACUSE.

AS I design to be short, I have joined these two pieces of history together, though very separate in themselves; and for the same reason, relating little besides, I shall content myself with laying open the characters of those, who had the greatest share in them.

I. *The* PROSPEROUS DAYS of THEBES.

No part of history, in my opinion, shews better of what real merit is capable, and of what service great officers are to a state, than what happened at Thebes in a very short space of time. This city was very weak in itself, and but lately in a manner reduced to slavery. Lacedæmon on the other hand had long possessed the superiority, and domineered over all Greece. Two Thebans, by their courage and wisdom, brought down the formidable power of Sparta, and raised their country to the highest point of empire and glory. I shall just touch upon this event, without entering into particulars.

These two Thebans were Pelopidas and Epaminondas, both descended from the most illustrious families in the city. The first was born to a great estate, which he augmented very much by inheriting the estate of another very wealthy and flourishing family. Poverty was in a manner hereditary to the other, but he rendered it still more familiar and easy by a serious application to philosophy, and a plain manner of living, to which he always adhered with entire constancy and uniformity. The one shewed the use that was to be made of riches, and the other of poverty. Pelopidas distributed his riches to all such as stood in need of them, and deserved his assistance; shewing,

says Plutarch, that he was the master, and not the slave of wealth. As he could never prevail upon his friend Epaminondas to accept of his offers, and make use of his substance; he learnt of him to live like a poor man in the midst of plenty. He purposely visited the houses of the poor, that he might know of them how to want. He should be ashamed, he said, of spending more at his table or on his dress than the meanest Theban. And he was only thus severe upon himself, that he might have wherewithal to maintain a greater number of honest men, who wanted assistance.

They were both equally designed by nature for great things, but with this difference, that Pelopidas applied himself most to the exercise of the body, and Epaminondas to the cultivation of the mind. The one employed all his leisure in wrestling and hunting, and the other in conversation and study of philosophy.

But what has most of all been admired in them by men of judgment is, that strict friendship and unalterable union in which they lived during the whole course of their lives, though almost always employed together either in the command of the army, or the government of the commonwealth; an union, founded upon the mutual esteem they had for each other, and increased by the love of their country, which made each of them look upon the success of the other as his own. This good understanding and agreement, so seldom or almost never found amongst ministers of state, as may be seen in the case of the great men of Athens, could arise only from a real greatness of soul, and a solid virtue, which not consulting glory, or riches, the fatal sources of dissention and envy, and considering only the interest and happiness of their country, was far superior to the little weakness of that mean jealousy, which feels uneasiness at the merit of others.

The first and most glorious proof Pelopidas gave of his courage and prudence was the bold design he
laid

laid and executed, though then very young, of delivering his country from the yoke of the Lacedæmonians, who had made themselves masters of the citadel of Thebes by surprize. He took care in a little time to form a considerable conspiracy against the tyrants. But though this affair had been carried on with all possible secrecy, within a moment before the execution, a messenger, who had made all imaginable speed, enquired for Archias the chief of the tyrants, who were then feasting together, and gave a letter into his hands, which he said required immediate dispatch, and was about serious affairs. And indeed it was afterwards known, that it contained a circumstantial account of the whole conspiracy. [a] Archias smiling, *To-morrow then*, says he, *for serious business*; and put the letter under the cushion on which he lolled. But there was no to-morrow for him; for he was killed that night with all the tyrants, and the citadel recovered. The change which soon after happened in their affairs, and the war which humbled the pride of Sparta, and deprived them of their empire by sea and land, might properly be said to be the work of that night, in which Pelopidas, without either taking castle or fort, with an handful of men, unloosed, to use that expression, and broke the bonds of the Lacedæmonian sway, which seemed morally impossible to have been either broken or unloosed.

He had afterwards a share in all the victories which Thebes gained over the Lacedæmonians. After such happy and successful expeditions, all the towns in Theffaly apply to Pelopidas for assistance against the tyrant that oppressed them. He immediately sets forward on his march, and gives them liberty by his presence. The two competitors for the crown of Macedon made choice of him to decide their quarrel. He prescribes them conditions of peace, and takes hostages of them for the security of their engagements; so great was then the fame of the power of Thebes, and

[a] Καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίας μειδῶσας· Οὐκ ἔνν εἰς αὐριον (ἔφη) τὰ Σπυδαῖα.

the confidence they placed in his justice. He afterwards went ambassador to the king of Persia, and was received with the greatest marks of distinction and respect; and whilst the deputies of the other republics were employed in serving their private advantage, he was engaged solely in promoting the general interest of Greece; and without asking any thing for his country, studied only to procure the liberty of all the Greeks, and their entire independency. Contented with having obtained that, and little affected with the magnificent presents offered him by the king, he accepted only of such as, without enriching him, barely expressed the good-will and favour of the prince.

So many great actions terminated in a very glorious death indeed, but not altogether such as might be desired for so great a man; for Pelopidas pursuing too briskly the tyrant of Pheræ, who fled before him, and had covered himself behind the company of his guards, was at last overpowered by numbers, after having acted prodigies of valour. He should have remembered that great men are accountable to their country for their lives, and ought to die for that alone, and not for themselves.

As to Epaminondas [b], he has deservedly been considered as the greatest man Greece ever produced, *or perhaps the world.* [c] It would be hard to say, whether he was a better general or man. He had all the great qualities of the most famous captains, as Diodorus Siculus observes, and none of their vices. He was alike averse to ambition and avarice. He sought to procure his country the command, and not to command himself. Riches were so far from being a temptation, that he never suffered them to approach him; it seems as if he should have thought himself disho-

[b] Thebantum Epaminondam, haud scio an summum virum Græciæ. Cic. l. 2. de Orat. n. 139.

[c] Fuit incertum, vir melior an dux esset. Nam & imperium non

sibi semper, sed patriæ quæsit: & pecuniæ adeo parcus fuit, ut sumptus funeri defuerit. Justin. l. 6. c. 8.

noured by growing rich; and his poverty attended him to his grave, whither he was carried at the expence of the public. As he was born poor, he resolved to continue so; and his friend Pelopidas could never prevail upon him to think otherwise. “ I am not ashamed, said he to him, of a poverty that has not prevented me from deserving the first employments in the commonwealth, and the command of her armies. Poverty has brought no shame upon me, nor will I bring any upon poverty, by quitting it.”

[d] He was as little solicitous about glory as money. He never made any interest for offices: dignities courted him, and often did violence to his modesty in obliging him to accept them: though he always discharged them in such a manner as did more honour to them, than they to him.

His integrity, sincerity, and invincible love of justice, procured him the entire confidence of his citizens, and even of his enemies. No body could avoid loving and admiring him for his good nature and affability, which nothing could alter; nor did they in the least take away from the high esteem and veneration, which his great qualities had gained him. [e] It is in virtues of this social kind that Plutarch places the real grandeur of Epaminondas. Nor indeed is any thing more extraordinary than such qualities with an almost absolute power in the midst of wars, and victories, and at the head of the greatest affairs; nor can any thing more necessary be proposed for the imitation of persons of quality, who are often tempted to substitute artifice, dissimulation, airs of haughtiness and pride, instead of them.

[d] Gloriæ quoque non cupidior quam pecuniæ; quippe recusanti omnia imperia ingesta sunt; honoresque ita gessit, ut ornamentum non accipere, sed dare ipsi dignitati videretur. Jam literarum studium jam philosophiæ doctrina tanta, ut

mirabile videretur, unde tam insignis militiæ scientia homini inter literas nato. Just. ibid.

[e] Ἦν ἀληθῶς μέγας ἐγκρατεία, καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ μεγαλοψυχία, καὶ σωφροσύνη. Plut. in Pelop.

His elevation of mind made him always bear with mildness and patience the jealousy of his equals, the ill humour of his citizens, the calumnies of his enemies, and the ingratitude of his country after his great services. [f] He was fully of opinion, that greatness of soul consisted principally in suffering these trials without concern, complaining, or abating any thing of his zeal for the public good; [g] because the ill usage of our country, like that of our parents, should be borne with submission.

There never was a greater master in the art of war. In him intrepid valour was united with the most consummate prudence. And all these virtues were no less the effect of his excellent education, than of his happy genius. From his infancy he had expressed such a wonderful taste for study and labour, that one would wonder how a man born in the midst of letters, and brought up in the bosom of philosophy, could have possibly acquired so perfect a knowledge in the art of war. Thus great men are formed; which we cannot inculcate too much into youth designed for the army, the service of the state, or any employment in general whatsoever, as several of them are apt to look upon study as useless, and almost dishonourable. [h] Tully, in his third book *de Oratore*, gives a long list of the most illustrious officers in Greece, who were all very industrious to improve their minds by the study of the sciences, and philosophy in particular. Among these were Pisistratus, Pericles, Alcibiades, Dion of Syracuse, whom we shall speak of by and by, Timotheus the son of Conon, Agesilaus, and Epaminondas. It is a great misfortune for persons raised to preferments and the administration of public affairs, to enter upon them, as Tully expresses it, naked and unarmed, *i. e.* without knowledge, understanding, or

[f] Τὸ δὲ γενναῖον καὶ τὴν
πειρὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἤνεγκε παρὰ μὲν
γα μίσην ἀνδρείαν καὶ μεγαλοφυχίαν
τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀντιμαχίαν ποι-
εῖν. Plut. in Pelop.

[g] Ut parentum sævitiam, sic
patriæ, patiendo ac ferendo leni-
endam esse. Liv. l. 37. n. 34.

[h] Lib. 3. de Oratore, n. 137,
141.

almost any tincture of the sciences that adorn and cultivate the mind. [i] *Nunc contra plerique ad honores adipiscendos, & ad rempublicam gerendam nudi veniunt atque inermes, nullâ cognitione rerum, nullâ scientiâ ornati.*

II. *The DELIVERANCE of SYRACUSE.*

Two very illustrious men were engaged in restoring liberty to Syracuse, Dion and Timoleon. The first laid the foundations, and the second entirely finished that great work.

I. DION.

I question whether among the lives of illustrious men left us by Plutarch, there is one more beautiful and curious than that of Dion; but there is certainly none which shews more the value of a good education, and of what great advantage the conversation of men of learning and virtue may be. I shall confine myself chiefly to this point, by making some reflections on such circumstances in the life of Dion as relate to it.

REFLECTION *the* FIRST.

The CONVERSATION of MEN of LEARNING and PROBITY very useful to PRINCES.

Dion was brother to Aristomache, the wife of the elder Dionysius. A kind of chance, or rather, says Plutarch, a peculiar providence, which laid the foundations of the liberty of Syracuse at a distance, led Plato thither, the prince of philosophers. Dion became his friend and disciple, and improved very much by his lectures. For though, educated in slavish principles under a tyrant, and habituated to a cowardly and servile subjection; though bred up in pomp and pleasures, and accustomed to a kind of life, which made

[i] Lib. 3. de Oratore, n. 136.

all happiness consist in voluptuousness and magnificence; he had no sooner heard the discourses of this philosopher, and tasted of that philosophy which leads to virtue, than he found his soul enflamed with the love of it.

The second Dionysius succeeded his father at an age, when, as [k] Livy says of another king of Syracuse, he was so far from being able to govern with wisdom, that he was scarce capable of using his liberty with moderation. He was no sooner upon the throne, than the courtiers took pains to get the ascendant of him, and beset the young prince with continual flatteries. Their whole employment was to find out every vain amusement for him, to engage him continually in feasting, the company of women, and all other shameful pleasures. Dion, being fully of opinion that all the vices of the young Dionysius proceeded only from his bad education, endeavoured to introduce him into good conversation, and gave him a taste of discourse capable of improving his manners. To this end he prevailed upon him to send for Plato to his court. And though the philosopher had no great inclination for the journey, as expecting no great benefit from it, he could not resist the earnest solicitations which were made him from all parts. He therefore came to Syracuse, and was received with extraordinary marks of honour and distinction.

Plato found the most happy dispositions in the world in the young Dionysius, who gave himself up without reserve to his lectures and advice. But as he had very much improved himself by the instructions and example of his master Socrates, the most skilful man that ever the Pagan world produced for instilling a taste for truth, he was careful to manage the young tyrant with wonderful address, declining to oppose his passions directly, labouring to gain his confidence by kindness and insinuation, and studying to make

[k] Puerum, vix dum libertatem, necdum dominationem, modicè laterrum. Læti id ingenium tutores atque amici ad præcipitandum in omnia vitia acceperunt. Liv. lib. 24. n. 4.

virtue at once amiable to him, and victorious over vice, which holds men only in its chains by the allurements, pleasures, and delights it lays before them.

The change was sudden and surprising. The young prince, who had wallowed till then in idleness, sensuality, and the consequential ignorance of every duty, awaking as it were from a lethargy, began to open his eyes, to discern the beauty of virtue, to have a taste for the pleasures and joys of a solid and agreeable conversation, and gave himself up as eagerly to the desire of being taught and instructed, as before he was averse to it, and abhorred it. The court, which is the ape of princes, and conforms universally to their inclinations, entered into the same sentiments. All the rooms of the palace were like so many schools of geometry, covered with the dust the geometicians used in tracing their lines; and in a little time the study of philosophy, and the most sublime sciences, became the general and prevailing taste.

The great advantage of these studies, with reference to a prince, is not only the storing his mind with an infinity of very curious, useful, and often necessary branches of knowledge, but also the withdrawing him from a state of idleness and indolence, and the vain amusements of a court; the inuring him to a life of seriousness and application; the raising a desire in him of being instructed in the duties of royalty, and becoming acquainted with such as have excelled in the art of reigning; in a word, the enabling him to govern by himself, and see every thing with his own eyes, that is, to be truly a king. But this will be always opposed by courtiers and flatterers, as was now the case of Dionysius the younger.

REFLECTION *the* SECOND.

FLATTERERS, *the fatal* PEST of COURTS, and
 RUIN of PRINCES.

What Tully says of flattery with relation to friendship, is no less true with reference to the courts of
 princes,

princes, that it is a most mortal poison. [l] *Sic habendum est, nullam in amicitia pestem esse majorem, quam adulationem.* [m] By flatterers he means false and double-minded men, of an easy and pliable disposition, who like Proteus put on a thousand different forms as occasion offers, attentive only to please the prince, constantly employed in studying his taste and inclinations, and reading his desires in his countenance, never laying before him an offensive truth, contradicting him in nothing, and talking always the same language with him. Guards, says an ancient writer, are set round the palaces of kings, to keep off enemies less dangerous than flattery. [n] It deceives the centinels, enters not only into the cabinet, but the heart of a prince, and is industrious to deprive him of what is most precious and essential to his happiness; I mean a wise and equitable spirit, the discernment of truth and falsehood, the love of justice and the public good.

[o] It is not surprising that a young prince like Dionysius, who would have found it difficult to have stood his ground with the most excellent disposition, and amidst the best examples, should at last give way to so great a temptation in a court that had long been infected, where there was no emulation but in vice, and surrounded with a multitude of flatterers, who were continually praising and commending him. They began with ridiculing the retired life he was made to lead, and the studies to which he applied himself, as if calculated to make a philosopher of him. They went farther, and took pains to render the zeal of Dion and Plato suspected and even odious to him, by representing them as [p] troublesome reformers and haughty pedagogues, who assumed an authority over him, which was neither fit for his age or condition.

[l] De amicis. n. 91.

[m] Ibid. n. 91, 93.

[n] Sola quippe hæc (adulatio) nequicquam vigilantibus satellitibus imperium deprædatur; regumque nobilissimam partem, animam nimirum, aggreditur. Synes. de regno.

[o] Vix artibus honestis pudor retinetur, nedum inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia, aut modestia, aut quidquam probi moris servaretur. Tacit. annal. l. 14. c. 15.

[p] Tristes & superciliosos alienæ vitæ censores, publicos pedagogos. Senec. ep. 123.

At last Dion and Plato, under different pretexts, and at different times, were banished the court, which abandoned itself again to every kind of excess and riot.

We see from hence how difficult it is for a prince to escape the snares that are laid for him by the concurrence of a small number of persons, in the first places or employments about him, and interested to favour each other, to conceal from him part of what he ought to know, and to agree upon certain points, notwithstanding their separate interests, jealousies, and secret hatred, that they alone may be sole masters of affairs, may engross the prince's confidence, and keep him a kind of prisoner, within the narrow circle they have drawn around him. * *Claudentes principem senem, & agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat.*

REFLECTION *the* THIRD.

The great QUALITIES of DION intermixed with some slight FAULTS.

It is difficult to find so many excellent qualities in one single person, as in the prince we are speaking of. Greatness of soul, noble sentiments, generosity in distributing his fortune, heroic courage in the field, joined with uncommon temper and prudence, and a vastness of mind, capable of the largest views, a resolution unshaken in the greatest dangers and most sudden changes of fortune, a love for his country and the public good, carried almost to an excess, were part of the virtues of Dion. He imbibed the precepts of philosophy with an ardour, of which Plato says he had seen but few instances; and he studied it, not out of curiosity or vanity, but to know his duty, and make it the rule of conduct.

Though passionately addicted to philosophy, the study of it never diverted him from his duty, [q] as he knew how to contain his passion for it within due

* Lamp. in vitâ Alex. cillimum, ex sapientia modum.
[q] Retinuitque, quod est diffi- Tacit. in vit. Agric. n. 4.

bounds. After Dionysius had obliged him to leave Syracuse and Sicily, he led the most agreeable life in his exile that can possibly be imagined for a man that had once tasted the pleasures of study; enjoying in tranquillity the conversation of philosophers, assisting at their disputes, and making a considerable figure amongst them through his excellent genius and the solidity of his judgment; visiting the cities of learned Greece, to collect in them, if I may be allowed the expression, the flower of the men of genius, and to consult the ablest politicians, leaving every where behind him the marks of his liberality and magnificence, equally beloved and respected by all that knew him, and receiving extraordinary honours wherever he passed, which were paid still more to his merit than his birth. 'Twas from so pleasing a life as this that he tore himself to assist his country, which implored his protection, and to deliver it from the yoke of tyranny, under which it had long groaned.

A bolder attempt perhaps was never formed, nor at the same time ever met with greater success. He set out with no more than eight hundred men, and two merchant ships, to engage with so formidable a power as that of Dionysius. "Who would have thought, [r] says an historian, that a man with two merchant ships would have been able to dethrone a prince, who had four hundred ships of war, an hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, provision of arms and corn in proportion, and as much treasure as was requisite to maintain and pay so numerous an army; who besides this was master of one of the greatest cities in Greece, with ports, arsenals, and impregnable forts, and supported and fortified by a great number of very powerful allies? The cause of Dion's great success was his magnanimity and courage, and the affection borne him by those whose liberty he was to procure."

But what I find most beautiful in the life of Dion, most worthy of admiration, and, if I may be allowed

to speak so, most superior to the common sentiments of mankind, is that greatness of soul and unheard-of patience, with which he bore the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens. He had left all to come to their assistance, he had brought the tyranny to its last gasp; and was upon the point of restoring them to their full liberty. And as a reward for so many services, they shamefully expel him their city in company of a small handful of soldiers, whose fidelity they could not corrupt; they load him with injuries, and add the most cruel abuses to their treachery. And though he wanted no more to revenge himself of those ungrateful rebels, than to give the word, and deliver them up to the indignation of his soldiers; having a like a command over them as himself, he checks their impetuosity, and, without disarming them, lays a restraint upon their just resentment, not allowing them, in the very heat and fire of battle, to do more than intimidate his enemies without killing them; because he considered them still as his fellow-citizens and brethren.

He said upon another occasion, “ that officers usually passed their days in the exercise of arms, and in learning the art of war; that for his part he had spent a long time at Athens in the academy, to learn there how to conquer wrath, envy and revenge; that to be civil and obliging to one’s friends and men of probity, was no mark of having conquered our passions; but to behave with humanity towards those who have done us wrong, and to be always ready to pardon them.—It is true, he said, according to human laws, it is admitted to be more excusable to revenge ourselves of such as have injured us, than to be the first in doing wrong to others; but if we consult nature, we shall find that both these faults have but one root, and that there is as much weakness in revenging an injury, as in first committing it.”

All the wrongs and ingratitude of his country were not capable of making any abatements in his zeal. After various changes of fortune, he restored its liberty,

berty, and expelled the tyrants. But he had not the pleasure of enjoying the fruit of his labours. A traitor formed a conspiracy against him, and assassinated him in his own house. His death involved Syracuse in new misfortunes.

I think we cannot charge Dion with any more than one fault; he had something rough and severe in his temper, which rendered him unsociable and difficult of access, and kept men of the greatest probity, and his best friends, too much at a distance. Plato had often put him in mind of this failing. He had even endeavoured to correct it, by bringing him particularly acquainted with a philosopher of a cheerful and facetious disposition, and very capable of inspiring him with kind and obliging sentiments. He afterwards reminded him of it by a letter, wherein he says, [s] “ Consider, I beg of you, that you are accused of
 “ wanting good-nature and affability; and always re-
 “ member, that the most certain means to make af-
 “ fairs succeed, is to render one’s self agreeable to
 “ those with whom we have to treat. [t] Haughti-
 “ nefs banishes friends and companions, and reduces
 “ a man to live in solitude.” [u] Notwithstanding he

[s] Ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ καὶ ὅτι δοκεῖς τι-
 σὶν ἐνδιεγέρως τοῦ προσήκουστος. Δερα-
 πειτικός εἶναι· μὴ οὖν λαϊθανέτω σὲ
 ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ
 τὸ πράττειν ἐς ἴν.

[t] Ἡ δ’ αἰθάδεια ἰσημία ξύνοικος.
 This thought of Plato’s is extremely beautiful, but not so obvious at first sight. M. Dacier has translated it thus: *Haughtiness is always the companion of solitude*; which carries with it no idea, or rather presents one directly opposite to reality. For it is false, that haughtiness is always formed in solitude. A single man with nobody about him, is little susceptible of it, and has no opportunity of shewing it. This vice requires witnesses and spectators. This therefore is not Plato’s meaning; who intends to say, that haughtiness drives away the rest of mankind; that it removes those

from us with whom we ought to live in the greatest union; whereas affability gains great men abundance of followers, and makes them live in a manner amidst a multitude of persons, even such as are strangers and unknown, who gladly approach them, and take pains to attach themselves to them; whereas haughtiness makes a desert around them, puts all to flight, and reduces them to as great a degree of solitude, as though they were in a wilderness, and by that means deprives them of the assistance of the persons they stand in need of for the success of their affairs. Ἡ δ’ αἰθάδεια, ἰσημία ξύνοικος.
Haughtiness reduces a man to solitude.

[u] Ἀλλὰ φύσει τε φαίνεται πρὸς τὸ πιθανὸν δυσχερῆσθαι κεχρημένον, ἀντιπᾶν τε τῆς Συρακυσίας ἄγαν ἀνεπιμένως καὶ διατεθρυμμένως προσθυμῆματος. Plut. in vit. Dion.

was blamed for his too great austerity, and using an inflexible severity towards the people, he was never observed to depart in the least from it, either from being naturally averse to the arts of insinuation and persuasion, or that in the design he had of correcting and reforming the Syracusians, who were spoiled and corrupted by the adulation and complacency of their orators, he thought himself obliged to a more resolute and manly behaviour.

Dion was mistaken in the most essential point of governing. From the throne to the lowest office in the state, whoever is to command and direct others, ought principally to study the [x] art of gaining the affections of mankind, of moulding and turning them at pleasure, and conciliating them to our own views; which can never be effected by domineering over them, by haughtily commanding them, or barely pointing out their duty to them with a rigid inflexibility. There is a steadiness and resolution, or rather an obstinate severity, even in the pursuit of virtue, and the exercise of all employments, which is apt to degenerate into vice, when carried too far. I own we are never allowed to bend the rule; but it is always commendable, and often necessary, to soften and make it more tractable; which is principally done by an obliging and insinuating behaviour; by not rigorously insisting upon the performance of the most minute circumstance of duty, by overlooking such little faults as scarce deserve notice; and remonstrating mildly upon those that are more considerable; in a word, by endeavouring by all possible means to gain the love of others, and to render virtue and duty agreeable.

II. TIMOLEON.

Timoleon, who was a native of Corinth, completed at Syracuse what Dion had so happily begun; and signalized himself in that expedition by amazing ex-

[x] This is what an ancient poet *gina rerum oratio*. Cic. l. i. de
called, *flexamina atque omnium re-* Divin. n. 80.

plots of valour and wisdom, which made him equal in glory to the greatest men of his age. After he had obliged Dionysius to quit Sicily, he recalled all the citizens, whom the tyrants had banished into different countries; he got together sixty thousand of them to re-people the deserted city; he divided the lands among them, gave them laws, and established a form of civil government in conjunction with commissioners from Corinth; he cleared all Sicily of tyrants, with which it had been long infested, restored peace and security in all places, and supplied the cities ruined by the war, with all things necessary for re-instating themselves.

After such glorious actions, which had gained him unlimited credit, he voluntarily renounced his authority, and passed the rest of his life at Syracuse as a private man, enjoying the grateful satisfaction of seeing so many cities, and such multitudes of people indebted for their tranquillity and happiness to him. But he was ever respected, and consulted as the common oracle of Sicily. There was no treaty of peace, no new law, no division of lands, no regulation of policy made, without Timoleon's being concerned in it, and giving the last hand to it.

In his old age he had the trial of a very severe affliction, which he bore with an astonishing patience; I mean the loss of his sight. This accident was so far from diminishing the people's consideration and respect that they had for him, that it only served to augment them. The Syracusans were not satisfied with paying him frequent visits, but carried all strangers that travelled amongst them, to his house either in town or country, to shew them their benefactor and deliverer. If any matter of moment was to be debated in the public assembly they called in him to their assistance; and as for him, he came in a chariot drawn by two horses, through the *forum* into the theatre, and entered the assembly in the same chariot, amidst the shouts and joyful acclamations of the whole people. When he had given his opinion, which was
always

always religiously observed, his servants carried him back in his chariot across the theatre, the whole people reconducting him beyond the gates of the city with the like acclamations and applauses.

They paid him still greater honours after his death. His funeral was solemnized with the utmost magnificence, and the greatest ornament of it was the tears and blessings bestowed by the people upon the deceased, which were not the effect of mere custom and decency, but proceeded from a sincere affection and the most cordial gratitude. They farther made an ordinance, that every year for the future, upon the day of his death, games of music, wrestling, and horse-races should be celebrated in honour of his memory.

Nothing was ever more consummate than what history tells us of Timoleon. I do not mean only his great exploits in the field, and the good success of all his enterprises: what I admire most in him, is his warm and disinterested love for the public good, reserving to himself only the pleasure of seeing others happy by his services: his freedom from all insolence of power, and pride of worth, his retirement into the country, his modesty, moderation, declining of honours, and, what is still more extraordinary, his aversion to all flattery, and even for the justest praise. [y] When at any time mention was made of his wisdom, his valour, and the glory he had acquired in expelling the tyrants; he only replied, that he thought himself highly indebted to the gods, for making choice of him to be the minister of their will, when they determined to restore the peace and liberty of Sicily; for he was thoroughly persuaded, that all human events were directed and governed by the secret orders of divine Providence.

I cannot conclude this article concerning the government of Sicily, without desiring the reader to

[y] Cùm suas laudes audiret se potissimum ducem esse voluissent. prædicari, nunquam aliud dixit, Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine quàm se in ea re maximas diis agere deorum numine agi putabat. Corn. gratias atque habere, quòd, cùm Nep. in vit. Timol. cap. 4. Siciliam recreare constituissent, tum

compare the happy and peaceable old age of Timoleon, who was esteemed, honoured, and beloved by every body, with the miserable life of Dionysius the tyrant (I mean the father) who was continually haunted with terror, apprehension, the horror and execration of the public. [z] During the whole course of his reign, which lasted eight and thirty years, he wore a cuirass of brass under his robe. He never made a speech to the people, but from the top of a tower. And not daring to rely upon any of his friends or kindred, he took foreigners and slaves to guard him, going abroad as seldom as he could, his fear obliging him to condemn himself to a kind of perpetual imprisonment. That he might not trust his life and throat in the hands of a barber, he made his daughters shave him, who were then very young; and when they were grown up, he took the scissars and razor out of their hands, and taught them to singe off his hair and beard with nut-shells; [a] and at last did this office himself, evidently not caring to rely any longer upon his own daughters. He never went by night into the apartments of his wives, without causing them to be thoroughly searched, and with great care. His bed was encompassed with a very large and deep entrenchment, having a draw-bridge, which opened a passage to it. After he had well bolted and barred the doors of his chamber, he raised this bridge, that he might sleep securely. [b] Neither his brother, nor his son, were allowed to come into his chamber, without changing their clothes, and being searched by the guards. Can a life of such continual jealousy and terror be properly called reigning, or even living? [c] A king, who really deserves that name, needs no guards but for form, and the outward splendor of majesty; [d] as he lives in the midst of his own family,

sees

[z] Cic. lib. 5. Tusc. Quæst. n. 58, 62.

[a] Lib. 2. de Off. n. 25.

[b] Plut. in vit. Dion.

[c] Princeps, suis beneficiis tu-

tus, nihil præsidio eget: arma ornamenti causa habet. Sen. lib. 1. de Clem. cap. 13.

[d] Quod tutius imperium est, quam illud, quod amore & caritate

sees none but his own children wherever he goes, visits none but his friends, and is always in a country committed to his care and tenderness; whilst all his subjects, instead of fearing him, are only afraid for him.

What comparison, [e] says Tully, in one of his books of *Tuſculan Questions*, is there between the wretched and fearful life of Dionysius the tyrant, and that of Plato, Archytas, and a great many other philosophers, who lived at the same time? This prince, in the midst of pomp and grandeur, condemned by his own choice to a kind of dungeon, excluded the conversation of all good men, passed his life with slaves, wretches, and barbarians, regarding every man as an enemy, who set a just value upon liberty, employed only in murder and bloodshed, and spending his days and nights in continual terror. The others, united by the same sentiments of happiness and taste of study, formed amongst themselves the most pleasing and agreeable society that can possibly be imagined, exempt from all care and uneasiness, and knowing no other pleasure than what arises from the contemplation of truth, and the love of virtue, wherein these philosophers placed the whole happiness of man.

[f] 'Twas in their school, and from their conversations, that Dion had imbibed these principles and sentiments, which he endeavoured to instil into the young Dionysius, exhorting him to govern his subjects with humanity and tenderness, as a good father governs his family. " Consider, said he, that the
 " chains which support and strengthen a monarchical
 " government, and which your father boasted he had
 " made as hard to break as adamant, are neither fear
 " nor force, as he imagined, a great number of gal-
 " lies, nor a guard of thousands of barbarians; but
 " the affection, love and gratitude, which the virtue
 " and justice of princes raise in the hearts of their
 " people; and that chains formed by such sentiments,

tate munitur? Quis securior quam
 rex ille, quem non metuunt, sed
 cui metuunt subditi? Synes. de
 regno.

[e] Lib. 3. *Tuſc. Quæſt.* n. 63,
 66.

[f] *Plut. in. vit. Dion.*

“ though more gentle and less heavy than others so
 “ hard and stiff, are however much stronger with re-
 “ gard to duration, and contribute more firmly to
 “ the support of the state: that besides, a prince is
 “ neither honoured, nor esteemed, for being richly
 “ apparalled, for his furniture or retinue, or for
 “ spending his days in luxury and pleasures, if he has
 “ no advantage in point of reason and understanding
 “ over the least of his subjects, and is so wholly em-
 “ ployed in the decoration of his body apartments,
 “ as to neglect adorning the palace of his mind as
 “ becomes the majesty of a king.”

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Of the ROMAN HISTORY.

HOW prejudiced soever Livy may seem, in fa-
 vour of the people whose history he writes, we
 cannot deny, but the high encomium he gives them in
 the beginning of his work, is very well grounded;
 and it must be owned with him, that there never was
 a republic more powerful, or governed with greater
 justice, or more abundant in glorious examples; where
 avarice and luxury were later introduced, or where
 poverty and frugality were had in so great honour
 during so great a length. *Cæterum, says Livy, aut me
 amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam respublica
 nec major, nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit;
 nec in quam tam seræ avaritia luxuriæque immigraverint;
 nec ubi tantus ac tamdiu paupertati ac parsimonie bonos
 fuerit.*

Providence, having shewn in Nebuchadnezzar, Cy-
 rus, and Alexander, with what ease it subverts the
 greatest empires and erects new ones, was pleased to
 establish one of a very different kind, which should in
 no respect resemble the impetuosity of the former, or
 be owing to those tumultuous circumstances, wherein
 chance seemed to have a greater share than wisdom;
 an empire, which was to increase by just degrees and
 pro-

proportions, which should conquer by method, and grow strong by the wisdom of counsels and patience; whose power should be the fruit of every human virtue, and which in all these particulars should deserve to become the model of every other government. With this view such distant foundations were laid, as were sufficient to support the mighty edifice designed to be raised upon them. Providence had made preparations for it, by a long succession of great men, and a chain of singular events, which the heathen world could not avoid admiring, and over which they were forced to own the divinity presided. [g] Livy in the beginning of his history says, that the original and foundation of the greatest empire in the world could be no other than the work of the fates, and the effect of the peculiar protection of the gods. [h] He makes Romulus declare, as soon as he is admitted into heaven, that it is the will of the gods, that Rome should become the capital of the universe, and that no human power should be able to withstand it. [i] He industriously enumerates the prodigies which from the first foundation of the city announced its future greatness, and takes notice of a kind of secret instinct and certain foresight of the power for which it was intended, in several of those who governed it at first. [k] Lastly, Plutarch says in express terms, that whoever considers the conduct and actions of the Romans with the least attention, must clearly discover, that they could never have attained to that height of glory they did, if the gods had not taken care of them from the beginning, and there had not been something miraculous and divine in their original. And in another place, which in my opinion is well worth notice, [l] he

[g] Debebatur, ut opinor, fati tantæ origo urbis maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium. Liv. lib. 1. n. 4.

[h] Abi, nuncia Romanis, Cælestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit. . . . Sciantque, & ita posteris tradant, nullas

opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse. Ibid. n. 16.

[i] Inter principia conlendi hujus operis, (Capitolii) movisse numen ad indicandam tanti imperii molem traditur deos. Ibid. n. 55.

[k] Plut. in vit. Romul.

[l] Ἡ εὐροια τῶν πραγμάτων ἐστὶ τὸ ξέθιον

he attributes that incredible rapidity of conquests, which astonished the universe, not to the efforts of human prudence and valour, but to the special protection of the gods, whose favour, like an impetuous wind, in the swift progress of successes, seemed in haste to augment and extend the Roman power.

It is of the history of this people that I am now undertaking to give some idea. To this end I shall produce only some select pieces of it, as I have done already in treating the history of the Greeks; and I shall chuse such as will best explain the character and spirit of the Roman people, and which present the greatest virtues and most excellent examples. I shall also add some reflections, to shew youth, in what manner they may make the best advantage of what they read.

The first piece of this history shall treat of the foundation of the Roman empire by Romulus and Numa; the second of the expulsion of the kings, and the establishment of liberty; the third shall be much larger, though it takes in but the space of about fifty years, from the beginning of the second Punic war, to the defeat of Perseus king of Macedon, during which the greatest events in the Roman history happened; and the fourth and last shall be of the changing the Roman republic into a monarchy, foretold in a particular manner by Polybius in his history.

The FIRST PIECE of the ROMAN HISTORY.

*The FOUNDATION of the ROMAN EMPIRE by
ROMULUS and NUMA.*

WE find all the principles and foundations of the Roman greatness united in Romulus and Numa, the causes of its rise and continuance, the maxims of its policy, the rules of its government, the pe-

ρόβον τῆς εἰς τοσαύτην δόξαν καὶ αὐτοκρατορίας ἐπιτεύχουσης ἐν τοσούτοις χρόνοις, ἢ χερσὶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ θεῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀπορροήσασθαι ἡγεμονίαν, δείξα δὲ πομπῇ καὶ ἀνεύματι τύχης ἐπιταχυνόμενης ἐπιτείνουσαι τοὺς ἐθελῶς λογισμένους. Plut. de fort. Rom.

culiar

cular genius of its people, and the spirit with which it was animated in its whole conduct, and in all its different circumstances for above twelve hundred years. 'Twas in these two reigns the Roman people imbibed the peculiar and singular characters by which they were afterwards distinguished with so much glory and success; and which took so deep root, that they survived without alteration, not only during the time of the kings and of the republic, but under the emperors, and even to the dissolution of the empire.

The first CHARACTER of the ROMANS.

VALOUR.

One of the prevailing characters of the Romans was, that they were a warlike, enterprising, victorious people, devoting themselves entirely to the profession of arms, and preferring the glory arising from military expeditions, to every thing besides. Their founder Romulus seems to have inspired them with this disposition. This prince, brought up from his infancy to the laborious fatigues of hunting, and accustomed to contend with robbers, obliged afterwards to defend the privileges of the asylum he had opened, and having no other subjects in his new kingdom, than a band of resolute, desperate, and savage fellows, who had no hopes of security for their persons but in force, and, having no possessions, were able to subsist only by the sword; this prince, I say, was wont to have always the sword in his hands, and passed his reign in successively making war upon the Sabines, the Fidenates, the Veians, and all the neighbouring people.

He placed military courage in great honour, by the frequent victories he gained, and his own personal exploits. And the glory, with which he was twice seen to enter Rome, bearing a trophy at the head of his conquering troops, amidst a large train of captives, and the acclamations of all the people, gave place to the triumphs which were introduced in after-

ages, and were at the same time a most powerful incentive to the ambition of the generals, and the highest pitch of grandeur to which they could aspire. Romulus was no less careful to animate the courage of the common soldiers by rewards and different military honours, than by the allurements of the conquered lands, which he divided among them.

The SECOND CHARACTER of the ROMANS.

PRUDENT MEASURES taken for EXTENDING their
EMPIRE.

Another great character of the Romans consists in the wise measures they always took for extending and aggrandizing their empire, whereof Romulus had set them an example. This prince, persuaded that the power of a state consisted in the multitude of its subjects, made use of two expedients for augmenting the number of his.

The first was the moderate and prudent use he made of his victories and conquests. Instead of treating the vanquished as his enemies, according to the custom of other conquerors, by cutting them off, plundering them of their effects, reducing them to slavery, or forcing them, by the severity of the yoke imposed upon them, to hate the new government, he looked upon them all as his natural subjects, made them live with him in Rome, communicated to them all the privileges of the ancient citizens, adopted their feasts and sacrifices, left the way open for them indifferently to all civil and military employments; and by all these advantages making the good of the state a common interest, he attached them to it by such powerful and voluntary ties, as they were never after tempted to break through.

The Romans having always at heart a tacit prescience of the grandeur to which they were destined, punctually observed this maxim of profound and beneficial policy. We know it was usually the general himself, who had conquered a city or a province, that
became

became the protector of them, that pleaded their cause in the senate, that defended their rights and interests, and, forgetting his title of conqueror, remembered only that of patron and father, to treat them all as his clients and children.

The second expedient employed by Romulus, was not to disdain the admission of shepherds, slaves, and men of no substance or family, into the number of his subjects and citizens. [m] He knew the beginnings of cities and states, as of all other human things, were weak and obscure, and that the founders of states had thence taken occasion to feign, that their first inhabitants were the offspring or sons of the earth. He received therefore all fugitives into his asylum, whom the love of liberty, and prosecutions for debts, or other reasons, obliged to seek a retreat. This first concession, joined to the feast of the Saturnalia, which Numa afterwards instituted, in which the masters admitted their slaves to a share in the same entertainment, and lived with them in a state of perfect equality, inspired the Romans with greater mildness and good-nature towards their slaves, than any other republic whatsoever. Every citizen had the power, by setting his slaves at liberty, of making them Roman citizens like himself, of granting them the rank and all the privileges annexed to it, and of uniting them to the state in so strict and honourable a manner, that there was no instance of any freeman that did not prefer this new country to the place of his nativity and family.

By these two expedients Rome was continually renewed and strengthened. By the same means its losses were repaired, and the places of the ancient families, extinct by the accidents of war, supplied; recruits were always found ready within itself, to fill up the legions, and subjects capable of discharging every em-

[m] *Urbes quoque, ut cætera, ex infimo nasci: deinde, quas sua virtus ac dii juvent, magnas sibi opes magnumque nomen facere. . . Adjiciendæ multitudinis causâ; ve-*

tere consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque humilem concien- do ad se multitudinem, natam è terra sibi prolem ementiebantur; asylum aperit. Liv. l. i. p. 8, 9.

ployment

ployment of peace and war; and when overcharged with too great numbers, it was enabled to fend out numerous swarms to live at a distance, and to plant powerful colonies upon its frontiers, which served as bulwarks against the enemy, and secured the new conquests.

By continually incorporating foreigners, and changing them into citizens and members of the state, it communicated to them its manners, maxims, spirit, noble sentiments, and zeal for the public; and by giving them a share in its power, advantages, and glory, it formed a constant flourishing state, equally supported and aggrandized from without and within.

[*n*] The Romans always avoided the capital fault of Pericles, though otherwise one of the greatest politicians that ever Greece had, in declaring that none should be held as natural and true Athenians, but such as had both Athenian fathers and mothers. By this single decree, which excluded above one quarter of the citizens, he extremely weakened the commonwealth. He disabled it from making conquests, or maintaining them; and being obliged to rest satisfied with having the conquered towns for allies or tributaries, instead of uniting them to himself as members of the body of the state, and parts of the republic, according to the principles of the Romans, he soon saw them shake off their new yoke, and assert their liberty.

[*o*] Dionysius Halicarnassus justly looks upon the custom introduced by Romulus, of incorporating the conquered cities and nations into the state, as a most excellent maxim of policy, and what principally contributed to the establishment and support of the Roman grandeur. He observes, that it was the contempt or ignorance of this maxim, which ruined the power of Greece, disabled Sparta from recovering it-

[*n*] Plut. in vit. Pericl.

[*o*] Κράτιστον ἀπάντων πολιτευμάτων ὑπάρχον ὃ ἐκ τῆς βελίας Ῥωμαίοις ἐλευθερίας ἤρξε, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγε-

μονίαν ἀναγόντων ἐκ ἑλληνικῆν μόρην παρέσχε. Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2.

self after the battle of Leuctra, and lost the Thebans and Athenians the empire of Greece for ever, after that of Cheronea; whereas the Roman republic has been seen to survive the most bloody defeats, and to send new armies into the field, still more numerous than those they had lost.

The emperor Claudius, in an excellent discourse he made to the senate, to justify his having granted the privileges of Roman citizens to the people of Gaul, has judiciously observed, [p] that what ruined the republics of Lacedæmon and Athens, was the extreme difference they made between their own citizens and the conquered states, treating the last always as foreigners, keeping them always distinct from the community, and thereby preventing them from having any concern in the good of the public; whereas the founder of Rome, by a far more profound policy, incorporated the people he conquered into the number of his citizens, and, on the very day he had fought against them as enemies, received them as members of the state, admitted them to all the privileges of natural subjects, and engaged them out of interest to defend the very city which they had lately attacked.

It was principally by this means, as we have already observed, that the largest empire that ever was, made up a body, whose parts were all united far more by affection than fear. The Romans had colonies in all countries, and the people of all the provinces were admitted to share in the government of the state, without almost any difference between them and the conquerors. [q] The two Gauls were filled with consular families. The civil and military employments were

[p] Quid aliud exitio Lacedæmonis & Atheniensibus fuit, quamquam armis pollerent, nisi quod victos pro alienigenis arcebant? At conditor noster Romulus tantum sapientia valuit, ut plerosque populos eodem die hoites, dein cives habuerit. Tacit. Annal. lib. 11. c. 24.

[q] Cetera in communi sita sunt: (said Cerealis, general of the Ro-

man armies, to the citizens of Treves and Langres) Ipsi plerumque legionibus nostris præsidetis: ipsi has aliasque provincias regitis. Nihil separatum, clausumve. . . . Proinde pacem & urbem, quam victi victoresque eodem jure obtinemus, amate, colite. Tacit. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 74.

alike supplied by Romans and the natives of the country. St. Augustine somewhere observes, that at Carthage it was hard to distinguish between the free and the conquered, her citizens and those of Rome having all things so much in common, and the government so equally shared between them both.

This principle of policy, so constantly observed by the Romans in all ages, is very worthy our attention, and may be of great use to us. Haughtiness and severity serve only to keep up a dangerous division, which will break out upon the first occasion. Good treatment on the contrary makes a conqueror beloved, gains the affections of the new government, obliterates ancient grudges, and as a conquered people serve generally as a frontier, their fidelity becomes a firmer and surer barrier than all bulwarks whatsoever.

The THIRD CHARACTER of the ROMANS.

Their WISE DELIBERATIONS in the SENATE.

The third character is the wisdom of the senate, which began under Romulus to assume a fixed and settled form. [r] The senate was the public council of the nation, always subsisting, not composed of arbitrary members, but made up of persons chosen out of the most considerable families. The senators, interested by their fortunes and dignities in the success of the government, and capable of governing wisely through their age and experience, held the balance even, between the sovereign authority of the prince, and the weakness of the people, and supplied a number of magistrates, well formed and prepared for the

[r] Majores nostri, cum regum potestatem non tulissent, ita magistratus annuos creaverunt, ut consilium Senatus reipublicæ præponerent sempiternum: deligerentur autem in id consilium ab universo populo aditusque in illum summum ordinem omnium civium induitiæ ac virtuti pateret. Senatum reip.

custodem, præsidem, propugnato-rem collocaverunt. Hujus ordinis auctoritate uti magistratus & quasi ministros gravissimi consilii esse voluerunt: Senatum autem ipsum proximorum ordinum splendore confirmari, plebis libertatem & commoda tueri atque augere voluerunt. Cic. Orat. pro Sext. n. 137.

greatest employments by an excellent education, and replete with knowledge and sentiments superior to the vulgar. They were called *Fathers, Patres*, that on the one side they might remember they were placed in a high station, and held a rank of distinction, in order to their being the protectors of the people, whose advantage they ought to procure with the vigilance, zeal, and the disinterestedness of a parent; and, on the other hand, that the people might be reminded of the respect and affection they were obliged to bear them, and the confidence they ought to have in their counsel, credit and protection.

This senate was in all after-ages the firmest support, the principal strength, and greatest refuge of the state, even under the emperors. We all know the famous speech of Cineas, whom Pyrrhus sent on an embassy to the Romans. Upon his return he told his master, the grandeur and majesty of the Roman senate was such, [s] that they seemed to him like an assembly of kings. [t] The glory and duration of the empire (says the emperor Otho upon occasion of an insurrection, wherein he was apprehensive for the senate) does not lie in buildings nor in outward magnificence. Whatever is but material is a trifle; it may be destroyed and repaired, without any essential alteration. But to strike at the authority of the senate, is to attack the being of the state, and the safety of the prince.

I shall have occasion to speak of the senate in another place, when I shall more particularly enquire into the form of government established in the Roman republic.

[s] *Quem qui ex regibus constare dixit, unus veram speciem Romani senatus cepit.* Liv. lib. 9. n. 17.

[t] *Quid? Vos pulcherrimam hanc urbem domibus & tectis, &*

congestu lapidum stare creditis? Muta ista & inanima interciderere ac reparari promiscua sunt: æternitas rerum, & pax gentium, & mea cum vestra salus, incolumitate senatus firmatur. Tacit. hist. lib. 1. c. 84.

The FOURTH CHARACTER.*The* STRICT UNION of all PARTS of *the* STATE.

The Roman people were at first no other than a confused multitude, made up of the tumultuous and accidental union of several persons, of different characters and interests, inclinations and professions, and full of jealousies and animosities. To put an end to this diversity, so prejudicial to the solid establishment of the state, Romulus began with dividing his citizens into tribes and legions. [u] And Numa afterwards, striking more deeply at the root of the evil, assembled all of the same trade and business, and formed them into companies, by assigning them peculiar festivals and ceremonies, that by these new engagements of religion and pleasure, they might be induced to forget the difference of their ancient original.

[x] But nothing contributed so much to the settling a perfect concord in this infant state, as the right of patronage established by Romulus; because by thus joining the patricians with the plebeians, the rich with the poor, in very strict and sacred ties, he seemed to make but one family of the whole people. The first were called patrons or protectors, and the others clients. The patrons were engaged by their very name to protect their clients upon all occasions, as a father does his children; to assist them with their advice, their interest, and their care; to manage and carry on their suits, if they had any; in a word, to do all kind of good offices for them. The clients, on the other hand, paid the utmost honours to their patrons, respected them as second fathers, contributed out of their substance to the portions of their daughters in case they were poor, to redeem their children if taken captive by the enemy, and to subsist themselves if fallen under any disgrace. We have already observed, that in the later ages, not only particular persons, but

[u] Plut. in vit. Num.

[x] Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom.

whole cities and provinces, were put under the protection of the great men of Rome.

This union of the citizens, as Dionysius Halicarnassæus observes, thus formed from the beginning, and carefully cemented by Romulus, was afterwards so firmly established, that for above six hundred years, though the republic was continually torn by the intestine divisions which subsisted so long between the senate and people, they never came to an open rupture, or engaged in a civil war; [y] but their disputes, how warm and violent soever, were always amicably compromised, upon the remonstrances made on both sides; each party mutually complying with the other, and making some abatements of their rights or pretensions.

The FIFTH CHARACTER.

LOVE of SIMPLICITY, FRUGALITY, POVERTY,
LABOUR and AGRICULTURE.

One of Numa's first cares, after he came to the crown, was to inspire his new subjects with the love of that labour, simplicity, and poverty, which were so long practised and esteemed among the Romans. The manner of his advancement to the throne gave him a right to recommend all these virtues strongly to his citizens.

[z] Numa generally resided at Cures, his native city, and the capital of the Sabines, from whence the Romans, after their union with that nation, were called *Quirites*. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and had besides improved his mind by the study of all the sciences that were known in his age, and especially philosophy, which had a great share in his whole conduct. His delight was the country and solitude, and there he employed himself in tilling the ground, and studying the wonders of Divine Power in the works of nature.

[y] Παιθόνες κ' διδάσκειες ἀλλή- τῶν ἐγκλημάτων διαλύσεις. Dion.
 ρες, κ' τὰ μὲν εἰκόσιες, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐκόντων Hal. lib. 2.
 λαμβάσιες, πολυδικὰς ἐποιῦντο τὰς [z] Plut. in vit. Num.

Whilst he was enjoying this pleasing retirement, the Roman embassadors came to tell him, that the two parties which divided Rome were at last united in the choice of him for their king. This news troubled, but did not discompose him. He represented to them how dangerous it was for a man, who was happy and content with the life he led, to pass on a sudden, to one directly opposite to it. “ I have been brought up, says he to them, in the severe discipline of the Sabines; and, except the time I spend to study and know the Deity, I am wholly taken up in agriculture and feeding my flocks. If they think they see any thing valuable in me, it must be qualities which should keep me at a distance from a throne; the love of ease, a life of retirement and application to study, an extreme aversion for war, and a great fondness for peace. Would it be right for me to enter into a city, which resounds in all quarters with the noise of arms, and breathes nothing but war; and attempt to teach a people veneration for the gods, the love of justice, the hatred of war and violence, who seem to be far more desirous of a general than a king.”

Numa's refusal served only to make the Romans redouble their solicitations. They pressed and conjured him not to involve them again in a fresh sedition, which must inevitably end in a civil war, as he was the only person upon whom the two parties could agree.

When the embassadors were withdrawn, his father and Martius his kinsman used their utmost endeavours to prevail upon him to accept of the crown. “ Though you think it, said they, no pleasure to lay up great riches, because you are satisfied with a little; nor have any ambition to command, because you enjoy a greater and more real glory, which is that of virtue; yet consider, that to reign well is paying God the homage and worship which is most agreeable to him. 'Tis God who calls you to the throne, as not caring to let the talent of justice, he has blessed you with, lie idle and useless. Do not therefore

" therefore decline the acceptance of the royal dig-
 " nity, as it opens to a wise man the vastest field for
 " great and glorious actions. By this means the gods
 " may be nobly served, and the minds of men insen-
 " sibly civilized, and inclined to the duties of reli-
 " gion; for subjects naturally conform to the manners
 " of their princes. The Romans loved Tatius, though
 " he was a foreigner, and have consecrated the me-
 " mory of Romulus by the divine honours they now
 " pay him. Who can tell whether this victorious peo-
 " ple is not tired of war? and whether, enriched as
 " they are, with spoils and triumphs, they do not de-
 " sire a prince of moderation and justice, who may
 " govern them peaceably under good laws and a mild
 " administration? But though they should continue as
 " fond of war as ever, is it not better to divert the
 " fury of their passion, by taking the reins into your
 " hand, and uniting your country and the whole na-
 " tion of the Sabines with so powerful and flourishing
 " a city, by the ties of amity and friendship."

Numa could not resist such strong and wise remon-
 strances, and immediately set forward on his journey.
 The senate and people of Rome went out to meet him,
 with a wonderful desire of seeing him. The opinion
 they had long conceived of his probity, was very much
 increased by the account the ambassadors had given
 them of his moderation. [a] They conceived a man
 must be exceeding wise, that was capable of refusing a
 sceptre, and could look with indifference and con-
 tempt upon what the rest of mankind considered as
 the height of all human grandeur and happiness.

Numa preserved the same virtues upon the throne,
 which he had brought to it. So far as decency would
 admit in his station, he lived with the same simplicity
 and modesty as in private life. He was a perfect mo-
 del of royal virtue, and tempered the majesty of the
 prince with the moderation of the philosopher, or ra-
 ther heightened it by an additional splendor, in making
 it more amiable, and of greater force. Contented to

[a] Dionys. Halic. lib. 2.

attract respect by his truly royal qualities, he banished all the vain appearances of greatness, which only impose upon the senses, and which his virtue did not want. He lived without pomp, without luxury, and without guards. On the very day that he came to the crown, he discharged the cohort which Romulus had always about his person, [b] declaring, that he would neither distrust those who placed a confidence in him, nor command men who distrusted him.

He then divided the conquered lands among the poor citizens, to divert them from injustice by the lawful fruits of their labour, and inspire them with the love of peace by the cares of agriculture, to which it is necessary. He restrained and lulled their overearnest passion for war, by the pleasures of a quiet life and useful employments. That he might attach them to the cultivation of their lands by a concern for their own interest, he distributes them into boroughs, gives them inspectors and overseers, visits often himself their labour in the field, judges of the masters by the work, raises such to employments as he found to be laborious, diligent, and industrious, and reprimands the slothful and negligent. And by these different means, supported by his own example, and confirmed by his persuasion, he raised husbandry to so great honour, [c] that in after-ages the generals of the army and principal magistrates were so far from considering country business as below them, that they gloried in cultivating their fields with the same victorious and triumphant hands which had subdued their enemies ;

[b] Οὔτε γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν, πιστεύουσιν, ὅτε βασιλεύειν ἀπιστέων ἔξει. Plut.

[c] Pluribus monumentis Scrip-
torum admoner, apud antiquos
nostros fuisse gloriæ curam rustica-
tionis : ex qua Quintius Cincinna-
tus obessit consulis & exercitûs li-
berator, ab aratro vocatus ad dicta-
turam venerit ; ac rursus, fascibus
depositis, quos festinantiùs victor
reddiderat quàm sumpserat impera-
tor, ad eosdem juvencos & quatuor
jugerum avitum hærediolum redie-

rit. Itemque C. Fabricius & Cu-
rius Dentatus, alter Pyrrho finibus
Italix pulso, domitis alter Sabinis,
accepta quæ viritim dividebantur
captivi agri septem jugera non mi-
nùs industrie coluerit, quàm fortiter
armis quæsierat. Et ne singulos
intempestivè nunc persequar, cum
tot alios Romani generis intuear
memorabiles duces hoc semper du-
plici studio floruisse, vel defendendi
vel colendi patrios quæsitofque fines.

Columella de re rust. l. 1.

and

and the Roman people were not ashamed to confer the command of their armies, and entrust the safety of the state to those illustrious husbandmen, whom they had taken from the plough, and obliged to quit the care of their lands, to assume that of the state.

[*d*] Scipio Africanus, after he had conquered Hannibal, broke up the ground himself, according to the custom of his predecessors, planted and grafted his trees, and did all country business. Every body knows how much the elder Cato, surnamed the Censor, applied himself to agriculture, about which he has even left behind him some directions. [*e*] Tully in his beautiful oration in favour of Roscius, is extremely severe against the accuser of his client, for departing from the manners of the ancients, and urging against Roscius his retirement into the country as an evident proof of his father's hatred for him; since by the same principle he might have reflected upon the honour and probity of Attilius, whom the Roman ambassadors found actually in the field employed in sowing his lands. "Our ancestors, says he, had a very different way of thinking; and by such a conduct raised the republic from a weak and low condition, to so powerful and flourishing a state. They carefully cultivated their own lands, without coveting those of their neighbours, through mean and insatiable avarice; and by that means enriched the republic, and enlarged the Roman empire with such a number of lands, cities and nations."

[*d*] In hoc angulo ille Carthaginis horror Scipio, abluerat corpus laboribus rusticis fessum: exercebat enim opere se terramque (ut mos fuit prisca) ipse subigebat. Senec. epist. 86.

[*e*] Næ tu, Eruci, accusator esses ridiculus, si illis temporibus natus esses, cum ab aratro arcessiebantur qui consules fierent. Etenim, qui præesse agro colendo flagitium putes, profectò illum Attilium, quem sua manu spargentem semen, qui missa erant, convenerunt, homi-

nem turpissimum atque inhonestissimum judicares. At hercule majores nostri longe aliter & de illo & de cæteris talibus viris existimabant. Itaque ex minima tenuissimaque republica maximam & florentissimam nobis reliquerunt. Suos enim agros studiosè colebant, non alienos cupidè appetebant: quibus rebus & agris, & urbibus, & nationibus, rempublicam, atque hoc imperium & populi R. nomen auxerunt. Cic. Orat. pro S. Rosc. Amer. n. 50.

But this love of labour and a country life did not only contribute to the conquests and grandeur of the Roman empire; it also served to support for so many ages those noble sentiments, that generosity and disinterestedness, which rendered the Roman name still more illustrious than all their most famous victories. For it must be owned, [*f*] there is a very near relation between this innocent country life, and wisdom, of which it is in a manner the sister; [*g*] it may justly be looked upon as an excellent school of simplicity, frugality, justice, and all the moral virtues.

Numa, brought up in this school, inspired not only his own subjects, but the neighbouring cities, with the same taste and sentiments, as Plutarch observes in the beautiful description he has left us of his reign. For the Romans were not the only people that were calmed and civilized by the justice and pacific disposition of this excellent king, but all the cities round about, in which, as if a gentle gale had breathed upon them from Rome, there might be discerned an admirable change of manners, and, instead of an eager passion for war, a fervent desire of living in peace, of cultivating their lands, of educating their children in tranquillity, and serving the gods in quiet. Nothing was to be seen throughout the country, but entertainments, diversions, sacrifices, festivals, and rejoicings at one another's houses, without any apprehension or umbrage, as if the wisdom of Numa had been a rich source, from whence virtue and justice had flowed into the minds of the different people, and diffused into their hearts the same tranquillity that reigned in his.

In short, during the whole reign of Numa there was not the least appearance of war, or disposition to revolt; and the ambition of reigning never led any person to conspire against him. But, whether the respect for his eminent virtue, or the fear of the Deity which

[*f*] *Res rustica, sine dubitatione, proxima & quasi consanguinea sapientiæ est.* Colum. de re rust. l. 1.

[*g*] *Vita rustica parsimonix, diligentix, justitiæ magistra est.* Orat. pro Rosc. Amer. n. 75.

protected him, disarmed guilt; or that heaven by a singular favour took a pleasure in preserving that happy reign from every attempt that might sully the glory or disturb the joy of it, his was a proof and example of that great truth, which [b] Plato ventured to pronounce long since, when, speaking of government, he says, [i] *Cities and men will never be free from evils, till by the peculiar favour of the gods, supreme power and philosophy uniting in the same person, render virtue victorious over vice.* For the wise prince is not only happy, but makes those happy also who hear the words he utters. He has scarce ever occasion to make use of force or menaces to reduce his subjects, who, having so illustrious a model of virtue continually before their eyes in the life of their prince, are naturally inclined to imitate him, and lead a happy and unblameable life with him, which is the best effect of a wise government; as on the other side, the most solid glory of a prince, is to be able to inspire his subjects with so noble an inclination, and to lead them to a life of such perfection; which no body ever knew better how to do than Numa.

I have thought myself obliged to expatiate a little upon the reasons of Numa for refusing the crown; the motives which induced him to accept of it; the excellent rules he observed in his government, and the beautiful description that Plutarch gives of the wonderful effects of his reign, founded upon justice and the love of peace. This character is great, and almost singular in history; and I think it the duty of a master to give his scholars a just sense of the passages, which abound with such fine sentiments, and are so proper at the same time to form both the heart and the understanding.

[b] Lib. 5. de Rep.

[i] Atque ille quidem princeps ingenii & doctrinæ Plato, tum denique fore beatas republicas putavit, si, aut docti & sapientes homines eas regere cœpissent; aut, qui re-

gerent, omne suum studium in doctrina & sapientia collocassent. Hanc conjunctionem videlicet potestatis & sapientiæ salutis censuit civitatibus esse posse. Cic. epist. 1. ad Quint. frat. l. 1.

The SIXTH CHARACTER.

WISE LAWS.

Numa understood from the beginning of his reign, that justice, which is the foundation of empires and all society, was still more necessary to a people nurtured in the exercise of arms, accustomed to subsist upon rapine, and to live without discipline and government. To soften the ferocity of their temper, and reduce so many different characters to an uniformity, he established wise laws, and recommended the observance of them by his moderation and mildness, by setting an example of the greatest virtues, and an unalterable love for equity as well towards foreigners as citizens. By this conduct he inspired his subjects with so great a regard for justice, that he quite changed the face of the city. And so great was the zeal for observing such useful and sacred laws, and perpetuating the spirit of them, that we have constantly seen at Rome, even down to the latest emperors, a continual tradition of the knowledge of their laws, a kind of school of wise legislators and famous lawyers, who forming their decisions upon the purest light of reason, and the surest maxims of natural equity, have composed that body of law and the rights of mankind, which has become the admiration of all the world, and been adopted, or at least imitated by all civilized nations, who have extracted from them the best part of their laws.

The SEVENTH CHARACTER.

RELIGION.

The seventh character is a great respect for religion, and a faithful perseverance in beginning every thing with it, and referring every thing to it. Romulus had already expressed a very high regard for religion, as Plutarch observes; but Numa carried it much farther, and applied himself to give it more lustre and majesty. He prescribed the particular rules
of

of it, fet down at large all its exercifes and rites, added the utmoft folemnity to its ceremonies, and made the feftivals as agreeable and attractive as poffible. By thefe new fpectacles of religion, and this frequent commerce with things facred, which feemed to render the Deity prefent in all places, he brought them to a more gentle difpofition, made them more tractable and humane, and infenfibly changed their propenfity to violence and war, into a love of juftice and a defire of peace, which are the beft fruits of it. This habit of introducing religion into all their actions, influenced the people with fo profound and conftant a veneration for the divinity, that from that time, and in all after-ages, they never created magiftrates, declared war, gave battle, undertook any thing in public or private, made no marriages, funerals, or journeys, without fome act of religion. The care they took to build a temple to faith, and to make her refpected as the facred guardian of promifes and engagements, and the inexorable avenger of the breach of them, kept the people fo exactly to their words, that the obligation of an oath was never held more inviolable by any nation whatfoever.

Polybius and Livy give the Romans a glorious character in this refpect. [k] Polybius fays, that when once they had taken an oath, they kept it inviolably, without ftanding in need of any fecurity, witneffes, or written contracts; whereas all thefe precautions were ineffectual among the Greeks. [l] The other obferves, “ that the different and continual exercifes of
“ religion, eftablifhed by Numa, which gave the Di-
“ vinity fo conftant a fhare in all human actions, had

[k] Δι' αὐτῆς τῆς κατὰ τὸν ὕμνον
πίστεως τηρεῖται τὸ καθήκον. Polyb.
lib. 6.

[l] Deorum affidua infidens cura,
cùm interefſe rebus humanis cœ-
leſte Numen videretur, ea pietate
omnium peſtora imbuerat, ut fides
ac juſjurandum proximè legum ac
pœnarum metum civitatem rege-

rent. Et cum ipſi ſe homines in re-
gis, velut unici exempli, mores for-
marent: tum finitimi etiam populi,
qui ante caſtra, non urbem poſitam
in medio ad ſollicitandam omnium
pacem crediderant, in eam verecun-
diam adducti ſunt, ut civitatem to-
tam in cultum verſam Deorum vio-
lariducerent nefas. Liv. l. 1. n. 21.

“ possessed the citizens with such a sense of religion,
 “ that a word or an oath had no less weight and au-
 “ thority at Rome than the fear of the laws, and pu-
 “ nishment. Nor did the Romans only assume the
 “ character and peaceable disposition of Numa, in
 “ forming themselves upon the example of their king,
 “ as by a perfect model; but the neighbouring na-
 “ tions, who before had looked upon Rome less as a
 “ city than a camp, designed to disturb the peace of
 “ all other people, conceived so high a veneration for
 “ the prince and his subjects, that they would have
 “ thought it criminal, and in a manner sacrilegious,
 “ to have attacked a city so entirely devoted to the
 “ worship and service of the gods.”

In my entrance upon the Roman history, I thought it necessary to give first some idea of this famous people, whose principal characters, which rendered them so illustrious, and raised them to so great a superiority above all other people, are so happily united in Romulus and Numa, the two founders of their empire. We hereby see, of what consequence the first impressions are, not only with regard to private persons, but to whole nations; for it is evident that these eminent virtues, which prevailed in the infancy of Rome, and were continually improving and increasing in after-ages, were the occasion of her conquests, and gained her the empire of the world. For, as [m] Dionysius Halicarnassensis judiciously observes, it is an immutable law, and founded in nature itself, that whoever are superior in merit, become so likewise in power and authority; and that the people who excel most in virtue and fortitude, sooner or later will have the command over those who have less.

[m] Φύσει γὰρ δὴ νόμος ἅπασιν γενεῖσι εἶναι τῶν ἡττοτέρων τὰς κρείττονας.
 μωδός, ὃν εἰδὼς ἀναλύσει χροῖον ἄσ- Dion. Hal. lib. 1. Ant. Rom.

The SECOND PIECE of ROMAN HISTORY.*The* EXPULSION of the KINGS, and ESTABLISHMENT of LIBERTY.

THE epocha of the expulsion of the kings, and the establishment of the liberty of Rome, is too considerable to be slightly passed over. This memorable event is the basis of the most famous republic that ever was; it is the source of its prosperity, and of every thing great and wonderful admired in it. From thence the Roman people farther contracted two singular branches of their character; the one, an irreconcilable abhorrence of regal power, and whatever bore the least appearance of it; and the other, a violent passion for their liberty, of which they were at all times extremely jealous, almost to an excess. The reciprocal moderation observed by the senate and people, is a third circumstance, which well deserves our observation.

CHARACTER THE FIRST.

HATRED of *the* ROYAL DIGNITY.

Several circumstances and motives concurred to occasion and confirm the implacable hatred they bore to regal power.

1. The discontent and aversion which the people of Rome had long conceived, against the violence and tyrannical government of the Tarquins, at last broke out upon occasion of the injury offered to Lucretia, and the fatal manner in which she revenged the prince's crime upon herself, by killing herself with her own hands.

2. These dispositions were considerably improved by the astonishing resolution of Brutus the consul, who caused his own sons to be beheaded in his presence, for having entered into a conspiracy to restore the kings. The blood of two sons, spilt by their own father, to the dread and astonishment of all that beheld it,

it, gave them a lively sense how dreadful a calamity it must be to live under the yoke of the Tarquins, as it cost so dear to redeem them from it. This bloody execution, and the tragical death of Lucretia, which were alike horrible to nature, impressed in all their minds so strong an aversion to regal power, that even in after-ages they could not bear so much as the shadow of it; but thought, that after the example of their ancestors, they ought to sacrifice whatever was most dear to them, and expose themselves to the utmost hazards, rather than suffer an evil, which from their infancy they were taught to consider as the greatest and most insupportable of all that could befall them.

3. By abandoning the king's treasures to be plundered by the people, pulling down his palaces in town and country, devoting his fields near Rome to Mars, to make the restitution of them impossible, throwing the corn upon his lands into the Tyber, they made the rupture absolutely irreconcilable; and the whole people, who had shared in the insult and pillage, were sensible their only safety lay in an inflexible resistance.

4. The sanguine obstinacy of the Tarquins, in fatiguing the Romans with a long and severe war, and in stirring up all their neighbours against them, laid them under an absolute necessity of defending themselves to the utmost. Their repeated engagements, frequent battles, and the death of one of their consuls, who was killed in the field with the most considerable of the citizens, kept up and inflamed their animosity, and made the fear and hatred of the royal authority grow into an habit. One may judge of the abhorrence they had for it from the beginning, by the answer they gave to the ambassadors of king Porfenna, who earnestly solicited the restoration of the Tarquins. [n] They declared they were rather disposed to open their gates to the enemy than the kings, and would

[n] Ita induxisse in animum, omnium, ut qui libertati erit in illa hostibus potius quam regibus portas urbe finis, idem urbi sit. Liv. lib. patefacere: eam esse voluntatem 2. n. 15.

fooner chuse to lose their city, than they would their liberty.

5. The law, which, to prevent any one from attempting to make himself master of the republic, empowered all others to kill him before he was juridically condemned, provided that after his death they could produce an evident proof of his having entertained any such design, seemed to arm every citizen indifferently against the common enemy, to constitute every private man a guardian of the public liberty, and to make him responsible for its preservation.

6. The heroic valour of Horatius Cocles, with the extraordinary rewards and honours he received, for singly opposing on the bridge the auxiliary forces of the Tarquins; the intrepid boldness of Scævola, who punished his hand for having failed of his blow; the courage of Clælia and her companions; the triumphs decreed to Publicola and his brother Marcus, upon account of the victories gained over the kings; the funeral oration and solemn honours paid to Brutus, as to the father of liberty, and afterwards to Publicola in acknowledgment of his constant love for the republic; all these objects still contributed to inflame their zeal for liberty, and hatred of tyranny; and as these great examples excited the admiration of all mankind, they inspired them with an ardent desire to imitate them.

7. [o] The solemn oath that the people took at the altars, in their own name, and the name of all their posterity, that they never would, upon any pretext whatsoever, suffer the re-establishment of the regal power, was in all after-ages as present to the people's minds, as if they had but lately thrown off the yoke of a severe and shameful slavery.

This aversion, cemented with so much blood, and supported by such powerful motives, was handed down from age to age, not only whilst the republic subsisted, but under the emperors also, and could not

[o] Omnium primùm avidum
novæ libertatis populum, ne post-
modum flecti precibus aut donis re-
giis posset, jurejurando adegit (Bru-
tus) neminem Romæ passuros reg-
nare. Liv. lib. 2. n. 1.

be extinguished but with the empire. [p] The attempt of Manlius, in aspiring to the crown, blotted out the remembrance of all his great actions, and occasioned his being thrown down without pity, from the summit of that very rock which he had regained from the hand of the enemies. Nothing hastened more the death of Cæsar, than the suspicion he had raised, that he designed to have himself declared king. His successors, besides the tribunitian power, took the titles of Cæsar, Augustus, Chief Pontiff, Proconsul, Emperor, Father of their country; but neither their own ambition, nor the flattery of the people ever presumed to go farther, or speak out plain. And though they were in possession of as absolute power as any king on earth; though some of them, as Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Commodus, Caracalla and Heliogabalus, carried the abuse of sovereign power so far, as to exercise the most cruel tyranny; yet none of them ever ventured to assume the diadem, as it was judged the mark of a title, which had something too odious in it for eight or ten centuries to efface; and what is strange, and almost incredible, whilst their impious religion permitted them to set up for gods, a more reserved policy forbid them to pretend to be kings.

CHARACTER *the* SECOND.

An excessive LOVE of LIBERTY, and a diligent APPLICATION to EXTEND its RIGHTS.

The whole body of the Roman republic consisted of two orders, which had each their particular magistrates, as well as their different interests, and were always opposite to each other. The one was called *the Senate*, and was the head and council of the state; the other was the common people, called in Latin *plebs* or

[p] Damanatum tribuni de saxo Tarpeio dejecerunt: locusque idem in uno homine & eximie glorie monumentum, & pœnæ ultimæ

fuit. . . . Ut sciant homines quæ & quanta decora fœda cupiditas regni, non ingrata solum, sed invisa etiam reddiderit. Liv. lib. 6. n. 20.

plebes,

plebes, which was distinguished from the nobility and the Patrician families. These two orders, joined together, formed what was properly called the Roman people, *populus Romanus*; whose general assemblies were held either by centuries, and were named *centuriata comitia*, in which the senate had the greatest power; or by tribes, *tributa comitia*, where the power of the people prevailed most.

This people, already elate from the frequent victories and conquests they had gained over their neighbours, conceived still higher sentiments from the share they had in the administration, and the concessions the senate were obliged to make them in the times immediately following the revolution.

Nothing was more capable of pleasing this people, than the readiness with which the consul Publicola in one night caused his house to be pulled down to the ground, upon some murmurings against the height of its situation, and the largeness of the building, which was looked on as a citadel.

The same Publicola, to remove what was most terrible in the consular power, and make it more gentle and popular, caused the ax to be taken away in the city, from the fasces which were carried before the consul; [q] and when he shewed himself in an assembly of the people, he ordered that they should be bowed down, as though he submitted them to the people, and did homage to them for his authority.

He farther extremely augmented the power of the people, and their immunities, by the law, which allowed of an appeal to the people from the judgment of the consuls and senate; by that which condemned those to death who should accept any office without receiving it from the people; by the law which excused the poor citizens from paying taxes; and by that which exempted such as were disobedient to the

[q] Gratum id multitudini spectatum, populi quàm consulis majestatem vimque majorem esse. Liv. lib. 2. n. 7.

consuls, from corporal punishment, and reduced the penalty of their disobedience, to a pecuniary mulct.

To advance the authority of the people still farther, he thought fit to discharge himself of the custody and management of the public treasure, and prohibited any of his relations and friends from meddling with it. He therefore deposited it in the temple of Saturn, and, allowing the people to chuse two officers, who should have the keeping of it, he gave them a great share in the administration of the finances, which are the force of the state, the strength of the war, and the substance of rewards.

The people growing fond of being admitted into the administration, were careful ever after to lose nothing of their ground; and they could not be more agreeably pleased, than by having an opportunity given them of enlarging their rights and prerogatives.

The strongest barrier they opposed to the proceedings of the senate and consuls, and the firmest support of their credit and liberty, was the establishment of the tribunes of the people, [r] which was one of the conditions of their reconciliation with the senate, and their return into the city, after their withdrawing to the *mons sacer*. The person of these tribunes, who were properly creatures of the people, was declared sacred and inviolable. At first they created two, and afterwards they were multiplied to the number of ten. The Patricians were rendered absolutely incapable of this employment; [s] and, to disable them from influencing the election of the tribunes, it was ordered that all the plebeian magistrates should be nominated in the assemblies which were held by tribes, wherein the senators had little authority. The violence and injustice of the decemvirs, which occasioned the second

[r] Agi deinde de concordia cœptum, concessumque in conditiones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset, neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Liv. lib. 2. n. 33.

[s] Volero, tribunus plebis, ro-

gationem tulit ad populum, ut plebei magistratus tributis comitiis fierent. Haud parva res, sub titulo prima specie minimè atroci, ferebatur; sed quæ patriciis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi quos vellent tribunos, auferret. Liv. l. 2. n. 56.

retreat of the people to the Aventine hill, gave occasion also to strengthen the tribunes with an additional power. It was decreed, that the laws made by the people in the assemblies held by tribes, should oblige all the Roman people, and consequently the senate as well as the rest; [t] which gave the tribunes a great authority; that they should create no magistrate, from whom it might not be allowed to appeal, and that every private man should be empowered to kill with impunity whoever should oppose this ordinance; that the person of the tribunes should be again declared more sacred and inviolable than ever. Their power in short extended very far, and reached even to the consuls themselves, whom they pretended they had a right to imprison, [u] as they publicly declared, upon an occasion when the senate had recourse to their authority to reduce the consuls to their duty, who refused to obey them.

After the people had thus confirmed their authority, they still went on to form new projects, which the tribunes, out of zeal or complaisance, did not fail to second with great warmth. They spared no pains to open to themselves the way to all posts of dignity, and especially the consulship, which was the first office of the state, in which the greatest part of the public authority resided, and which was reserved for the Patricians alone. After long and hot disputes, at last they obtained it, and upon the occasion of a slight adventure. I beg leave here to tell the story, as it is one of the most beautiful and most natural to be found in Livy.

[x] Fabius Ambustus had married his eldest daughter to Serv. Sulpicius a Patrician, and the younger to
a young

[t] Qua lege tribunitiis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est. Id. l. 3. n. 55.

[u] Pro collegio pronuntiant, placere consules senatui dicto audientes esse: si adversus consensum amplissimi ordinis ultrà tendant, in vincula se duci eos iussuros. Liv. l. 4. n. 26.

[x] M. Fabii Ambusti, potentis viri, filix duæ nuptæ, Ser. Sulpicio major, minor C. Licinio Stolonii erat. . . Fortè ita incidit, ut in Ser. Sulpicii tribuni militum domo sorores Fabiæ, cùm inter se (ut fit) sermonibus tempus tererent, licitor Sulpicii, cùm is de foro se domum reciperet, forem (ut mos est) virgâ percuteret.

a young plebeian, named Licinius Stolo. One day, as the latter was visiting her elder sister, and they were talking together, Sulpicius, who was then tribune of the soldiers with consular power, coming home, the licitor struck the door with the rod he carried in his hand, according to custom, and made a great noise. The younger daughter, who was unacquainted with the custom, having expressed some fright upon the occasion, her elder sister laughed at her simplicity, and wondered she did not know what it meant. As the smallest trifles often make an impression upon the sex, the younger was highly offended at the mirth of her sister. The multitude of followers, who attended the military tribune, and expected his orders, without doubt made her consider the fortune of her elder sister as far superior to her own; and a secret jealousy, which is apt to occasion an uneasiness at seeing our relations in a station above us, made her repent of being married as she was. Whilst this uneasiness hung upon her, her father coming in, and finding her very sorrowful, desired to know the reason. But as she could not discover it, without seeming to want friendship for her sister, and respect for her husband, she declined telling him for some time. Fabius at last, by kind expressions and caresses, drew the secret from her, and she ingenuously owned, that the cause of her grief was the being married into a family, which was incapable of any post of honour or authority. Her father comforted her, and bad her not be uneasy, for she should soon see the same dignity in her family, as made her

percuteret. Cùm ad id, moris ejus insueta, expavisset minor Fabia, risui forori fuit, mirante ignorare id fororem. Caterùm is risus stimulos parvis mobili rebus animo muliebri subdidit: frequentia quoque prosequentium rogantiumque numquid vellet, credo fortunatum matrimonium ei fororis visum; sui que ipsam malo arbitrio, quo à proximis quique minimè antèri vult, pœnituisse. Confusam eam ex recentis morfu animi cùm pater fortè

vidisset, percunctatus *satim* *salvæ*, avertentem doloris causam (quippe nec satis piam adversus forem, nec admodum in virum honorificam) elicit, comiter sciscitando, ut fateretur eam esse causam doloris, quòd juncta impari esset, nupta in domo, quam nec honos nec gratia intrare posset. Consolans inde filiam Ambustus, bonum animum habere jussit: eosdem propediem domi visuram honores, quos apud fororem viderat. Liv. l. 6. n. 34.

think

think her sister so happy. From that moment therefore he laboured to effect it, in conjunction with his son-in-law Licinius. Having associated L. Sextius in their design, a young man of an enterprising genius, who wanted nothing but the rank of patrician to entitle him to the highest dignities in the state, they seized upon the favourable opportunity which the present conjuncture afforded them, and, after several disputes with the patricians, they at last forced them to admit the plebeians to the consulship. L. Sextius was the first man upon whom this honour was conferred.

After this victory, nothing remained inaccessible to the people. The offices of prætor, and censor, and even the dictatorship and priesthood, were all offered and granted them; [y] the senate rightly judging, that after they had been reduced to grant them the consulship, it would be to no purpose to dispute any thing else with them. And thus the people, who were little less than slaves under the kings, and clients without power under the patricians, became by degrees equal to their patrons, and their associates in all the honours and employments of the commonwealth.

CHARACTER *the* THIRD.

The reciprocal MODERATION *of the* SENATE *and* PEOPLE *in their* DISPUTES.

The disputes between the people and senate concerning public employments, continued very long, and were carried on with such a warmth and vigour, as made them seem impossible to be terminated but by the ruin of one of the parties. The tribunes of the people, who were usually very hot and passionate, perpetually animated the multitude by bitter invectives against the consuls and senate. Upon the affair of prohibiting marriages between the patri-

[y] Senatu, cum in summis imperiis id non obtinisset, minas in præturâ tendente. Liv. l. 3. n. 15.

cians and the people, “ Do you not see, said they, “ in what contempt you live? They would take “ from you, if they could, a part of the very light “ of heaven. They are in pain that you breathe “ the same air with them, that you talk the same “ language, and have the same figure of men, as they “ have. Can any thing be more insulting and dis- “ graceful, than to declare one part of the city un- “ worthy of being allied to the patricians, as though “ they were polluted and impure? And as to digni- “ ties, has the republic any cause to be dissatisfied “ with the service of the plebeians, in all the offices “ confided to them? There is now nothing wanting “ to them but the consulship. And in that for the “ future they ought to believe their safety and li- “ berty consist; nor, till they have obtained it, can “ they hold themselves really free, or that they have “ actually thrown off the yoke of servitude and “ tyranny [z].”

The senators were sometimes no less transported with violence and passion. [a] Whatever was granted to the people in confirmation of their liberty, was looked upon as so much lost to them. [b] And tho’ they owned that the younger part of their body were frequently too warm and zealous, yet, if one side or

[z] *Æquid sentitis in quanto contemptu vivatis? Lucis vobis hujus partem, si liceat, adimant. Quòd spiratis, quòd vocem mittitis, quòd formas hominum habetis, indignantur. . . . An esse ulla major aut insignior contumelia potest, quàm partem civitatis, velut contaminatam, indignam connubio haberi?* Liv. lib. 4. n. 3, 4.

Nullius eorum (qui ex plebe creati sint tribuni militum) populum Romanum pœnituisse. Consulatum superesse plebeis. Eam esse agere libertatis, id columnen. Si cò perventum sit, tum populum Romanum verè exaustos ex urbe reges, & stabilem libertatem suam existi-

maturum. Liv. lib. 6. n. 37.

[a] *Quicquid libertati plebis caveretur, id patres decedere suis opibus credebant.* Liv. lib. 3. n. 55.

[b] *Seniores patrum, ut nimis feroces suos credere juvenes esse, ita malle, si modus excedendus esset, suis quàm adversariis superesse animos. Adcò moderatio tuendæ libertatis, dum æquari velle simulando ita se quisque extollit, ut deprimat alium, in difficili est; cavendoque ne metuant homines, metuendos ultrò se efficiunt; & injuriam à nobis repulsam, tanquam aut facere aut pati necesse sit, injungimus aliis.* Ibid. n. 65.

other was to go beyond the bounds of decency, they rather chose to see the matter pushed too far on the side of their faction, than on that of their adversaries; so difficult it is, says Livy, in disputes of this nature, where a perfect equality is pretended to be observed between the two parties, to keep the balance in so just an equilibrium, as not to incline to one side more than the other; every one insensibly endeavouring to raise himself, in order to depress his adversary, and to make himself formidable, that he may be under no apprehension from him, as if there was no medium betwixt doing and receiving an injury.

It must be owned however, to the glory of the Roman people, that this disposition, [c] which seemed ready to have recourse to the last extremities, and break out into bloody seditions, the usual source and cause of the ruin of great empires, was long restrained, and in a manner suspended, partly by the wisdom of the senators, and partly by the patience of the people; and for above six hundred years, as we have already observed, these domestic disputes never degenerated into civil wars.

There were always grave and discreet men in the senate, zealous for the public good [d], and alike avoiding the two opposite extremes, either of betraying the interests of the senate to gain the favour of the people, or of irritating and provoking the people by declaring too warmly for the senate; who managed so as to induce both parties to a reconciliation, and by prudent condescensions to prevent the fatal consequences, which too obstinate a resistance must have inevitably induced.

[c] *Æternas esse opes Romanas, nisi inter semet ipsi seditionibus sævient. Id unum venenum, eam labem civitatibus opulentis repertum, ut magna imperia mortalia essent. Diu sustentatum id malum, partim patrum consiliis, partim patientiâ plebis. Liv. lib. 2. n. 44.*

[d] *Alios consules, ut per prodicionem dignitatis patrum plebi adu-
latos, aut acerbè tuendo jura ordi-
nis, asperiores domando multitu-
dinem fecisse; T. Quintium orati-
onem memorem majestatis patrum
concordiæque ordinum habuisse.
Liv. lib. 3. n. 69.*

[e] They represented to their consuls when too hot and violent, as Appius was, that they should not attempt to carry the consular power beyond the just bounds, which the common benefit of peace and concord required; that whilst the tribunes and the consuls were engaged in drawing over all they could to their separate interests, the republic, torn and divided, was reduced to a languishing condition, both parties being more intent upon ruling than preserving it. [f] They represented also to the tribunes, that it would be neither glorious nor advantageous to them, to found and enlarge their authority upon the ruin of the senate, which was the public council; and that the only means to establish the liberty of Rome, and support an equality among the citizens, was to maintain each order of the state in its just rights and privileges.

The people on their side shewed sometimes a surprising temper and moderation, and behaved with a generosity one would scarce think a multitude capable of: as may be seen in the following instance of an assembly, where they appeared at first more exasperated than ever. The people seemed resolved not to take up arms against the enemy, who were then in the field, unless they were admitted to have a share in the government. The senate, finding they must either submit to the people or the enemy, after having given up the business of marriages to no purpose, judged it requisite to do the same in regard to the public employments; and having proposed to nominate military tribunes instead of consuls, they consented that the plebeians should be admitted to that employment.

[g] The event proved, that after the heat and fire of

[e] Ab Appio petitur, ut tantam consularem majestatem esse vellet, quanta in concordi civitate esse posset. Dum tribuni consulesque ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse virium in medio; distractam laceratamque rempublicam magis quorum in manu sit, quam ut incolumis sit, queri. Liv. lib. 2. n. 57.

[f] Ne ita omnia tribum potes-

tatis suæ impleant, ut nullum publicum concilium sincerent esse. Ita demum liberam civitatem fore, ita æquatas leges, si sua quisque jura ordo, suam majestatem teneat. Liv. lib. 3. n. 63.

[g] Eventus eorum comitorum docuit, alios animos in contentione libertatis dignitatisque, alios secundum deposita certamina incorrupto judicio esse. Liv. lib. 4. n. 6.

the

the dispute was over, and they were calm enough to judge of matters as they ought, that the people were quite different from what they were whilst it subsisted. For, satisfied with the condescension of the senate, they nominated none but patricians to be military tribunes, with a moderation, says Livy, an equity, and greatness of soul, seldom found even in one man. *Hanc modestiam, æquitatemque, & altitudinem animi, ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quæ tunc populi universi fuit?*

The THIRD PIECE of ROMAN HISTORY.

The SPACE of three and fifty YEARS, from the BEGINNING of the second PUNIC WAR to the DEFEAT of PERSEUS.

FOR the third portion of Roman history, I take that term which Polybius chose for the subject of his performance; I mean the three and fifty years which passed from the beginning of the second Punic war to the end of the Macedonian, which concluded with the overthrow and captivity of Perseus, and the destruction of his kingdom.

Polybius looks upon this interval as the most flourishing age of the Roman republic, an age which produced the greatest men, and displayed the most shining virtues; in which the greatest and most important events happened, and, in a word, wherein the Romans began to enter upon the possession of that vast empire, which afterwards included almost every part of the then known world, and by a continual and very swift progress arrived at that degree of grandeur and power, which has made it the admiration of the whole universe.

Now, as the establishment of the Roman empire was, according to [b] Polybius, the most wonderful work of divine providence, and could not be regarded as the effect of chance and a blind fortune, but as the consequence of a pre-conceived design, concerted with weight and measure, and conducted by an infallible

[b] Polyb. lib. i.

wisdom, is it not, as the same author farther observes, a very commendable curiosity, and worthy the best understanding, to enquire what was the time, what the preparatives, what the means, and who the instruments, in carrying on so glorious and noble an enterprize to its execution?

Polybius, who is the most judicious historian extant, and was himself a great soldier and politician, had shewn this at large in the history he wrote, of which the small remains we have, give us great reason to lament the loss of the rest. This I also shall endeavour to trace in this piece of the Roman history, though very briefly: I intend, however, to introduce into my discourse, what I shall judge most beautiful in Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch, which are the originals from whence I shall extract the best part of what I have to say upon this subject, with reference either to the facts themselves, or the reflections I shall make upon them.

C H A P. I.

A NARRATIVE of the FACTS.

I SHALL begin with relating the principal events which fell out in the time I am speaking of, that I may thereby give such of my readers, as are unacquainted with this branch of history, some slight idea of it.

The BEGINNING of the second PUNIC WAR, and the SUCCESSES of HANNIBAL.

[a] The beginning of the second Punic war, if we look only upon the date of time, was the taking of Saguntum by Hannibal, and the irruption he made into the country situate beyond the Ebro, which was allied to the people of Rome; but the real cause of it was the indignation of the Carthaginians, at seeing themselves deprived of Sicily and Sardinia, by trea-

[a] Liv. lib. xxi. n. 1—20.

ties, which the sole necessity of the time, and the ill condition of their affairs, had extorted from them. The sudden death of Hamilcar hindered him from executing the design he had long been forming, of taking revenge for these injuries. His son Hannibal, whom he had obliged to swear upon the altar, whilst yet but nine years old, that he would declare himself an enemy to the Romans, as soon as he came to the age of doing it, entered into all his views, and inherited his hatred for the Romans, as well as his valour. He made very distant preparations for this great design, and when he thought himself in a condition to execute it, he opened it with the siege of Saguntum. And whether it was through idleness or negligence, or through prudence and wisdom, the Romans spent the time in different embassies, and left Hannibal an opportunity of taking the town.

[*b*] And for his part, he well knew how to make the best use of it. After he had settled all things to his mind, he left his brother Asdrubal in Spain to defend the country, and set out for Italy with an army of ninety thousand foot, and ten or twelve thousand horse. There was no obstacle great enough to discourage him, or stop his march. The Pyrenæan mountains, the crossing of the Rhone, a long march through Gaul, and the very difficult passage of the Alps, all gave way before his zeal and indefatigable resolution. Conqueror over the Alps, and in a manner over nature itself; he entered Italy, which he had resolved to make the theatre of the war. His troops were extremely lessened in their numbers, amounting to no more than twenty thousand foot, and six thousand horse, but were full of confidence and courage.

A rapidity so inconceivable astonished the Romans, and broke all their measures. They had determined to carry the war abroad, and that one of their consuls should make head against Hannibal in Spain, whilst the other should march directly into Africa to lay siege to Carthage. But they were now obliged to lay

[*b*] Liv. lib. xxi. n. 21—38.

aside these projects, and think of defending their own country. Publius Scipio the consul, who thought Hannibal still in the Pyrenæan mountains, when he had actually passed the Rhone, not being able to come up with him, was under a necessity of returning back from whence he came, to wait for, and fall upon him at his descent from the Alps, and in the mean while sent Cneius Scipio his brother into Spain against Asdrubal.

[*d*] The first engagement was not far from the little river of Tesinus. The speeches of the two generals to their armies, are very fine. Livy has copied them from Polybius, but in a masterly way, by throwing in such strokes as make the copy equal to the original. The Carthaginians gained the victory. The Roman consul was wounded in the battle; [*e*] and his son, who was then scarce seventeen years old, saved his life. This was he who afterwards*conquered Hannibal, and was surnamed Africanus.

[*f*] Upon the first news of this defeat, Sempronius, the other consul, who was in Sicily, marched presently by order of the senate, to the assistance of his colleague, who was not yet well recovered of his wounds. That was his reason for hastening a battle, against the opinion of Scipio, in hopes of engrossing the whole glory of it to himself. Hannibal, who had good intelligence of all that passed in the Roman camp, having suffered Sempronius to gain some slight advantage, in order to improve his temerity, gave him an opportunity of coming to a battle near the river of Trebia. He had placed his brother Mago in ambuscade in a very favourable post, and caused his army to use all necessary precaution against the famine and cold, which was then extreme. The Romans had been very negligent of either, and for that reason were soon overthrown, and put to flight; and Mago issuing

[*d*] Liv. lib. xxi. n. 33—48.

[*e*] Neque illum ætatis infirmitas interpellare valuit, quo minus duplici gloriâ conspicuam coronam,

imperatore simul & patre ex ipsa morte raptò, mereretur. Val. Max. lib. v. c. 2.

[*f*] Liv. lib. xxi. n. 51—56.

from the place where he lay in ambush, made a great slaughter of them.

[g] Hannibal, to make the best use of his time and first victories, kept continually advancing, and approached every day nearer the center of Italy. [b] But to come up the more speedily with the enemy, he was under a necessity of passing through a morass, where his army sustained incredible fatigues, and he lost an eye. Flaminius, one of the late nominated consuls, had left Rome without observing the usual omens. [i] He was a vain, rash, enterprising man, full of himself, and whose natural haughtiness was increased by the good success of his first consulship, and the declared favour of the people. It was plain enough, that as he neither consulted the gods nor men, he would naturally abandon himself to the warmth and impetuosity of his genius; and Hannibal, to prompt that disposition, did not fail to irritate and provoke him, by ravaging and laying waste all the neighbouring country within his view. And this sufficed to make the consul resolve upon giving battle, notwithstanding the dissuasion of all the officers, who besought him to wait for the coming up of his colleague. The success was such as they had foreseen, fifteen thousand Romans were left dead upon the spot, with Flaminius at their head, which rendered the lake of Thrasimene ever after famous by their bloody defeat.

FABIUS DICTATOR.

[k] When this sorrowful news was brought to Rome, the whole city was in great consternation. They expected every moment to see Hannibal at their gates.

[g] Liv. lib. xxi. n. 57—59, 63.

[b] Lib. xxii. n. 1—6.

[i] Consul ferox ab consulatu priore, & non modo legum ac patrum majestatis, sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens erat. Hanc infitam ingenio ejus temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque

rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat, nec deos nec homines consulentem, ferociter omnia ac præproperè acturum: quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque irritare Pœnus parat. Ib.

[k] Ib. n. 7—30.

Fabius Maximus was chosen [L] dictator, who after he had discharged the duties of religion, and given such orders as were necessary for the security of the city, went directly to the army, with a resolution not to hazard a battle, unless he was forced to it, or perfectly sure of success. He kept his troops upon the tops of the mountains, without losing sight of Hannibal, never coming so near him as to be under a necessity of fighting, nor removing to such a distance, as to let him be out of his reach. He confined the soldiers strictly to the camp, never suffering them to quit it except for forage, and then only under a strong convoy. [m] He never engaged but in slight skirmishes, and then too with so much caution, that his troops had always the advantage. By this means he insensibly restored to them that resolution and confidence, of which the loss of three battles had deprived them, and encouraged them to rely as formerly upon their own courage and good fortune. The enemy soon perceived, that the Romans had been taught, by their former defeats, to make choice of a general that was capable of making head against Hannibal; and Hannibal found, that he had more cause to be apprehensive of the prudent and regular conduct of the dictator, than of his making any bold or hazardous attacks.

Minucius, the general of the Roman horse, suffered the wise conduct of Fabius with more impatience than even Hannibal himself. [n] As warm and passionate in his discourse as designs, he was continually railing at the dictator; his prudence and circumspection, he termed irresolution and fearfulness, and called his virtues by the names of such vices as approached the

[L] Prodictator.

[m] Neque universo periculo summa rerum committebatur, ut parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto ceptorum, finitimo receptu, assuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem, minus jam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunæ pœnitere sūt. Liv. lib. xxij. n. 12.

[n] Sed non Annibalem magis

infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat, quam magistrum equitum. . . Ferox rapidusque in consiliis, ac linguis immodicus, pro cunctatore segnem, & cauto timidum, asingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat: premendorumque superiorum arte (quæ pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit) sese extollebat. Ib.

nearest

nearest to them; and by an artifice, which too often succeeds, raised his own reputation upon the ruin of that of his superior. And lastly, by intriguing and caballing with the people, he obtained that his own authority should be made equal with the dictator's, which till then had been unprecedented. But [o] Fabius, fully assured that the people, by making them equal in the command, did not put them upon an equality in the art of commanding, bore this injury with such moderation, as shewed that he could no more be conquered by his own countrymen than his enemies.

Minucius, in consequence of the equality of power betwixt him and Fabius, proposed to him that each should command their day, or even a longer space of time. But Fabius refused to comply with this condition, as it exposed the whole army to danger whilst it should be under the direction of Minucius, and chose rather to divide the troops, that he might be at least in a condition of preserving that part of them which fell to his share.

What Fabius had foreseen soon came to pass. His colleague, eager and impatient for the battle, fell directly into the snare which Hannibal had laid for him, and his army was upon the point of being cut to pieces. [p] The dictator, without losing time in useless reproaches, "Come, says he to his soldiers, let us march to the assistance of Minucius, wrest the victory out of the hands of our enemies, and oblige our citizens to an acknowledgment of their mistake." He arrived very opportunely, and forced Hannibal to sound a retreat, [q] who cried out as he was retiring, "That the cloud which had hung so long upon the tops of the mountains, had burst at

[o] Satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi æquatam, cum invicto à civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 26.

[p] Aliud jurgandi succensendique tempus erit; nunc signa extravallum proferre. Victoriæ hosti

extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civibus. Liv. lib. xxiii. n. 29.

[q] Annibalem ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quæ sedere in jugis montium solita sit, cum procellâ imbrem dedisse. Ib. n. 30.

“ last with a mighty noise, and occasioned a terrible storm.”

So important a service, and in such a conjuncture, opened the eyes of Minucius, and brought him to a confession of his fault. To make instant reparation, he went immediately with his army to Fabius’s tent, and, calling him his father and deliverer, told him he was come to put himself under his command again, [r] and to make void a decree, which was more burdensome than honourable to him. The soldiers did the same, and nothing was to be seen on both sides but mutual embraces, and the most lively expressions of thankfulness and gratitude; and [s] the rest of the day, which was very near proving so fatal to the republic, was spent in diversions and rejoicings.

The BATTLE of CANNÆ.

The most famous action of Hannibal, and which in all probability must have ruined for ever the power of Rome, was the battle of Cannæ. [t] L. Æmilius Paulus, and C. Terentius Varro, were appointed consuls at Rome. This last, [u] though of a base and mean extraction, had found means to obtain the consulship, through the great wealth his father had left him, and his artifice in gaining the favour of the people by declaring openly against the great men, without any other merit than that of an unlimited ambition, and an equal opinion of his own ability. He loudly exclaimed, “ That the only way to perpetuate the war, was to place such as Fabius at the head of the army; that for his part, he could put an end to it the very first day he saw the enemy.” His colleague, who was very sensible that [x] rashness, besides the unreasonableness of it, had hitherto been always

[r] Plebiscitum, quo oneratus magis quàm honoratus sum, primus antiquo abrogoque. Liv. lib. xxiii. n. 30.

[s] Lætusque dies, ex admodum tristi paulò antè ac propè execrabili, factus est. Ib.

[t] Liv. lib. xxii. n. 34—53.

[u] His father is said to have been a butcher.

[x] Temeritatem, præterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 38.

very unsuccessful, was in a quite different way of thinking. Fabius, upon his departure for the campaign, confirmed him still farther in these sentiments, and often repeated to him, that the only way to conquer Hannibal was to watch occasions, and spin out the war to the utmost. “ But, [y] said he, your coun-
 “ trymen will take pains to make this method imprac-
 “ ticable to you, even more than your enemies.
 “ Your soldiers will in this conspire with the Cartha-
 “ ginians; Varro and Hannibal will think alike upon
 “ this subject. Your only way will be to stand un-
 “ moved against the shock of popular rumours and
 “ reports, and not be diverted from your resolution
 “ by the false glory of your colleague, or the false in-
 “ famy which they will industriously throw upon you.
 “ Instead of a cautious, vigilant, and able general,
 “ let them represent you as cowardly, indolent, and
 “ ignorant. I would rather have you dreaded by a
 “ wise enemy, than applauded by foolish citizens.”

[z] It was customary among the Romans, in time of war, to raise every year four legions, each of which consisted of four thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The allies, that is to say the people bordering upon the territories of Rome, supplied a like number of foot, with double, and sometimes triple the number of horse. And these troops were usually divided between the two consuls, who made war separately, and in different countries. But as this was an affair of the last importance, the two consuls marched together, the number both of the Roman and Latin forces

[y] Hæc una salutis via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives sibi * magis quam hostes faciunt. Idem enim tui, quod hostium milites, volent; idem Varro consul Romanus, quod Annibal Pœnus imperator, cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet. Resistes autem, adversus famam rumoresque

hominum, si satis firmus steteris: si te neque collegæ vana gloria, neque tua falsa infamia moverit. . . Sine timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, † imbellem, pro perito belli vocent. Malo te sapiens hostis metuat, quam stulti cives laudent. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 39.

[z] Polyb. lib. iii. p. 257.

* I think it should be read tibi.

† Imbellis must here signify rudis in bello, imperitus belli.

was doubled, and every legion augmented with an addition of a thousand foot, and an hundred horse.

The strength of Hannibal's army lay in his horse, for which reason L. Paulus declined engaging in the open plain. Besides, the Carthaginians were in great distress for want of provisions, and could not possibly subsist ten days in the country, so that the Spanish troops were upon the point of disbanding. The armies continued some days in view of each other, till at last, after different motions, Varro, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his colleague, came to an engagement near the little village of Cannæ. The ground was very favourable to the Carthaginians; and Hannibal, who knew how to improve every circumstance, drew up his army in such a manner, that the wind [*a*] Vulturnus, which rose at a certain regular time, blew directly upon the faces of the Romans during the battle, and poured a shower of dust upon them. The battle was fought. I shall not relate the particulars of it; the curious reader may find them in Polybius and Livy, and especially in the former, who, being himself a soldier, must have succeeded better than the other, in relating all the circumstances of so memorable an action. The victory was long disputed, and at last became complete on the side of the Carthaginians. The consul L. Paulus was mortally wounded, and above fifty thousand men left dead in the field, and amongst them the best part of the officers. Varro, the other consul, escaped to Venusia, with no more than seventy horsemen.

Maharbal, one of the Carthaginian generals, advised Hannibal to march directly to Rome, without losing time, promising him that within five days he should sup in the capitol. And upon the other's reply, that he must take time to consider of that: "I see, [*b*] says Maharbal, the gods have not given the same man all talents at once. You know how to conquer, Hannibal; not how to improve the

[*a*] It is a wind blowing from the south, which way the Romans were turned.

[*b*] Tum Maharbal, non omnia

nimirum eidem dii dedere. Vincere scis, Annibal; victoriâ uti nescis. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 51.

“ victory.” [c] And indeed many are of opinion, that Rome and the empire were both saved by that delay.

It is easy to comprehend how great the consternation was at Rome, upon the news of this bloody defeat. However they did not lose courage. After having implored the assistance of the gods by public prayers and sacrifices, the magistrates, encouraged by the prudent counsels and firm resolution of Fabius, made all proper dispositions, and provided for the security of the city. They immediately raised four legions, and a thousand horse, and granted a dispensation of age to several that were not quite seventeen years old. The allies also raised new levies. Ten Roman officers, that were dismissed by Hannibal upon their *parole*, came to Rome to require a ransom for the prisoners. But though the republic was in great distress for soldiers, they constantly refused to redeem them, that they might not injure the Roman discipline, which punished without pity whoever voluntarily submitted to the enemy; and they chose rather to arm the slaves they bought of private persons, to the number of eight thousand, and the prisoners confined for debt or crimes, which amounted to six thousand more; [d] the necessary taking place of the decent, says the historian, in this sad conjuncture.

At Rome, the zeal of particular persons, and regard for the public, shone out at this time in a wonderful manner. But the case was not the same with the allies. The preceding losses had not been able to shake their fidelity; but this last stroke, which, as they thought, must determine the ruin of the republic, they could not withstand, and several of them went over to the conqueror's side. And yet neither the loss of so many troops, nor the revolt of so many of their allies, could induce the Roman people to give any ear to an accommodation. [e] Instead of losing courage,

[c] Mora ejus diei satis creditur salutis fuisse urbi atque imperio. Ib.

[d] Ad ultimum prope desperatæ reipublicæ auxilium, cum honesta

utilibus cedunt, descendit. Liv. lib. xxiii. n. 14.

[e] Adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut consuli ex tanta clade, cuius

rage, they never shewed so great magnanimity; and when the consul returned to Rome, after so considerable an overthrow, whereof he had been the principal cause, all the orders of the state went out to meet him, and returned him thanks for not having despaired of the republic; whereas at Carthage, no punishment would have been great enough for a general after such a disgrace.

Capua was one of the allied cities, which surrendered to Hannibal: but the stay he made there with his troops during the winter, proved very fatal to him. [f] That manly courage, which no misfortunes, no fatigues, had been able to subdue, was entirely enervated by the pleasures of Capua, which the soldiers ran into with the greater gust from being the less accustomed to them. This fault of Hannibal, in the opinion of good judges, was greater than the mistake in not marching directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ. For the delay might seem only to have retarded the victory, whereas this last circumstance absolutely lost him the power of conquering. † Thus Capua was to Hannibal what Cannæ had been to the Romans.

Scipio chosen General, restores the Affairs of SPAIN.

The death of the two Scipio's, the father and uncle of him I am about to speak of, seemed likely to ruin entirely the Roman affairs in Spain, which hitherto had been very successful. It is a question, whether it occasioned greater mourning at Rome, or in Spain. For the defeat of the two armies, the almost certain loss

jus ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunt, & obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit, & gratiæ actæ quod de republicâ non desperasset; cui, si ductor Carthaginensium fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 61.

[f] Quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immodicæ: & eò impensius, quo avidius ex insolentia in eas se mer-

ferant. . . Majusque id peccatum ducis apud peritos artium militarium habitum est, quàm quòd non ex Cannensi acie protinus ad urbem Romanam duxisset. Illa enim cunctatio distulisse modò victoriam videri potuit; hic error vires admissæ ad vincendum. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 18.

† Capuam Annibali Cannas fuisset. Ib. n. 45.

of so considerable a province, and the view of the public ills, made up a part of the citizens grief; [g] whilst Spain regretted and lamented their generals, and Cn. Scipio in particular, who had governed them long, and was the first who taught them, and made them relish the Roman justice and moderation.

[b] Tears flowed afresh at Rome, when they met to appoint a successor to those two great men. The affairs of that province appeared so desperate, that no body presumed to offer himself as a candidate for the place; and the mournful silence, which reigned in the whole assembly, made them more sensibly regret the loss they had sustained. In this universal consternation, Publius Corn. Scipio, a youth of four and twenty, the son of Publius who was lately slain, rises up, and, standing in an higher place than the rest, offers to go and command in Spain, if the people would accept of his service. This courageous offer gives life and joy to the assembly, and all without exception unanimously elect him general. But as soon as the first heat was over, and the people reflected upon Scipio's age, they began to repent of what they had done. Some even drew a scornful presage from his name and family, when they considered that they sent him into a province, where he was to fight over the graves of his father and uncle. Scipio perceiving they grew cool, made a speech to them so full of confidence, and spoke with so much discretion of his own age, and the honour they had done him, as also of the war that he undertook, that he at once entirely dispersed the people's fears, and rekindled the ardour, with which they had conferred the command upon him. The same Scipio some years before having demanded the edileship before the time expressed by the laws, and the tribunes for that reason opposing his demand, " [i] if the peo-

[g] Hispaniæ ipsos lugebant desiderabantque duces: Cnæum tamen magis, quò diutius præfuerat eis, priorque & favorem occupaverat, & specimen justitiæ temperantiæque Romanæ primus dederat.

Liv. lib. xxv. n. 36.

[b] Lib. xxvi. n. 18, 19.

[i] Si me, inquit, omnes Quirites Ædilem facere volunt, satis anorum habeo. Lib. xxv. n. 2.

“ ple, says he, unanimously think proper to chuse me
 “ edile, I am then old enough.”

Scipio's arrival in Spain inspired the troops with fresh courage. [k] They discerned with joy the lines and resemblance of his father and uncle in his countenance; and in the first speech he made them, he told them, that he hoped they would soon likewise discern in him the same spirit, the same courage, and the same integrity.

His promises were not without effect. His first enterprize was the siege of Carthagena, the richest, and at the same time the strongest city in Spain. It was the repository of the enemies arms, their arsenal, magazine, treasury, and place of security, where they laid up whatever was necessary for the subsistence of their armies, and where all the hostages of princes and people were also detained. Thus the conquest of this city alone would in a manner make him the master of all Spain. This important and difficult expedition, which till then had been looked upon as impossible, cost him only one day. [l] The booty was immense; insomuch that Carthagena itself was regarded as the least part of the acquisition. Scipio began by returning thanks to the gods, not only for having made him master of the most opulent city in the country in one day, but for having before amassed in it the strength and riches of almost all Africa and of all Spain. He then made his acknowledgments to the troops, and loaded them with praises, rewards and honours, according to their condition and merit.

[m] Then causing the prisoners to be brought before him, he spoke very obligingly to them, and

[k] Brevi faciam, ut quemadmodum nunc noscitis in me patris patrique similitudinem oris vultusque, & lineamenta corporis; ita ingenii, fidei, virtutisque exemplum expressum ad effigiem vobis reddam. Lib. xxvi. n. 3.

[l] Ut minimum omnium, inter tantas opes belli captas, Carthago

ipsa fuerat. Ib. n. 47.

[m] Scipio, vocatis obsidibus, universos bonum animum habere iussit: venisse eos in populi Romani potestatem, qui beneficio quam metu obligare homines malit; exterarumque gentes fide ac societate iunctas habere, quam tritti subjectas servitio. Ib. n. 49.

comforted them, by representing to them, “ That
 “ they were fallen into the hands of the Roman peo-
 “ ple, who chose rather to gain the affections of man-
 “ kind by benevolence and justice, than subject them
 “ by fear, and to bind nations to them by the ho-
 “ nourable title of friends and allies, than reduce them
 “ to the sad and shameful condition of slaves.”

It was on this occasion, that a lady, venerable for her age and birth, the wife of Mandonius, brother to Indibilis king of the Iltergetæ, came and threw herself at Scipio’s feet, with several young princesses, daughters of Indibilis, and others of the same quality, and besought him to order his guards to take a particular care of them. Scipio, who did not at first understand her meaning, answered that they should want for nothing. The lady then resuming her discourse, “ That,
 “ [n] says she, is not our present concern; for, in the
 “ condition to which our fortune has reduced us, with
 “ what ought we not to be contented? I am under an
 “ uneasiness of a very different kind, when I consider
 “ the youth and beauty of these captives; for, as for
 “ my own part, my age secures me against all apprehensions of fear and danger;” and at the same time she pointed to the young princesses, who all revered her as their mother. “ My own honour, and the glory
 “ of the Roman people, [o] replied Scipio, would
 “ engage me to take care, that what the whole world
 “ respects should be regarded amongst us: but you
 “ give me new reason to be particularly careful in that
 “ point, from the virtuous attention I observe in you
 “ to preserve only your honour amidst so many other
 “ subjects of fear.” After this discourse he committed them to the care of an officer of approved wis-

[n] Haud magni ista facimus, inquit; quid enim huic fortunæ non satis est? Alia me cura ætatem harum intuentem, (nam ipsa jam extra periculum injuriæ muliebris sum) stimulat. Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 49.

[o] Tum Scipio: Mææ popu-

lique Romani disciplinæ causâ facerem, inquit, ne quid, quod sanctum usquam esset, apud nos violaretur. Nunc, ut id curem impensius, vestra quæque virtus dignitasque facit, quæ ne in malis quidem oblitæ decoris matronalis estis.

Ibid.

dom, and ordered him to treat them with as much respect as if they were the friends or allies of the Romans.

After this they brought him a princess of exquisite beauty, who was betrothed to Allucius prince of the Celtiberians. He immediately sent for her parents, and the person designed for her husband, and told the latter, that his bride had been kept in his house with the same decency as she could have been in her father's: "And I have used her thus, [p] adds he, that I might be able to make you a present worthy of you and of me. Neither do I ask you any other acknowledgment for it, except that you become the friend of the Roman people. If you think me the man of probity that these nations have experienced my father and my uncle to have been, be assured, that there are many others like us in Rome, and that there is no people this day upon earth, whose friendship you ought more carefully to desire for you and yours, or whose enmity you ought more to stand in dread of." As the parents of the lady pressed Scipio to accept of a considerable sum which they had brought for her ransom, and had laid all that gold and silver at his feet, "This sum, says he to Allucius, I add to the portion you was to receive from your father-in-law;" and obliged him to take it. As soon as the prince was returned into his own country, he proclaimed the great virtues of Scipio wherever he went, [q] saying, "that a young man resembling the gods was come into Spain, conquering all before him by force of arms, and still more by kindness and civility;" and soon after, raising a body of troops

[p] Fuit sponsa tua apud me eadem, qua apud soceros tuos parentelque suos, verecundiâ. Servata tibi est, ut inviolatum & dignum me teque dari tibi donum possit. Hanc mercedem unam pro eo munere pacifcor; amicus populo Romano sis; & si me virum bonum credis esse, quales patrem patruumque meorum jam antè hæ gentes nô-

runt, scias multos nostri similes in civitate Romanâ esse; nec ullum in terris populum hodie dici posse, quem minus tibi hostem tuisque esse velis, aut amicum malis. Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 50.

[q] Venisse diis simillimum juvenem, vincentem omnia cum armis, tum benignitate ac beneficiis. lb.

among

among his vassals, he returned to join him with fifteen hundred horse.

Scipio, having spent the winter in gaining the affections of the people, partly by making them presents, and partly by sending back their hostages and prisoners, took the field as early as the season would admit. The two princes we have mentioned, Indibilis and Mandonius, joined him with their troops, [r] and declaring, that their persons only had hitherto remained with the enemy, but their inclination had been where they knew that virtue and justice were had in honour; they surrendered to him, and put themselves under his protection. Their wives and children were then brought out to them, and the excess of joy on both sides not allowing them to speak for a long while, was only expressed by tears and embraces.

Asdrubal, terrified with the rapid successes of the Roman army, thought the only means of putting a stop to them was by coming to a battle. This was what Scipio wanted, and had well prepared for. Accordingly they came to an engagement. The Carthaginians were beaten, and left above eight thousand men upon the field. Asdrubal fled towards the Pyrenæan mountains, in order to join his brother Hannibal in Italy. [s] It was after this victory of Scipio's, that the people, charmed with his valour and moderation, would have given him the title of king. Scipio told them, that this name, which was so much revered by all other nations, was held in detestation by the Romans. That for his part, he was satisfied with having royal inclinations; that if they considered them as what did most honour to man, they might content themselves with ascribing them to him in secret, without giving him the name they were called by. These people, although Barbarians, were thoroughly convinced of his greatness of soul, in despising

[r] Itaque corpus duntaxat suum ad id tempus apud eos (Carthaginienses) fuisse; animum jampridem

ibi esse, ubi jus ac fas crederet coli. Liv. lib. xxvii. n. 17.

[s] Ib. n. 19.

a character which was the admiration and envy of the rest of mankind.

Scipio dispatched his brother to Rome, with the news of his having conquered Spain. But he carried his views much farther, and considered this conquest only as a prelude and preparation for that of all Africa.

[*t*] Scipio's valour was not his only virtue; he had wonderful address in conciliating esteem, and bringing over others into his views by the arts of insinuation, as he shewed in his famous interview with Syphax king of Numidia, in which [*u*] Asdrubal was present, who owned, that though he had formed to himself an idea of the military virtues of Scipio, he appeared to him still greater and more admirable in this conference, than he had ever done before.

SCIPIO returns to ROME, is chosen CONSUL, and prepares for the CONQUEST of AFRICA.

[*x*] The fame of Scipio's victories and great virtues had got before him to Rome, and inclined all men in his favour. As soon as he arrived there, he was chosen consul by general consent, and had the province of Sicily assigned him. This lay directly in his road to Africa, and he made no scruple to own that his views and designs tended thither.

Fabius Maximus, either through an excess of circumspection, which was suitable enough to his character, or through mere jealousy, employed all his interest and eloquence in the senate to oppose him, and alledged several, in appearance, very strong reasons against him. Scipio refuted them all, and concluded the dispute by declaring that he would submit to the judgment of the senate; upon which it was decreed that he should have Sicily for his province, with leave to pass into Africa, if he thought it for the good of the republic.

[*t*] Liv. lib. xxviii. n. 18.

nibal's brother.

[*u*] This Asdrubal was not Han-

[*x*] Liv. lib. xxviii. n. 33-46.

He lost no time, and immediately set out for Sicily, [y] still keeping in view his design of carrying the war into the enemy's country. Lælius was gone into Africa with some troops, and it was rumoured that Scipio himself was arrived there with his army. Carthage trembled, and thought herself lost. She was soon undeceived, but however the Carthaginians dispatched couriers to the generals in Italy, with orders to use their utmost endeavours to oblige Scipio to be recalled. Masinissa, who had entered into alliance with the Romans, and was very powerful in Africa, made warm instances to him to come thither, and even reproached him for having so long disappointed the expectation of his allies. Scipio did not stand in need of such remonstrances. He instantly made preparations for the war, and hastened his departure with all possible expedition.

[z] Scipio's enemies, in the mean while, had spread a report at Rome, that he spent his time at Syracuse in luxury and pleasures; that the garrison of the city after his example, wallowed in debauchery, and that licentiousness and riot reigned throughout the whole army. Fabius giving credit to these reports, broke out into violent invectives against Scipio, and advised that he should immediately be recalled. The senate acted with more wisdom and moderation, and first resolved to be satisfied of the truth of the fact. They appointed commissioners, who, when they came upon the spot, found all things in wonderful order, the troops perfectly well disciplined, the magazines furnished with provisions, the arsenals stocked with arms and clothes, the galleys extremely well equipped, and ready to set sail. This spectacle filled them with joy and admiration. They concluded, that if Carthage could be conquered, it must be by such a general and such an army; and they pressed Scipio, in the name of the senate, from whom they had received their or-

[y] Nihil parvum, sed Carthaginis jam excidia agitabat animo. Lib. xxix. n. 1.
[z] Ib. n. 19—25.

ders, to hasten his departure, and gratify the expectation of the public as soon as possible.

[a] Accordingly he set forward, and the Sicilians ran in troops to be witnesses of his departure. Scipio, who had already acquired such reputation by his victories, and, in the opinion of the people, was destined to still greater events, drew upon him the eyes and attention of all mankind. They principally admired the boldness of the scheme, which only he was capable of forming, and had never entered into the head of any other general, of reducing Hannibal to quit Italy by an expedition against Carthage, of carrying the war into Africa itself, and ending it there. Scipio, first offering prayers and libations to the gods at the stern of his ship, set sail with the acclamations, vows, and benedictions of the whole people.

[b] The passage was short and favourable, and as soon as Scipio saw the coast of Africa, lifting up his eyes and hands towards heaven, he besought the gods to favour his enterprise. The report of his landing threw the whole coast into consternation, and terrified even Carthage itself.

Scipio first ravaged all the plain country, and then made himself master of a very opulent city in Africa, where he took eight thousand prisoners. But what gave him the greatest satisfaction, was the arrival of Masinissa, a very brave prince, who joined him with a considerable body of horse.

[c] The Carthaginians presently sent Asdrubal against him, with an army of above thirty thousand men; but their great dependence was upon Syphax, who actually came up very soon after, with fifty thousand foot and ten thousand horse. His arrival obliged Scipio to raise the siege of Utica, a maritime city, which he had begun to attack.

[d] When the winter was over, Scipio resumed the siege, Asdrubal was encamped very near him, and Syphax lay not far off. The last offered some conditions

[a] Liv. lib. xxix. n. 26, 27.

[b] Ib. n. 28.

[c] Ib. n. 35.

[d] Lib. xxx. p. 3—17.

of peace, of which the principal were, that the Romans should quit Africa, and Hannibal return from Italy. Nothing in reality could be more opposite to the views and designs of Scipio; but he seemed to give ear to those proposals, and designedly protracted the negotiation, by raising every day some fresh difficulty. In the several interviews between the parties, he had disguised some experienced officers in the habit of slaves, with orders, when they came to the enemy, to examine carefully all that was to be seen of the two camps, their extent, the distance between them, and the materials which the soldiers barracks were built with, and withal to take notice of the discipline observed among them, with the orders of their guard by day, and their watch by night. When he was fully informed of all he wanted to know, he broke off the truce, under pretence that his council advised him to make peace only with Syphax; and to remove all suspicion from the enemy, he made shew as if he intended to attack Utica by sea. When he judged it time to execute his enterprize, he ordered Lælius and Masinissa to set fire to the camp of Syphax, whilst he himself did the same to that of Asdrubal. As night came on, they marched out with their fires. The measures which Scipio had taken, were so just, that his design succeeded beyond his expectation. The two powerful armies of the enemy were destroyed by fire and sword, and scarce three thousand escaped, out of the fifty thousand and upwards of which they consisted. Those who attempted to pass from one camp to the other, as judging that they alone had been surprised, fell into an ambuscade, which he had laid in the midst of the space that divided the two camps. The spoils were immense. Several cities presently surrendered to him of their own accord; and a second victory, gained over the same generals, and the new army they had raised with great difficulty, made Scipio absolutely master of the whole country. Lælius and Masinissa pursued Syphax to his capital, besieged him there, and took him prisoner. It was then the famous story

story of Sophonisba fell out. Syphax was carried to Rome, and as soon as the people there heard the news of so complete a victory, they presently ran into all the temples to return thanks to the gods.

[e] Hannibal at the same time received orders from Carthage, which obliged him to depart immediately. The face of affairs was much changed in Italy. He had received several blows, which had weakened him extremely. He had the mortification to see Capua taken by the Romans almost before his eyes; nor could his march towards Rome divert them from the siege. He drew near the city without any effect, and then let fall this expression, [f] “ That the gods “ sometimes took from him the inclination, and some- “ time the power of taking Rome.” But what was most grievous to him, he learned, that at the same time he lay before the gates of the city, a body of recruits was dispatched from thence for Spain. But the finishing stroke to his misfortunes, was the entire defeat of his brother Asdrubal’s army, of which he was informed by the head of that general being thrown into his camp. He was therefore obliged to retire to the extremities of Italy, where he [g] received his orders from Carthage, which he could not bear without breaking out into bitter sighs and tears, foaming with indignation to see himself thus forced to abandon his prey. No exile ever expressed a greater concern for quitting his own, than Hannibal did for quitting his enemy’s country: he often turned his eyes towards the coasts of Italy, complaining both of the gods and men, and pronounced a thousand execrations against himself, for not leading his soldiers directly to Rome,

[e] Liv. lib. xxx. n. 20.

[f] Audita vox Annibalis fertur, potiundæ sibi urbis Romæ modò mentem non dari, modò fortunam. Lib. xxvi. n. 11.

[g] Frendens, gemensque, ac vix lacrymis temperans, dicitur legatorum verba audisse. . . . Rarò quemquam alium, patriam exilii

causâ relinquentem, magis moestum abiisse ferunt, quàm Annibalem hostium terrâ excedentem. Respexisse sæpe Italiæ littora, Deos hominesque accusantem, in se quoque ac suum ipsius caput execratum, QUOD NON CRUENTUM AB CAN- NENSI VICTORIA MILITEM ROMAM DUXISSET. Lib. xxx. n. 20.

whilst they were fresh reeking with Roman blood after the battle of Cannæ.

[*b*] When he arrived in Africa, he proposed an interview with Scipio. The time and place were agreed on. These two generals, who were not only the most illustrious of their time, but might deservedly be paralleled with the greatest princes and most famous commanders that ever were, stood silent for some time, as astonished at the sight of each other, and taken up with mutual admiration. At last Hannibal broke silence, and, commending Scipio in a very artful manner, laid before him a very lively description of the disorders of war, and the ills it had brought both upon the conquerors and the conquered. He exhorted him not to be dazzled with the splendor of his victories; that though hitherto he had been successful, he ought to apprehend the inconstancy of fortune; that without going far for examples, he himself, who was now speaking to him, was a flagrant proof of it; that Scipio was then what Hannibal had been at Thrasimene and Cannæ; that he ought to make a better use of the opportunity than he had done himself, by making peace at a time when he was master of the conditions. He concluded with declaring, that the Carthaginians were ready to give up Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, to the Romans, with all the islands that lay between Africa and Italy; that they could now resolve, since the gods would have it so, to confine themselves within the limits of Africa, whilst they saw the Romans masters of so many foreign kingdoms, both by sea and land.

[*i*] Scipio answered in fewer words, but with no less dignity. He reproached the Carthaginians with their perfidiousness in plundering certain Roman galleys before the truce was expired. He imputed all the ills of the two wars to them only and their injustice. And then thanking Hannibal for his advice in regard to the uncertainty of human events, he concluded by bidding him prepare for the battle, unless he chose

[*b*] Liv. lib. xxx. n. 29, 30.

[*i*] Ib. n. 33.

rather

rather to accept of the conditions he had already offered, to which he made some addition by way of punishment for the breach of the truce.

[*k*] The generals then each of them encouraged their troops. Hannibal enumerated the victories he had gained over the Romans, the generals he had slain, and the armies he had cut to pieces. Scipio represented the conquest of Spain, their success in Africa, and the confession the enemies made of their own weakness, by demanding a peace. [*l*] And all this he said with the air and tone of a conqueror. No armies had ever more powerful motives to distinguish themselves in the field. This day was to give the finishing stroke to the glory of the one or the other of the generals, [*m*] and decide whether Rome or Carthage should give laws to mankind.

[*n*] I do not undertake to describe the order of battle, nor the valour of the two armies. It is easy to imagine, that two such experienced officers omitted nothing that might contribute to the victory. After a very obstinate engagement, the Carthaginians were at last obliged to give way, leaving twenty thousand of their men upon the field of battle, a like number being taken prisoners by the Romans. Hannibal escaped during the tumult, and, returning to Carthage, after six and thirty years absence, he owned himself conquered beyond remedy, and that Carthage had no other part to take, but to sue for peace upon any conditions. Scipio gave him great commendations, and declared that Hannibal had exceeded himself in that day's conduct, though his success had not been answerable to his valour.

[*o*] For his part, he knew how to make the best of his victory and the consternation of his enemies. He ordered one of his lieutenants to march with his army to Carthage by land, whilst he conducted the fleet in

[*k*] Liv. lib. xxx. n. 32.

[*l*] Celsus hæc corpore, vultu- que ita læto, ut vicisse jam crederes, dicebat. Ib.

[*m*] Roma an Carthago jura

gentibus darent, ante crastinam noctem scituros. Ib.

[*n*] Ib. n. 34, 35.

[*o*] Ib. n. 36—38.

person to its walls. When he was not far off, he was met by a vessel covered over with ribbands and olive branches, with ten embassadors in it, of the most considerable persons in Carthage, that were coming to implore his mercy. He sent them back without any answer, only ordered them to attend upon him at Tuneta, where he should stop. The Carthaginian deputies, to the number of thirty, came to wait upon Scipio at the place appointed, and asked peace of him in very submissive terms. He called his council together, and advised with them what step he should take. The major part were of opinion that he should destroy Carthage, and treat the inhabitants with the utmost severity. But the consideration of the time that the siege of so well fortified a city would take up, and Scipio's apprehension of having a successor appointed him during the siege, made him incline to clemency. He granted them a truce, and allowed them time to send deputies to Rome.

[p] The deputies being arrived there, and laying open the occasion of their coming, the senate and people gave Scipio full powers to act as he thought best, with permission to bring back his army after the conclusion of the treaty. The peace was accordingly concluded at last. The Carthaginians gave up to Scipio above five hundred vessels, which he caused to be burnt within sight of Carthage. A mournful spectacle for the inhabitants of that unfortunate city. He then caused such of the Latin allies to be beheaded, and of the Roman citizens to be hanged, as had gone over to the enemy, and were now delivered up.

[q] Thus ended the second Punic war, which had lasted full seventeen years. Scipio returned to Rome through infinite crowds of various nations, whom curiosity to see him on his passage had drawn together; and the most magnificent triumph was decreed for him, that had ever been seen at Rome. Nothing was wanting to it but the presence of king Syphax, who died at Tivoli some days before. The surname

[p] Liv. lib. xxx. n. 40-42.

[q] Ib. n. 45.

of Africanus was then given him; but whether by the army, or by the people, or by his friends, and those of his own family, is uncertain. This however is sure, that he was the first to whom the honour of taking the name of a conquered nation was granted.

The WAR against PHILIP king of MACEDON.

This war began immediately upon the conclusion of that with Carthage, and lasted only four years. The second Punic war was the occasion and cause of this. [g] Philip, as is usual with politic princes, who regulate their conduct by their interests, and pay a greater regard to advantage than to equity in their undertakings, seeing two such powerful states at variance, as the Carthaginians and Romans, had waited for the decision of fortune before he declared himself on either side, as being fully resolved to join with the strongest. His interest was the more concerned in this war, as Italy lay near his dominions, which were divided from it only by the Ionian sea. Three considerable victories gained by Hannibal, one after another, made him judge that the war would end in his favour, and determined him to embrace his party. [r] He therefore sent embassadors to him, but by good fortune they were taken by the Romans, upon their return home, with letters from Hannibal to Philip upon them, and carried to Rome. This happened soon after the news of the bloody defeat at Cannæ. [s] The senate was sensible that their dangers must considerably increase by the addition of the Macedonian war to that of Carthage. However, instead of being discour-

[g] In hanc dimicationem duorum opulentissimorum in terris populorum omnes reges, gentesque animos intenderant; inter quos Philippus Macedonum rex. . . Is, utrius populi mallet victoriam esse, incertis adhuc viribus, fluctuatus animo fuerat. Posteaquam tertia jam pugna, tertia victoria cum Pœnis erat, ad fortunam inclinavit, legatosque ad Annibalem misit. Liv.

l. xxiii. n. 33.

[r] Ib. n. 33, 34, 38, 39.

[s] Gravis cura Patres incessit, cernentes quanta vix tolerantibus Punicum bellum Macedonici belli moles instaret. Cui tamen adeo non succubuêrunt ut extemplo ageretur quemadmodum ultrò inferendo bello averterent ab Italiâ hostem. Ib. n. 38.

raged by such an apprehension, the Romans turned their thoughts wholly upon the proper means of carrying the war into Macedonia, that they might thereby hinder Philip from passing into Italy. The taking of the embassadors gave them time for it. Philip was under a necessity of sending others, who at last returned to him with the treaty they had concluded with Hannibal. [t] Polybius has preserved it entire, and it well deserves to be read. There is mention made in it of all the gods of both parties, under whose inspection this treaty was made; and it is particularly expressed, that Hannibal expected an happy conclusion of the war from the assistance of the gods.

The Romans did not fail to send a fleet against Philip, which took off his inclination for passing into Italy, by obliging him to think of defending his own country. This prince, during the Punic war, had employed his time in making expeditions into Greece, where, under pretence of supporting the Achæans against their enemies the Ætolians, he made himself master of several considerable cities.

[u] As soon as peace had been concluded with the Carthaginians at Rome, the first thing that fell under their deliberation was the affair with Philip. The complaints of the Athenians, who implored the assistance of the Romans, occasioned it; and it was decreed that war should be declared against Philip. [x] The Romans, who were always attentive to matters of religion, especially in the entrance upon new wars, omitted nothing which was usually practised, and ordered public prayers and sacrifices to be offered up in all the temples of the gods.

The consul appointed to march into Macedonia set forward in the beginning of the spring. I shall not give here a particular account of all that passed during the course of the war. Peace was several times proposed, and several interviews had, but all to no pur-

[t] Polyb. lib. vii. p. 502.

[u] Liv. lib. xxxi. n. 1, &c.

[x] Civitas religiosa, in princi-

piis maximè novorum bellorum, decrevit supplicationes, &c. Ib. n. 9.

pose. [y] At last the battle of Cynocephalus decided the fate of Philip. The pro-consul T. Quintius Flaminius commanded the Roman army. The Macedonians were conquered, and the king obliged to fly. His first care in that moment of trouble and confusion was to send to Larissa to burn all his papers, lest they should prove prejudicial to his friends and allies, in case they fell into the hands of the Romans; and [z] Polybius takes notice of this particular, as a proof of this prince's wisdom and prudence in adversity; whereas before, his prosperity having filled him with vanity and pride, had changed the discretion and moderation of his conduct in the beginning of his reign into violence and tyranny.

[a] Philip then turned his thoughts towards peace in earnest. He found Flaminius very much disposed to it; as it was then certainly known that Antiochus king of Syria intended to pass into Europe, and declare war against the Romans. The conditions were the same with those which had been already offered, and among the rest, that all the Grecian cities, both in Europe and Asia, should enjoy their liberty, and that Philip should recall the garrisons he had placed in them. The treaty was confirmed at Rome, where his son Demetrius, whom he had sent an hostage thither, continued for several years after this great affair had been concluded, and contracted a particular friendship with the Romans.

[b] The courier, who carried the ratification of the treaty, arrived very opportunely in Greece, at the time they were upon the point of celebrating the solemn games at Corinth. The natural curiosity of the Greeks for such spectacles as these, and the convenient situation of the place, as it might be approached by sea on both sides, made the assembly always very numerous. But the impatience of knowing what was to be the fate of all Greece for the future, had drawn thither at that time an incredible concourse of people. When

[y] Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 7—10.

[z] Lib. xvii. p. 767.

[a] Lib. xxxiii. n. 11, &c.

[b] Ib. n. 30—32.

the Romans had taken their seat upon the day appointed, the herald advanced into the midst of the amphitheatre, and after silence imposed upon the whole assembly by the sound of a trumpet, he pronounced the following words, with a loud voice. THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND T. QUINTIUS THE GENERAL, HAVING CONQUERED KING PHILIP AND THE MACEDONIANS, DECREE, THAT THE PEOPLE OF GREECE SHALL HENCEFORWARD LIVE UNDER THEIR OWN LAWS, FREE AND EXEMPT FROM ALL SLAVERY. And at the same time read over a list of all the people that had been brought under subjection by Philip. Such agreeable and unexpected news seemed rather a dream than a reality. They could neither believe their eyes nor their ears, and every one wanted to see and hear the herald again, that they might be fully assured of their happiness. When the matter was ascertained, [c] there arose such joyful acclamations, and so frequently repeated, that it evidently appeared there was no blessing which so nearly affects mankind as liberty. The plays were performed in great hurry, nobody concerning themselves any more about them, nor giving the least attention to them; to such a degree had one single joy extinguished in their minds the sense of every other pleasure. When the plays were ended, they all ran, almost universally, in a body to the Roman general, every one striving to draw near their deliverer, to pay him their compliments, to kiss his hand, and present him with crowns and garlands of flowers, insomuch that his health would have been endangered, if the vigour of his age (for he was scarce then three and thirty years old) and the joy of so glorious a day, had not supported him, and enabled him to undergo the fatigue.

[c] Ut faciliè appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratias, quam libertatem, esse. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum est, ut nullius nec animi nec oculi spec-

taculo intenti essent; adeo unum gaudium præoccupaverat omnium aliarum sensum voluptatum. Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 32.

The War against ANTIOCHUS king of SYRIA.

[*e*] The Romans, who had hitherto prudently dissembled their discontent, and shut their eyes to several enterprizes of Antiochus, that they might not have at once two powerful enemies upon their hands, as soon as they saw themselves freed from the war with the Macedonians, began to open their minds more freely to him, and let him know, that he must quit the cities of Asia, which had [*f*] belonged to Philip or Ptolemy; that he must suffer the Grecian towns to enjoy their liberty; and that he must no longer attempt to enter Europe, or bring an army thither.

[*g*] This prince, of his own disposition sufficiently inclined to war, was farther induced to it by the earnest solicitations of the Ætolians, [*b*] and the advice of Hannibal, who had retired into his dominions, ever since the Romans, who were informed of his carrying on private intrigues and intelligence with the king of Syria, had, against the opinion of Scipio, required the Carthaginians to deliver up that implacable enemy of Rome, who could not suffer peace, and would infallibly cause the ruin of his country. [*i*] Antiochus publicly declared himself at last, marched his troops into Greece, and took several cities.

[*k*] The Romans then, who had long been in expectation of this event, declared war against him in form, having first consulted the gods upon the success of the enterprize, and implored their assistance by public prayers and sacrifices.

Hannibal advised, in a general council held upon this occasion, that Antiochus should immediately fit out his fleet, and land a body of troops in Italy, which he offered to command in person, whilst the king should remain in Greece with his army, always making a shew of intending to pass thither, and being constantly in actual readiness to do so, when it should be

[*e*] Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 44, 45.

[*f*] Lib. xxxiv. n. 58.

[*g*] Ib. n. 60, &c.

[*b*] Lib. xxxv. n. 19.

[*i*] Ib. n. 42.

[*k*] Lib. xxxvi. n. 1, &c.

convenient. This advice was neglected, as likewise all the counsels he afterwards gave; and whether it was through mistrust or jealousy, and an apprehension lest a stranger should have the whole glory of the enterprise, he made no use of Hannibal, who might have been of more use to him than all his armies.

Besides, this prince, prematurely puffed up by the first success of his arms, and forgetting at once the two great projects he had formed, of making war against the Romans, and delivering Greece, [1] suffered himself to be carried away by a passion he had entertained for a young woman at Chalcis, passed the winter quarter in that city, in celebrating his nuptials with great feasts and rejoicings, and by that means enervated the strength and courage of his troops.

The following campaign shewed the effects of it. His troops, emasculated by luxury and pleasure, were not able to stand before the Romans, but were beaten upon several occasions. The king himself flying from city to city, and country to country, and always briskly pursued, was at last obliged to return into Asia. And his fleet had no better success by sea.

[m] The next year Lucius Cornelius Scipio, and C. Lælius were chosen consuls. Scipio Africanus offered to serve as lieutenant under his brother, in case they would assign Greece to him, without disposing of the provinces by lot, according to custom. This proposal was joyfully received by the people, who were fully persuaded that the victorious Scipio would be of greater service to the consul and the Roman army, than the conquered Hannibal to Antiochus. His request was therefore granted by an almost universal consent, and five thousand old soldiers who had served under him, followed him as volunteers.

The effect answered their expectation. The consul prepared to carry the war into Asia. [n] But it was first necessary to be assured of Philip's dispositions, through whose country the army was to pass. They

[1] Liv. lib. xxxvi. n. 11.

[2] Ib. n. 7.

[m] Lib. xxxvii. n. 1, 4.

found him in a very good disposition. He supplied the troops with all necessary refreshments, and took particular care to treat the generals and officers with a royal magnificence. He accompanied them not only into Macedonia, but into Thrace, and as far as the Hellespont.

[*o*] Antiochus took a great deal of pains to draw over Prusias king of Bithynia to his interest, by making him apprehensive that Scipio's conquests might hereafter be dangerous to himself; [*p*] and represented to him that the design of the Romans was to destroy all the kingdoms of the earth, and establish an universal empire. The letters of the two Scipios, which were given into his hand at the same time, and the arrival of the Roman ambassador, who came very opportunely, whilst he was in suspense, made a greater impression upon him than the reasons and promises of Antiochus. He saw plainly, that an alliance with the Romans was the most secure and useful step he could take, and concluded it immediately.

[*q*] The several shocks that Antiochus had received both by sea and land, made him seriously incline to peace. [*r*] The magnanimity of Scipio Africanus, his moderation after his victories in Spain and Africa, the high degree of glory to which he had attained, and with which he had reason to be satisfied, made him hope that by his means the negotiation might be carried on with the greater facility. Besides, he had this general's son in his hands, who probably had been taken prisoner in some engagement, and offered to give him back to his father without a ransom, if the peace were concluded. The Romans, who never abated any thing in the conditions they had once proposed, kept close to those they had offered the king at the

[*o*] Liv. lib. xxxvii. n. 25.

[*p*] Venire eos ad omnia regna tollenda, ut nullum ulquam orbis terrarum nisi Romanum imperium esset. Ib.

[*q*] Ib. n. 34—36.

[*r*] In Scipione Africano maxi-

nam spem habebat; præterquam quòd & magnitudo animi, & fatietas gloriæ placibilem cum maximè faciebat: notumque erat gentibus qui victor ille in Hispaniâ, qui deinde in Africâ fuisset. Ib. n. 34.

beginning of the war; and thus the negotiation proved ineffectual. Scipio, in return to Antiochus's civility, sent him word, that, as a father and a private man, he would omit no opportunity of expressing his gratitude; but as a person employed by the public, and a commanding officer, he must expect nothing from him; and lastly, the sole counsel he could give him as a friend, was to renounce the war, and refuse none of the conditions of peace that were offered him.

[s] The Romans marched several days. The king was encamped at Thyatira, and learning that Scipio Africanus was left sick at Elea, he sent back his son to him. [t] The joy of once more seeing a son whom he tenderly loved, made no less impression on the body than the mind of the father. After he had long held him in his embraces, and satisfied his affection: "Go, says he, to the deputies, assure the king of my gratitude, and tell him, that for his present I can give him no other mark of it, than by advising him not to fight till my return to the camp."

[u] In the mean time, the consul was daily advancing, and at last came up with the army of Antiochus. The king kept several days in his camp, not caring to hazard a battle. The winter was approaching, and the consul apprehensive lest the victory should escape out of his hands. Seeing therefore his troops full of ardour, he led them against the enemy. The battle was long and obstinate, but the victory at last turned entirely on the side of the Romans. The king lost that day fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, without reckoning the prisoners; he retreated in disorder with the few troops which were left him, first to Sardis, and then to Apamea. This victory was followed by the surrender of the strongest cities of Asia.

[x] Deputies soon after arrived from Antiochus, with orders to accept of such conditions of peace, as

[s] Liv. lib. xxxvii. n. 37.

lubre gaudium fuit. Ib. n. 37.

[t] Non solum animo patrio gratum munus, sed corpori quoque sa-

[u] Lib. xxxviii. n. 38-44.

[x] Ib. n. 45.

the Romans should please to lay upon him. These were the same as had been offered from the beginning, that the king should give up all that he possessed in Europe, with all the cities he had in Asia on this side mount Taurus, which should henceforward be the boundary of his kingdom; that he should pay the Roman people fifteen thousand Euboic talents, for the expences of the war, and four thousand to king Eumenes; but first of all, that he should give up Hannibal, without which the Romans would hearken to no proposals. This treaty was confirmed at Rome. [y] The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucius Scipio, and he took the surname of Asiaticus.

The END and DEATH of SCIPIO.

[z] Though Scipio had shewed so much integrity and disinterestedness in the war with Antiochus, he was notwithstanding accused of having held intelligence with that prince. Some time after his return to Rome, the two Petillii, tribunes of the people, brought an accusation against him upon this score. They said that Antiochus had sent him back his son without a ransom, and made court to him as to one who decided every thing at Rome in respect to peace and war: that in the province, he rather behaved with the authority of a dictator, than the submission of a lieutenant: that his motive in going to the war, was to persuade Greece, Asia, and all the people of the east, that one man alone was the prop and support of the empire, which he had before made known to Spain, Gaul, Sicily, and Africa. [a] That Rome, the mistress of the world, owed its glory and security to Scipio: that a single word of his mouth had more authority than the decrees of the senate or the orders of the people: and lastly, finding no particular of his

[y] Liv. lib. xxxviii n. 53.

[z] Ib. n. 50—53.

[a] Unum hominem caput columenque Romani Imperii esse; sub umbrâ Scipionis civitatem dominam

orbis terrarum latere; nutus ejus pro decretis patrum, pro populi justis esse. Infamiâ intactum, invidiâ, qua possunt, argent. Ib. n. 51.

life that was capable of reproach, they endeavoured to make his power odious.

Scipio, without saying a single word to the points on which he was accused, made so sublime a discourse upon the great enterprizes he had happily put an end to, that all the world agreed there never was a more pompous encomium given, or a more just one. [b] For he reported those actions, with the same elevation of mind, and the same greatness of soul, that he had shewed in doing them. Nor was any one offended at hearing him commend himself, as his speaking in that manner arose from a necessity of defending himself, and not a desire of extolling. The whole time was spent in debates, and, night coming on, the judgment was deferred to another day.

When that day came, Scipio appeared with a number of clients and friends, and, after silence proclaimed, “ It was on the same day with this, says he to the tribunes, that I conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians near Carthage. As therefore it is not reasonable to spend it in debate and contest, I shall go directly to the capitol, and give thanks for this victory, to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, and all the gods who inhabit there. Attend me in this duty of religion and gratitude, as many of you as have leisure, and pray the gods to give you commanders like me; if it be true, that from the time of my being seventeen years old, in proportion as you have conferred honours upon me, exceeding my years, I have also endeavoured to anticipate your suffrages by my services.” Having spoke thus, he went straight to the capitol, whither the whole assembly followed him, to the very officers of the tribunes, who saw themselves deserted by all mankind except their slaves. This was the most glorious day in Scipio’s life, and, in point of real grandeur, had something more splendid and memorable in it, than that whereon

[b] Dicebantur enim ab eodem quia pro periculo, non in gloriam, animo ingenioque, à quo gesta referebantur. Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 50. erant: & aurium fastidium aberat,

he entered Rome triumphant over Syphax and the Carthaginians.

From that day, which may be looked upon as the last of so glorious a life, he retired to Liternum to avoid the jealousy and malignity of his accusers, with a resolution not to be present at the trial of his cause, which had been put off. [c] He had too high a spirit, and had hitherto supported too great a character in the republic, to be able to descend to the form of a trial.

When the day of trial was come, his brother Scipio laid the cause of his absence upon a troublesome illness, which would not permit of a journey to Rome. His accusers, laying hold of his retirement to render him still more odious to the people, required that he should be taken by force from his country-house, and brought to Rome against his inclination, to answer to the accusations he stood charged with. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, one of the tribunes of the people, who had ever been the enemy of Scipio, not being able to endure that he should be treated with such indignity, declared in his favour, and, full of resentment against his colleagues: “What, tribunes, says he, shall this
 “conqueror of Spain and Africa be trod on by you?
 “Has he defeated four Carthaginian generals, cut to
 “pieces and put to flight four great armies in Spain,
 “conquered Syphax, Hannibal, and Antiochus (for
 “his brother is willing to divide the honour of this
 “last victory with him) only to fall by the hatred and
 “envy of the two Petillii? [d] Are then no merits,
 “no honours, sufficient to procure a safe retreat, a
 “sacred and inviolable asylum for great men, where
 “their old age, if it cannot command respect, may
 “at least be protected from insult and outrage.” This discourse was received with general applause, and

[c] Major animus & fortuna erat, ac majori fortunæ assuetus, quàm ut reus esse sciret, & summittere se in humilitatem causam dicentium. Liv. lib. xxxviii. n. 52.

[d] Nullis ne meritis suis, nullis

vestris honoribus, unquam in arcem tutam, & velut sanctam, clari viri pervenient; ubi, si non venerabilis, inviolata saltem senectus eorum confidat? Ib. n. 53.

the senate soon after returned their thanks to Sempromius, for preferring the public interest to his private resentment. His accusers, not being able to bear the reproaches made them on all sides, desisted from their prosecution.

Scipio past the rest of his life at Liternum, without so much as desiring to see Rome any more, and caused a tomb to be erected there for him, that he might not be buried in an ungrateful country.

The DEATH of HANNIBAL.

Hannibal not thinking himself any longer secure in the dominions of Antiochus, retired to Prusias king of Bithynia. [e] But the Romans did not suffer him to rest there, but sent Quintius Flaminius to that king, to complain of the refuge he gave him. It was by no means difficult for Hannibal to guess at the cause of this embassy, but he did not expect that he should be delivered into the hands of his enemies. He instantly attempted to escape by flight, but perceived that the seven private passages he had made to his palace, were all seized by the soldiers of Prusias, who designed to make his court to the Romans by betraying his guest. He then caused poison to be brought him, which he had long kept by him to make use of upon occasion, and, holding it in his hands: “ Let
 “ us deliver, says he, the Roman people from an un-
 “ easiness which so long torments them, since they have
 “ not patience to wait for an old man’s death. The
 “ victory which Flaminius gains over a man disarmed
 “ and betrayed, will not be much for his honour.
 “ This day alone shews how much the Romans are
 “ degenerated. Their fathers advised Pyrrhus to
 “ guard against a traitor, who designed to poison him
 “ at the very time that prince was making war upon
 “ them in the heart of Italy. And now they have
 “ sent a person of consular dignity, to engage Prusias
 “ to put his friend and host to death, and commit an

[e] Liv. lib. xxxix. n. 51.

“ abominable

“abominable crime.” And then, uttering imprecations against Prusias, and calling upon the gods, who were the guardians and avengers of the sacred rites of hospitality, to punish him, he drank up the poison, and died.

Such was the end of the two greatest men of their age, who both fell by the jealousy of their enemies, and experienced the ingratitude of their country.

The WAR against PERSEUS the last KING of MACEDON.

Perseus had succeeded his father Philip in the kingdom of Macedon, and twenty years were now passed since the peace made with Antiochus.

[*f*] The Romans, having long dissembled several causes of discontent they had against Perseus, resolved at last to make war upon him, unless he gave them satisfaction. [*g*] This prince had neither honour nor religion, and made no scruple to employ calumny, murder and poison, for the attainment of his ends. Blinded and corrupted by the flatteries of his courtiers, he thought himself a great soldier, and capable of subduing the Romans. For which reason he answered their deputies with such haughtiness and pride, as obliged them to declare war against him upon the spot. Some small successes in his first campaign served only to make him the more adventurous. [*b*] However, he followed the counsel which was given him, which was to make the best use of the advantage he had gained in a battle, in order to obtain more favourable conditions of peace, rather than to hazard all upon an uncertain hope. He therefore made the [*i*] consul very advantageous offers. [*k*] In the council of war, which was held upon this occasion, the Roman

[*f*] Liv. lib. xlii. n. 25—31.

[*g*] Hunc per omnia clandestina grassari scelera latrociniorum ac veneficiorum cernebant. Ib. n. 18.

[*b*] Ausi sunt quidam amicorum consilium dare, ut secundâ fortunâ in conditiones honestæ pacis uteretur, potius quàm spe vanâ errec-

tus in casum irrevocabilem se daret. Ib. n. 62.

[*i*] Publius Licinius Crassus.

[*k*] Romana constantia vicit in concilio. Ita tum mos erat, inadversus vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in secundis. Liv. lib. xlii. n. 62.

constancy prevailed. The character of the nation in those times was to shew great courage and magnanimity under misfortunes, whilst they valued themselves upon their moderation in prosperity. The answer therefore to the king was, that he had no peace to expect, but by submitting entirely to the discretion of the Roman people, and leaving the decision of his fate to them. All hope of accommodation being at an end, both sides prepared for continuing the war. [l] The new consul entered Macedonia, and marched to attack the king in his own country. However, as the affair was of much longer duration than had been expected, the Romans grew very uneasy.

[m] Paulus Æmilius being chosen consul, and the war against Perseus committed to his care, they conceived better hopes, and he put himself into a condition not to deceive them. Before his departure, he thought proper to make a speech to the people, wherein he besought them not to give credit to any flying reports, that should be rumoured against his conduct. That there was a kind of idle unexperienced men, who could make war in their closets at their ease, and if their views and schemes were not followed, were apt to censure the general in public companies, and pass sentence upon him. That he did not refuse to receive advice, but it must be from persons that were upon the spot.

[n] When he arrived in Macedonia, and drew near the enemy, the troops, full of ardour, desired to charge them immediately; and a young officer of great merit, named Nasica, pressed him to lay hold of the opportunity, and not let an enemy escape, whose flights and precipitate retreats had given so much exercise to his predecessors. He commended the warmth of the young officer and the soldiers, but did not comply with their desire. The march had been long and painful, in a very hot summer's day, and the army extremely fatigued with dust, drought, weariness, and the

[l] Liv. lib. xliv. n. 1, &c.

[n] Ib. n. 36.

[m] Ib. n. 17—22.

excessive heat of the sun. He therefore did not judge it convenient to engage his troops in a battle, fatigued and exhausted as they were, against an enemy, who, being fresh and lying still, were in full force.

[o] Some days after they came to a battle. Paulus Æmilius shewed all the wisdom and courage that were to be expected from so experienced a commander. The long and obstinate resistance of the enemy, shewed they had not entirely degenerated from their ancient reputation. The great shock lay against the Macedonian phalanx, which was a kind of square battalion thick set with pikes and lances, and which it was almost impossible to break through; they were so accustomed to join all their bucklers together, and present a kind of iron wall to the enemy. Paulus Æmilius owned afterwards, that this brazen rampart, that forest of pikes, had filled him with dread and astonishment; and though he put a good countenance upon it, he could not at first help feeling some doubts and uneasiness upon the success of the battle. In short, all his first line being cut to pieces, the second was discouraged, and began likewise to give way. The consul, perceiving that the inequality of ground obliged the phalanx to leave openings and intervals, divided his troops into platoons, and ordered them to throw themselves into the void places of the enemies battle, and not attack them all together in front, but by detachments, and at different places at the same time. This order, timely given; gained the victory. The phalanx, thus separated and disjointed, were no longer able to sustain the efforts of the Romans. What followed was bloodshed and slaughter, and it is thought there fell that day above twenty-five thousand men on the side of the Macedonians.

[p] Perseus withdrew before the battle begun; after some vain efforts, he suffered himself to be taken prisoner, and surrendered to the conqueror; and this he did in so base and cowardly a manner, as drew upon him the contempt of all that saw it, instead of ex-

[o] Liv. lib. xlv. n. 37—42. Plut. in vit. Pauli. [A] Lib. xlv. n. 48.
citing

citing their compassion, as might have been expected in such a condition. [q] He was carried to Rome, with his children, and served to adorn the triumph of Paulus Æmilius.

C H A P. II.

R E F L E C T I O N S.

I Question whether the reader, when he sees me touching upon war and politics, will not be tempted to apply to me what Hannibal said upon a like occasion. It was at the time when he retired to Antiochus at Ephesus, [r] where every body striving to entertain him agreeably, it was one day proposed to him to hear a philosopher called Phormio, who made a great noise in the city, and passed for a fine speaker. He was so complaisant as to go where he was desired. The philosopher spoke upon the duties of a general of an army, and the rules of the military art, and made a very long discourse. The whole audience were charmed with his eloquence, and Hannibal was asked what he thought of it. His answer, which he gave in Greek, was ill expressed in point of language, but full of a soldier-like liberty. “ I have seen, says he, many
“ old men that wanted sense and judgment; but of all
“ the old men that ever I saw, this is the most sense-
“ less and injudicious.” How extravagant indeed must it have been in a philosopher, who had never seen either camp or army, to attempt to entertain Hannibal, with precepts concerning the art of war? I should deserve a like reproach, and perhaps more justly too, if the reflections I make were my own. But as I select almost every one of them from the most learned men of antiquity, who were some of them very skilful and experienced in the art of war, I think myself very secure under the shadow of their great names.

My reflections shall turn upon two points. I shall first endeavour to point out the character, the virtues, and, as occasion offers, the faults also of those who

[q] Liv. lib. xlv. n. 40. Plut. in vit. Pauli. [r] Cic. lib. ii. de orat. n. 75, 76.

have had the greatest share in the events I have spoke of, such as Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio, Paulus Æmilius, Antiochus, Philip and Perseus. I shall then endeavour to explain the principles of the government and policy of the Romans, especially in what relates to the manner of their conduct in the time of war, with reference to their citizens, their allies, and their enemies. And for all this, I cannot have a better authority, nor a surer guide, than Polybius, who was an eye-witness of part of the events here treated, was familiarly acquainted with the great men who were the principal actors in them, studied the character and constitution of the Roman people with a great deal of care, and served as a guide and master to Livy, whose reflections I shall likewise make great use of.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

The different QUALIFICATIONS of the Persons spoke of in this third PORTION of ROMAN HISTORY.

WE here plainly see, that neither wealth, illustrious extraction, nor even the majesty of a throne, make men truly valuable; and that, how gorgeous and dazzling soever all this vain splendor may be, it is entirely obscured and effaced by real merit and solid virtue. What an idea does the history we have related leave us of the princes it speaks of?

ANTIOCHUS *King of SYRIA.*

Without dwelling upon the other faults of this prince, a single circumstance may lead us into a judgment of his character. [5] Livy says, that the first degree of merit in a man who commands, is to be able of himself to act what is proper; that the second

[5] Sæpe ego audivi milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit; secundum eum, qui bene monenti obediat; qui nec ipse consulere, nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse. Lib.

xxii. n. 29.

The same thought occurs in Hesiod, Op. & Di. v. 291. in Herodotus, lib. vii. and in Cic. pro Cluent. n. 84.

is, at least to know when to follow good counsel; but to be able to do neither the one nor the other, is the mark of a little mind, without design, reflection, or prudence. Upon this principle, what must we think of Antiochus? He had undertaken a war against the most powerful, warlike, and successful people in the world. Chance had brought Hannibal to his court, the greatest general mankind had ever seen. In his long war against the Romans, he had given proofs of his valour, prudence, and perfect skill in the art of war. To these great qualities he joined an inherent hatred of the Romans, and an earnest desire of revenging himself upon them. How serviceable must such a man have been to a prince of the least judgment?

Antiochus at first received Hannibal with great joy, and paid him all the honours due to a general of such high reputation. In the council of war, which he called, Hannibal persisted in the opinion he had always had, that the Romans could not be conquered except in Italy. He supported his opinion with unanswerable reasons, and offered his service to make a descent in Italy, whilst the king should continue in Greece to perplex the Romans with the apprehension of a powerful diversion. Antiochus did not disapprove this advice. [1] But it was represented to him, that he ought not to rely upon Hannibal; that he was an exile and a Carthaginian, whose fortune or genius might suggest to him a thousand different projects every day; that besides, the very reputation he had acquired in war, and which of course would follow him, was too great for a lieutenant; that the king ought to be the sole head and general; that all mens eyes and attention should be fixed only upon him; whereas, was Hannibal employed, that stranger alone would have all the glory of their good success.

This was enough to turn the head of Antiochus. It was taking him on his weak side. A mean jealousy, the sign and fault of little minds, stifled every other thought and reflection in him. He no longer set any

[1] Liv. lib. xxxv. n. 42.

value upon Hannibal, nor made any use of him. The event sufficiently avenged the latter, and shewed how unfortunate it is for a prince to lay open his heart to envy, and his ears to the poisonous discourse of flatterers.

PHILIP and PERSEUS *Kings of MACEDON.*

These princes, who sat upon the throne of Macedon, which had formerly been so illustrious, and succeeded to the dominions of the elder Philip, and Alexander, two of the greatest princes that ever were, wretchedly supported the glory of their predecessors, and shewed that there is a great difference between reigning and being really a king.

[u] Philip, according to Polybius, had all the qualifications necessary in forming a great prince, and executing great designs. To omit the advantages of his person, and an air of majesty natural to him, he had a lively and discerning spirit, capable of the greatest things, [x] a surprizing grace in his discourse, and a memory which let nothing escape him; a perfect knowledge in the art of war, with a courage and boldness that nothing could daunt. But all these fine qualities soon degenerated in him, and gave place to the most excessive vices, injustice, fraud, perfidiousness, cruelty, and irreligion, which, of the great prince he might have been, made him an insupportable tyrant to his subjects.

His son Perseus inherited only his faults, with the addition of one vice peculiar to himself, I mean a fordid and insatiable avarice. This passion, which is the basest, and the most unworthy of a prince, he carried to an incredible excess. He suffered all the great preparations, which had been made with so much care, for the support of the war against the Romans, to be

[u] Polyb. p. 329.

[x] It was, in all probability, this talent, that led him into a fault which is blameable indeed in private persons, but far more dangerous in princes, and altogether unbecoming

the dignity of a king; I mean the taking pleasure in raillery and jesting. *Erat dicacior naturâ, quam regem decet; & ne inter serâ quidem risu satis temperans.* Liv. lib. xxxii. n. 44.

lost and ruined for fear of drawing certain sums out of his coffers; and by that means overthrew the hopes the Macedonians had conceived from them. From the same motive, he sent back twenty thousand select troops, which he called in to his assistance, but could not resolve with himself to pay in the manner agreed on. He broke his word also with Gentius king of the Illyrians, and thought himself very dextrous in amusing him with the hopes of three hundred talents, which he refused to give him at last, though he might have hired with them all the forces of Illyria against the Romans. In which, as Plutarch observes, he did not shew himself the heir and imitator of Alexander the Great, or Philip, who by constantly practising this maxim, *That victory should be purchased with money, and not money with victory*, subdued almost all the world.

We know what was his end. He besought Paulus Æmilius not to make him a spectacle to the Romans, and spare him the disgrace of being led in triumph; *the favour he asks is in his own power*, replied the Roman, meaning that he had no more to do than kill himself; an action which, in the darkness of Paganism, was looked upon as the proof of a great soul. He could not resolve to do this, and therefore adorned the triumph of his conqueror, and became an object of contempt to all the spectators, who scarce condescended to cast their eyes upon him. All the compassion fell upon his children, who were the more deserving of pity, as their tender years did not allow them as yet to be fully sensible of their misfortune.

PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

This general was the son of the famous Paulus Æmilius, who fell in the battle of Cannæ. He lived in an age, says Plutarch, that abounded with great men, and took pains to be inferior to none of them. He did not strive, as the custom then was, to distinguish himself by his eloquence at the bar, or to gain the favour of the people by flattering condescensions, though

very capable of succeeding that way. He thought it his duty to proceed by a more honourable and worthy method to attain dignity; to recommend himself by his valour, justice, and a firm adherence to every branch of duty, wherein he exceeded all the young men of his time.

Being admitted into the college of the augurs, he thoroughly studied, and reformed the ancient practices of divine worship, upon a full persuasion, that nothing was more dangerous than innovation in matters of religion, and that negligence in small matters leads to the violation of the most important rules.

He was no less exact and severe in restoring the observance of all the old regulations of military discipline, shewing himself terrible and inexorable to all those who disobeyed him, and [y] holding it for a maxim, that to conquer his enemies, was a necessary consequence of carefully forming his citizens under a strict discipline.

A very long interval of time, which passed between his two consulships, gave him an opportunity of applying himself particularly to the education of his children. He put them under the care of the ablest masters in every kind, sparing in this point for no expence, though possessed but of a very moderate fortune. He assisted in all their exercises as much as the public affairs would give him leave, designing by this means to be himself their principal master, and leaving fathers (however engaged in business) this great example, of looking upon the education of their children as the most essential part of their duty, and for this reason not entirely to be trusted to the care and integrity of others.

The great theatre, whereon the merit of Paulus Æmilius was displayed in its full lustre, was Macedon. When obliged to accept of the consulship, he began by requiring that commissioners of ability and understanding should be dispatched thither, who should in-

[y] Μικρὰ δὲν πάρεργον ἡγάμεν τὸ μικρὸν τὰς πολέμους, τὸ παιδεύειν τὰς πολίτας. Plut.

form him from their own knowledge, of the situation of the Macedonian affairs, of the number and quality both of the Roman and the enemies troops by sea and land, of the state of the provisions, magazines and arsenals, of the disposition of the allies, in a word, of every thing that concerned the army, without [z] which it was impossible to take just measures. [a] It was one of the important instructions, which Cambyses king of Persia gave his son Cyrus, when he set out for his first campaign, never to engage in any enterprise, without being first secure of all means and helps that were requisite to make it succeed.

We have already observed, that Nasica very much pressed Paulus Æmilius to fall upon the enemy, as soon as he was arrived near the Macedonian camp, under an apprehension lest the enemy should escape from his pursuit. He was by no means offended at the liberty which this officer took in this remonstrance. It was a great principle with him, and he declared as much when he left Rome, that a commanding officer should hearken to advice more than any man. [b] “ I am far, said he to them, from thinking that generals should not receive advice ; on the other hand, I am persuaded there is more pride than wisdom in attempting to do every thing of one’s own head.” He therefore answered this young officer in a very obliging manner. [c] “ I have formerly, said he to him, thought as you think at present, and you also will one day think as I do now : experience has taught me when it is proper to engage, and when to decline fighting. You shall know at a proper time the reasons of my conduct ; at present rely upon your general.” It is a pleasure to me to quote such passages as these, as they seem very proper to teach young persons how to behave themselves, and particularly to avoid those airs of insolence and pride towards their inferiors, in which authority and great-

[z] Ex his bene cognitis certa in futurum consilia capi posse ratus. Liv. lib. xliv. n. 18.

[a] Xenophon, lib. i. Cyropæd.

[b] Liv. lib. xliv. n. 22.

[c] Ib. n. 36.

ness are often improperly made to consist, and also to receive the advice that is given them, with docility and politeness.

A man that has but little understanding, is full of his own opinions, and the more shallow his conception, the less docile he is. [d] He thinks that an attempt to give him advice, is reproaching him with the want of ability; and he takes offence, as if injured, from another's not seeming convinced, that as he is the highest in authority, he is also of the most discerning capacity. A man of a superior genius is in a quite different way of thinking. He knows that an expression of another sometimes gives a great insight into an affair. He is always ready to hear whatever is proposed, to set a just value upon all that is laid before him, and to compare it with his own reasons; and in this he makes a right understanding and judgment consist.

We may observe in the description of the battle which put an end to the Macedonian war, as [e] Polybius has done in several places, that wisdom and temper are the proper qualifications of a general, especially in the heat and fury of a battle; and that the victory does not depend upon the hundred thousand arms which make up an army, but upon the head of the general. Thus we see, in the battle we are speaking of, that the timely orders given by the general, to throw themselves into the vacant spaces of the Macedonian phalanx, and attack it only in small bodies, saved the Roman army, and gained the victory. It is to such passages as these, that Polybius would have a reader be principally attentive; and he rightly observes, that one of the surest means of obtaining perfection in the knowledge of the art of war, is to study the actions and genius of the great men who have made a figure in history.

The use which Paulus Æmilius made of his victory and leisure, is a great example to generals, governors

[d] Ne alienæ sententiæ indigens transibat. Tacit. annal. l. xv. c. 10.
videretur, in diversa ac deteriora [e] P. 36, 37.

of provinces, and all persons in authority, and teaches them how to make a proper use of their power, grandeur and command. He took that opportunity, says the historian, to visit Greece, and passing through the cities, placed his whole delight in relieving the people, reforming disorders, and diffusing his liberality wherever he went; an employment, adds the same historian, alike benevolent and glorious, and which could proceed only from a surprising fund of humanity; *Διαγωγὴν ἑδοξον αἶμα καὶ φιλόδηρον.*

Upon his return from Greece, he celebrated the public games, to which he invited the people and kings of Asia, and gave them a sumptuous entertainment, supplying that great expence abundantly out of the king's treasures, as Plutarch says, but deriving only from himself the good order observed in it. But what principally was admired, was his politeness, and agreeable and engaging manner of behaviour, his care to treat every one according to their rank, and to oblige all, who could scarce comprehend how it was possible for a man that was qualified for such great things, to make such a figure in small ones. But the most pleasing effect of his magnificence was to see, that amidst so many curiosities and spectacles that were capable of attracting their eyes, they found nothing so deserving their attention and admiration, as himself. It was upon this occasion, as they were commending with astonishment the elegant disposition of his entertainment and diversions, that he let fall these remarkable words, "That the same turn of mind suggested
" how to draw up an army in the field, and dispose
" an entertainment, so as to make the one formida-
" ble to the enemy, and the other agreeable to the
" guests."

What I have here related of the polite, noble, and insinuating behaviour of Paulus Æmilius, is highly glorious for a general, and contains a great lesson for all who govern. The language of favour and obliging manners is heard by all mankind; that of merit is not so universal. It is not possible to bestow benefits

upon all; his stock must be exhausted who is always giving: but goodness, humanity and justice, are perpetual and general benefits, whose source is never dry, and from which no person whatsoever is excluded. It is a great advantage to have an happy genius improved by study and reflection, a fruitful and inexhaustible variety of charms and graces for all sorts of men in every condition, and of every character. [f] To know how to apply them, to blend and diversify them, that every one may find something in them wherein himself is concerned; to dispense the common marks of goodness and affection to all, by carrying an agreeable [g] air in the countenance, which, by a kind of mute, but public eloquence, wins and charms whoever has to do with it; such gentle and popular behaviour, instead of being injurious to the dignity of great men, serves to exalt and render it more estimable. [b] *Comitate & alloquiis officia provocans, incorrupto ducis honore*, says Tacitus, speaking of the most amiable prince that ever was.

We cannot too often make youth read the beautiful discourses, which Livy and Plutarch put into the mouth of Paulus Æmilius, after his victory, which teach us how a prince should bear bad fortune, and what reflections we ought to make in great prosperity. I shall here give a part of them.

[i] Perseus, when he appeared for the first time before his conqueror, threw himself in an humble posture at his feet, and dropped several cowardly expressions, and unworthy supplications, which Paulus Æmilius could neither suffer nor hear, but looking upon him with a countenance full of sorrow and indignation: “Wretch that you are, says he to him, why do you
“acquit fortune of the greatest reproach you could
“throw upon her, or why justify her by such actions,
“as shew that you deserve your misfortunes, and

[f] Apud subjectos, apud proximos, apud collegas, variis illecebris potens; says Tacitus, speaking of Mucienus governor of Syria. Hist. lib. i. cap. 10.

[g] Vultu, qui maximè populos demeretur, amabilis. Sen. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 13.

[b] Tacit. hist. lib. v. cap. 1.

[i] Plut.

“ have been unworthy of your past prosperity? Why
 “ do you degrade my victory, and sully the glory of
 “ my actions, by shewing yourself so mean, that the
 “ Romans cannot but blush at their having such an
 “ adversary? Learn then, that virtue in misfortune
 “ attracts the respect of its enemies, and that mean-
 “ ness of spirit, how successful soever it may be, ac-
 “ quires only contempt from the Romans.” How-
 ever, he raised him up, and, giving him his hand, com-
 mitted him to the custody of Tubero.

He then returned to his tent with his sons, his sons-
 in-law, and some young officers of his army, where,
 after he had reflected some time, without speaking;
 at last breaking silence, “ Is it possible, says he, my
 “ children, that a man should be so far blinded by
 “ prosperity, as to swell with pride, and set a value
 “ upon himself for having conquered nations, ruined
 “ cities, and subdued kingdoms? Can we think, af-
 “ ter the great example that fortune has just given all
 “ soldiers, of the inconstancy of human affairs, that
 “ there is any thing permanent and solid in her
 “ greatest favours? At what time can we flatter our-
 “ selves that we are secure, since we have frequently
 “ the most to fear in the very moment of victory; and
 “ the fatal destiny which overthrows one to-day and
 “ another to-morrow, in the very height of joy, often
 “ prepares for us the severest disgraces? When a few
 “ minutes have sufficed to pull down the throne of
 “ Alexander, who had attained the highest degree of
 “ power, and subjected the greatest part of the world;
 “ and we now see his successors, who but a while ago
 “ were encompassed with formidable armies, reduced
 “ to the necessity of receiving their bread every day
 “ from the hands of their enemies; shall we presume
 “ to believe our good fortune constant and durable,
 “ and superior to the vicissitudes of the world? For
 “ you, my children, the uncertainty of what the gods
 “ prepare for us, and of the issue of a fortune that
 “ now smiles upon us, should moderate the excesses

“ of joy and insolence of heart, which are the natural
 “ consequences of victory.”

These last words were a kind of presage and prediction of the misfortunes which hung over his head. In short, of the four sons which Paulus Æmilius had, the two eldest by the first marriage, named Scipio and Fabius, were adopted into other families; and of the two others, which were the hopes of his, the one died four days before his triumph, and the other three days after it. There was no person whatever but was inwardly affected with so mournful an accident, and let fall some tears at the fate of the unhappy father. Paulus Æmilius alone, suppressing his grief, expressed a constancy which made him appear still greater than ever. He told the people, that terrified with reflecting upon such unheard-of success, and expecting some great reverse of fortune, he had besought the gods to let it rather fall upon his own family than upon the republic. “ Fortune, added he, by placing my triumph between the funerals of my two children, as though she meant to divert herself with human events, fills me indeed with trouble and sorrow, but ascertains a full security to my country, having emptied all her quiver upon me. She has taken a pleasure in exposing the conqueror and the conquered alike, as a spectacle to all mankind; with this difference however, that the conquered Perseus has still his children, the conqueror Paulus Æmilius none remaining. But the public happiness alleviates my grief for my domestic misfortunes.”

It is easy to judge how greatly such a citizen, so full of love and zeal for his country, was lamented after his death. It was then they knew how far he had carried the generous contempt he always expressed for riches, which might be called his prevailing virtue. This great man, who was descended from one of the noblest and most ancient families of Rome, descended of a house that had been honoured with the highest offices and employments; this conqueror of Macedon,

[k] who

[*k*] who by the immense spoils which he brought from thence, had long enriched the public [*l*] treasury, left no other wealth to his children, than the ancient and moderate patrimonial estate, which he had received from his ancestors, without having increased it, says Plutarch, so much as by a single drachma.

These were the sentiments of the ancient Romans; nor was this noble disinterestedness the virtue of Paulus Æmilius alone, but that of his whole family, and, I might add, of almost all the great men of his time. When he had made himself master of the prodigious treasures which Perseus had scraped together, all the present he gave his son-in-law Tubero, was a silver cup of five ounces weight. Plutarch observes, that this cup was the first piece of silver plate that came into the Ælian family, and it was necessary that virtue and honour should introduce it at last.

FABIUS MAXIMUS.

[*m*] Polybius admirably describes the character of Fabius in few words; when relating what he thought of him after the great action by which he saved Minucius his rival and enemy, he says, that the Romans then evidently saw how great an advantage the prudence of a general, and a firm well grounded judgment have over the rashness and senseless presumption of a mere soldier. What indeed is principally to be admired in Fabius, and properly constitutes the general, are a prudent foresight, profound reasoning, a plan pursued, a design formed, not rashly, but upon fixed and certain principles, *ερασηγικὴ πρόνοια, καὶ λογισμὸς νε- νεχής*; upon which quality [*n*] Polybius, in another place, makes the success of great actions to depend; *εἰάν (ὄν νῶ τις πράττῃ τὸ πρότερον*; and which Fabius him-

[*k*] Bis millies centies HS. ærario contulit. Vell. Paterc. Lib. i. cap. 9. This sum might amount to five and twenty millions of the French money.

[*l*] The people of Rome were

discharged from all taxes till the war between Anthony and Octavius. Plut.

[*m*] Pag. 225.

[*n*] Pag. 551.

self ſays, ought to be the prevailing virtue in a general, [o] *propediem effecturum, ut ſciant homines, bono imperatori haud magni fortunam momenti eſſe, mentem rationemque dominari.* “ We ought ſo to conduct ourſelves, as to ſhew men, that not fortune, but a ſound mind and underſtanding are the guides of a good general.”

To this firſt virtue Fabius added a ſecond, ſtill more peculiar to him, which was a firm adherence to the reſolution he had once taken upon good reaſons; a conſtancy which no future accident was capable of ſhaking, *λογιςμὸς ἐςῶς*. And Plutarch expreſſes himſelf almoſt in the ſame terms, by ſaying, that Fabius conſtantly perſiſted in his firſt deſigns and reſolutions, nor could any thing alter his ſteadineſs. Hannibal, who was a good judge of merit and military knowledge, ſoon did juſtice to Fabius, and began to fear, [p] ſays Livy, when he ſaw that the Romans had ſent a general againſt him, who made war not by accident, but by principle and rule; *qui bellum ratione non fortunâ gereret.*

To comprehend aright the prudence of Fabius, we muſt take a view of the condition of the two armies. Hannibal had twice beaten the Romans. His troops, full of ardour and courage, were eager for battle. They were in an enemy’s country, in want of money and proviſions, their numbers daily decreaſing, and all communication with Carthage cut off, ſo that they could have no ſupplies from thence. And thus their only refuge lay in victory. As for the Romans, the two preceding defeats had almoſt entirely diſcouraged them, and they were afraid to look the Carthaginians in the face. To lead them to battle in this diſpoſition, was in effect to carry them to ſlaughter. It was neceſſary by ſlight ſkirmiſhes to diſpel their fears gradually; to reſtore their courage; to fill them with confidence; and enable them to ſupport their ancient reputation. Beſides, they wanted for neither proviſions nor troops, and had ſupplies of every thing ready at

[o] Liv. lib. xxii. n. 25.

[p] Ib. n. 23.

the proper times. And this led Fabius to the wise resolution of not hazarding a battle; *ερασηγικη̄ προνοιᾱ κ̄ λογισμὸς νενεχῆς.*

But what steadiness of soul had he not occasion for in persevering constantly in this resolution! His enemies make a jest of him; his own officers and soldiers insult him; Rome in general declares against him, by making the general of his horse equal to him in authority, in an unprecedented manner. Yet all does not move him. He continues firm as fate. Those raileries, insults, and injurious treatment, are no arguments, nor make any alteration in the situation of affairs; and before he changes his plan, he must be convinced by reason; *λογισμὸς ἔσως.*

The success fully justified his conduct. The justice his citizens, and his very enemies afterwards paid him, was a sufficient recompence for all the reports they had vented against him. And by consenting to pass but a small time for a coward, he has deserved to be considered by all succeeding times, as the wisest and most prudent general that Rome ever produced.

Thus he made good the truth of what Livy says upon another occasion, that a seasonable contempt of glory is repaid with usury and advantage; [*q*] *Spretā in tempore gloria etiam cumulator redit.*

But what I think most admirable in Fabius, is the noble and generous manner of his behaviour towards a declared enemy, from whom he had received the most sensible affront: an action great indeed, as Plutarch observes, and wherein valour, prudence, and goodness were equally displayed. He might have let Minucius perish on the occasion in which his own rashness had engaged him, and have punished him by the hands of his enemies for the affront he had received from him. These would have been the sentiments of a little genius and a mean soul. Fabius flies to the assistance of his rival, and extricates him from his danger. Let us compare the glory which Fabius acquired by this action, the joy he felt in having saved the re-

[*q*] Liv. lib. ii. n. 47.

public, the pleasure of seeing his enemy at his feet, acknowledging his fault, and the whole army saluting him their deliverer and father, with the base and shameful satisfaction of a revengeful person, who sacrifices every thing, and even the public, to his resentment.

The conduct of Fabius towards Scipio does not appear so blameless and noble; and it is difficult to acquit his constant opposition to the design that young Roman had formed, of carrying the war into Africa, from all mixture of jealousy. There is reason to believe, says Plutarch, that he first opposed Scipio thro' an excess of prudence and precaution, as being alarmed at the danger to which he thought the republic was likely to be exposed; but that afterwards he too obstinately persisted in it, and went farther than he ought, instigated by an immoderate emulation to check the glory and greatness of a young general that gave him umbrage.

There are several reasons to believe, that Fabius in this dispute acted more from passion than reason. He had at first used his utmost endeavours to engage Craesus, the colleague of Scipio in the consulship, to insist upon his right of taking the provinces by lot, according to the custom; not voluntarily to give up to Scipio the command of the army in Sicily, and to be in readiness to pass himself into Africa, if it should be at last judged convenient. Not being able to succeed in this first attempt, he employed all his interest to prevent the funds necessary for the war from being assigned to Scipio; and when afterwards Scipio's enemies, whilst he was in Sicily, laid their complaints against him before the senate, Fabius, without any examination, very injuriously and extravagantly advised to recal him immediately, and deprive him of the command. These complaints however were found to have no foundation. And lastly, when Scipio was passing into Africa, and Rome rung of his glorious actions and victories, the language and conduct of Fabius was still the same, and he was not ashamed to demand that a successor might be sent him, and for

no other reason, says Plutarch, but this, *That it was dangerous to confide matters of such consequence to the fortune of a single man, and that it was difficult for one and the same general to be always alike successful.*

It cannot be denied but that Fabius was one of the greatest men that the Roman republic ever produced, but these instances of jealousy and envy against the infant glory of a young warrior of such hopes, are a blot in his reputation, and a sensible proof of what we have elsewhere advanced, that nothing is more rare, nor at the same time more heroic, than to behold unmoved, or even with joy, the glorious actions and good successes of such as are engaged in the same pursuits with ourselves. A much greater degree of virtue was necessary in Fabius to defend himself against being jealous of a merit that might eclipse his own, than was necessary in the case of Minucius, for behaving with moderation towards his rival, over whom he found he had every advantage in point of merit.

HANNIBAL and SCIPIO.

I have thought proper to join these two great men, and once more engage them in a war with each other, because as both of them had virtues which were very much alike, by thus viewing them in the same light, it will be more easy to come at the knowledge of their characters, and to judge which of the two deserves the preference. I do not attempt however to make an exact comparison between them, but only to set down the principal circumstances relating to both. In this parallel I shall examine their military, moral, and political virtues; that which forms the great general, and that which makes the honest man.

I. MILITARY VIRTUES.

I. EXTENT of MIND for forming and executing great DESIGNS.

I begin with this quality, because, properly speaking, it is that which makes great men, and has the largest

largest share in the success of affairs; it is what Polybius calls, as I have already observed, [r] *ὄν νῶν πρόττειν τὸ ποιεῖν*. It consists in having great views; in forming a plan at a distance; in proposing an end and design, which is never out of sight; in taking all the measures, and preparing all the means necessary to make it succeed; in knowing when to seize favourable occasions, which are always on the wing, and never return; introducing into this scheme even sudden and unforeseen accidents; in a word, in foreseeing all that may happen, and in watching every thing, without being embarrassed or disconcerted by any event. For, as the same [s] Polybius observes, the concurrence of all the wisest measures that can be concerted and executed, is scarce sufficient to make a design succeed; whereas the omission of one single circumstance, how slight soever it may appear, is often enough to prevent its success.

Such was the character of Hannibal and Scipio. Both formed great projects, bold and singular, of vast extent, long duration, capable of perplexing the strongest head, but alone salutary and decisive.

Hannibal discerned from the beginning of the war, that the only means of conquering the Romans was by attacking them in their own country. He disposed of every thing that was necessary at a distance, for the carrying on this great design. He foresaw every difficulty, and every obstacle. The passage of the Alps was no stop to his progress. So wise a commander, as [t] Polybius observes, would have been careful not to have engaged himself so far, if he had not been before assured that those mountains were not impracticable. The success answered his views; and we know with what rapidity he carried on his conquests, and how near Rome was brought to her destruction.

Scipio formed a design, which seemed no less bold, but met with better success; and this was to fall upon the Africans in Africa itself. How many obstacles seemed to oppose the pursuit of this project? Was it

[r] Polyb. pag. 551. [s] Pag. 552. [t] Pag. 201, 202.

not natural, said some, to defend his own country, before he attacked that of the enemy, and to secure peace in Italy, before the war was carried into Africa? What refuge would the empire have left, if the conqueror Hannibal should march against Rome? Would there then be time to recal the consul to their assistance? What would become of Scipio and his army, if he lost the battle? And what might not be apprehended from the Carthaginians and their allies, united together, and fighting for their liberties, in the fight of their wives, their children, and their country? These were the reflections of Fabius, which appeared very plausible, but did not stop Scipio; and the success of the enterprize shewed sufficiently with what wisdom it had been formed, and with what ability conducted: and it was visible, that in all the actions of this great man, there was nothing which arose from chance, but all was the effect of that solid reasoning and consummate prudence, which distinguish the conduct of the great captain from the casual successes of the mere soldier.

2. *Profound* SECRECY.

One of the most certain means to make an enterprize succeed, is secrecy; and [u] Polybius requires, that a general should be so impenetrable upon this article, that not only friendship and the most intimate familiarity should never be able to draw an indiscreet word from him, but that it should not be even possible for the most subtle curiosity to discover any thing of what he has in his mind, either in his countenance or his manner of behaviour.

The siege of Carthagera was the first enterprize of Scipio in Spain, and in a manner the first step to all his other conquests. He spoke of it only to Lælius, and intrusted him with it only, because it was absolutely necessary. It could be likeways only by silence and a profound secrecy, that another enterprize succeeded, of still greater importance, as it drew along

[u] Pag. 552.

with it the conquest of Africa, which was when Scipio burnt the two camps by night, and cut in pieces both the armies of the enemy.

The frequent successes which Hannibal had in laying ambuscades for the Romans, and thereby destroying so many generals with their best troops, in concealing his marches from them, in surprizing them by unforeseen attacks, in removing from one part of Italy to another, without finding any obstacle on the enemy's part, are a proof of the profound secrecy with which he concerted and executed all his enterprises. Subtlety, refined disguise, and stratagem, were his prevailing talents; and all this could only succeed by impenetrable secrecy.

3. *To know well the CHARACTER of the GENERALS against whom one is to engage.*

It is a great piece of skill, and an important part of the knowledge of war, to be thoroughly acquainted with the character of the generals who command the enemy's army, and to know how to take advantage of their faults. For, says Polybius, it is either the ignorance or negligence of commanders which makes the generality of enterprises miscarry. Hannibal possessed this science to perfection; and it may be truly said, that his continual attention to the genius of the Roman generals, was one of the principal causes which gained the battles of Trebia and Thrasimene. [x] He knew all that passed in the enemy's camp, as well as in his own. When Paulus and Varro were sent against him, he was soon informed of the different characters of those two commanders, and of their divisions, *dissimiles discordesque imperitare*; and he did not fail to make his advantage of the eagerness and impetuosity of Varro, by laying baits for his rashness, in suffering him to gain some slight advantages, which were followed by the famous overthrow at Cannæ.

[x] Omnia ei hostium haud secus
quàm sua, nota erant. Liv. lib.
xxii. n. 41.

Nec quicquam eorum, quæ apud
hostes agebantur, eum fallebat. Ib.
n. 28.

The information Scipio had of the want of discipline in the enemy's camps, inspired him with the thought of setting fire to them by night; the success of which enterprise was followed with the conquest of Africa. [y] *Hæc relata Scipioni spem fecerant castra hostium per occasionem incendendi.*

4. *To keep up an exact DISCIPLINE in the ARMY.*

Military discipline is in a manner the soul of the army, which connects and unites all the parts of it together, which puts them in motion, or keeps them at rest, as there is occasion, which points out and distributes to each their proper functions, and contains them all within the bounds of duty.

It is allowed, that our two generals excelled in this particular; but it must be owned that Hannibal's merit in this point, seems far superior to Scipio's. [z] Thus it has always been looked upon as a master-piece in the art of war, that Hannibal, during sixteen years war in a foreign land, at such a distance from his own country, with such various success, at the head of an army, made up, not of Carthaginians, but a confused body of several nations, who were neither united by customs, language, habits, arms, ceremonies, or sacrifices, and had even very different objects of worship; that Hannibal, I say, should have so united them together, that there never arose any sedition, either among themselves or against him, though provisions were frequently wanting, and their pay often delayed. How necessary was it for a strict discipline to be firmly established, and inviolably observed among the troops, to obtain this effect?

4. *To live after a plain, modest, frugal and laborious Manner.*

It is a very ill taste, and argues little elevation of mind, to make the grandeur of an officer or a general, consist in the magnificence of his equipage, furniture,

[y] Liv. lib. xxx. n. 3.

[z] Lib. xxviii. n. 12.

drefs, or table. How is it poffible for fuch trifles to become military virtues? What elfe do they require befides great riches? And are thofe riches always the rewards of merit, and the fruit of virtue? It is a fhame to reafon and good fenfe, it is a difgrace to fo warlike a people as we are, to copy the manners and customs of the Perfians, by introducing the luxury of cities into the camp and army. May not an officer or commander better employ the time, care and expence, which all this apparatus neceffarily draws along with it; and does he not owe them to his country? Commanders of old thought and acted in a very different manner.

Livy gives Hannibal an encomium which I am afraid feveral of our officers may have caufe to blufh at. “ There was no labour, fays he, fufficient to fatigue his body, or fink his fpirits. He fupported heat and cold equally. He eat and drank out of neceffity and want, and not out of pleafure. He had no fet hour of going to reft, but took that time for fleep which was unemployed in bufinefs; neither was it procured by filence, or the foftnefs of his couch. He often lay upon the ground, wrapt up in a foldier’s coat, amidft the centinels and guard.” He was diftinguifhed from his equals, not by a greater magnificence of drefs, but by better horfes and arms.

Polybius, after commending Scipio for the fhining virtues which were admired in him, fuch as his liberality, magnificence and greatnefs of foul, adds, that thofe who knew him thoroughly no lefs admired [a] his fober and frugal life, which enabled him to apply himfelf wholly to public bufinefs. He was not very nice about his apparel; it was manly and military, and very fuitable to his perfon, which was tall and majeftic. [b] *Præterquam fuapte natura multa majeftas inerat, adornabat promiffa cæfaris, habitusque corporis non cultus munditiis, fed virilis verè ac militaris.* What

[a] Ἀρχαίως, καὶ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ τῆ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσπίδι ἀσπίδι. Polyb. p. 577.

[b] Liv. lib. xxviii. n. 35.

[c] Seneca

[c] Seneca relates of the simplicity of his baths and his country-house, shews us what he was in the camp, and at the head of his troops.

It is by leading a sober and frugal life in this manner, that generals are enabled to discharge that part of their duty, which [d] Cambyfes so carefully recommends to his son Cyrus, as extremely proper to encourage the troops, and make them love their officers, and that is to set an example of labour to the soldiers, by supporting like them, and even more than them, cold, heat, and fatigue; wherein he [e] says, the difference will always be very great between the general and the soldier, as the labours of the last are attended only with pain, whereas the other, in being exposed a spectacle to the eyes of the whole army, gains by it both honour and glory, motives that very much take off from the weight of the fatigue, and render it lighter.

Scipio, however, was no enemy to discreet and well-tempered mirth. [f] Livy, speaking of the honourable reception king Philip gave him, when he passed with his brother through his dominions, in their march against Antiochus, observes that Scipio was very much pleased with it, and admired the graceful and insinuating manners with which the king of Macedon improved his entertainment; qualities, adds Livy, which this illustrious Roman, who was in other respects so great, very much esteemed, provided they did not degenerate into pomp and luxury.

[c] Senec. Epist. 86.

[d] Xenophon. in Cyrop. lib. 1.

[e] Itaque semper Africanus (*the second Scipio*) Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat; cuius imprimis laudabat illud, quod diceret, eisdem labores non esse æquè graves imperatori & militi, quod ipse honos laborem leviorum faceret imperatorum. Cic. lib. ii.

Tusc. Quæst. n. 62.

[f] Venientes regio apparatu accepit, & profecutus est rex. Multa in eo & dexteritas & humanitas visa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant; virum sicut ad cætera egregium, ita à comitate, quæ sine luxuriâ esset, non aversum. Lib. xxxvii. n. 7.

6. *To know equally how to employ FORCE and STRATAGEM.*

It is a just observation of Polybius, that in matters of war, finesse and stratagem are often more serviceable than open force and declared designs.

This was Hannibal's excellency. In all his actions, enterprises and battles, dexterity and cunning had ever the greatest share. [g] The manner in which he deceived the wisest and most considerate officer that was sent against him, by setting fire to the straw that was tied round the horns of two thousand oxen, to extricate himself from a false step he had taken, may suffice alone to shew how dextrous Hannibal was in the science of stratagems. [b] Scipio was no less acquainted with it; as we may learn from the circumstance of his setting fire to the two camps of the enemy in Africa.

7. *Never to hazard his PERSON without a necessity.*

[i] Polybius lays it down as an essential and capital maxim for a commanding officer, that he should never expose his person, when the action is not general and decisive, and that even then he should keep at as great a distance from danger as possible. He confirms his maxim by the contrary example of Marcellus, whose rash bravery, which ill suited a general of his age and experience, cost him his life, and had like to have ruined the republic. Upon this occasion he observes that Hannibal, who, without doubt, can never be suspected of fear, and too great a fondness for life, in all his battles was ever careful of the security of his person; and [k] he makes the same remark of Scipio, who, in the siege of Carthage, was obliged to act in person, and expose himself to danger, though he did it with the utmost prudence and circumspection.

[g] Liv. lib. xxii. n. 16, 17.

[b] Lib. xxx. n. 3-6.

[i] Pag. 603.

[k] Pag. 537.

Plutarch, in the comparison he draws between Pelopidas and Marcellus, says, that the wound or death of a general, should not be a bare accident, but a means contributing to success, and influencing the victory and safety of the army; *ὁ πάθος ἀλλὰ πράξις*. And he laments, that the two great men he was speaking of, should have sacrificed all their other virtues to their valour, in being lavish of their blood and lives without a necessity, in dying for themselves, and not for their country, to which generals are as accountable for their deaths, as for their lives.

8. ART *and* DEXTERITY.

It were necessary to be a professed soldier to point out, in the different engagements of Hannibal and Scipio, their ability, address, and presence of mind, their watchfulness to make an advantage of all the motions of the enemy, of all the sudden occasions offered by chance, of all the circumstances of time and place, and in a word, of all that might contribute to the victory. I am very sensible that a soldier must take a great deal of pleasure in reading the description in good authors, of those famous battles which have decided the fate of the universe, as well as the reputation of the great captains of antiquity; and that to study under such masters, and be able to improve, as well from their faults, as their good qualities, is a great means of attaining perfection in the art of war. But such reflections are beyond my power, and do not properly belong to me.

9. *To have the talent of* SPEAKING *and conciliating others to his purposes with* ADDRESS.

I place this quality amongst the military virtues, because a general should excel in every thing; and the tongue, no less than the head and hand, is often a necessary instrument for the discharging his duty as he ought. It is one of the things which Hannibal

admired most in Pyrrhus. [l] *Artem etiam conciliandi sibi homines miram habuisse.* And he makes this talent equal to the perfect knowledge in the art of war, by which Pyrrhus was most distinguished.

To judge of our two generals by their speeches, as historians have preserved them, they both excelled in the talent of speaking. But I question whether those historians have not lent them a little of their own eloquence. Some very ingenious repartees of Hannibal, which history has handed down to us, shew that he had an excellent wit, and that nature alone wrought in him what others attain by art and study. As to Scipio, he had a mind better improved, and though his age was not altogether so polite as that of the second Scipio Africanus, yet his intimate acquaintance with the poet Ennius, with whom he chose to lie buried in one common grave, gives us reason to believe that he did not want a taste for polite learning. However, [m] Livy observes, that upon his arrival in Spain to take upon him the command of the troops, in the first audience he gave the deputies of the province, he spoke with a certain air of grandeur commanding respect, and at the same time with so much simplicity and persuasion, that without letting drop one single expression that had the least tincture of haughtiness and pride, he immediately calmed the fears of all those, whom the view of past ills had kept under terror and inquietude. [n] Upon another occasion, when Scipio had an interview with Asdrubal, in the apartment of Syphax, the same historian observes, that Scipio could wind and turn them as he pleased, with so much dexterity, that he alike charmed his host and his enemy with the force and turns of his eloquence. And the Carthaginian afterwards owned that this particular discourse had given him a much higher idea of Scipio than all his victories and conquests, and that he did not question but Syphax and his kingdom were already in the power of the Romans, such art and abi-

[l] Liv. lib. xxxv. n. 14.

[n] Lib. xxviii. n. 18.

[m] Lib. xxvi. n. 15.

lity had Scipio to draw over others to his party. One single fact like this is a sufficient proof how useful it is to persons designed for the army, carefully to cultivate the art of speaking: and it is difficult to comprehend why officers, who, in other respects have great talents for war, should sometimes seem to be ashamed of knowing any thing more than their own profession.

The CONCLUSION.

It would be proper here to give a judgment, whether Hannibal or Scipio excelled most in military virtues. But such a decision is beyond my ability. I have heard say, that in the opinion of good judges, Hannibal was the most consummate general that ever was, in the knowledge of war; and that the Romans attained perfection in his school, after having served their first apprenticeship in that of Pyrrhus. It must be owned, no general ever succeeded better in the choice of ground for drawing up an army, or in putting his troops upon the services for which they were most suited, or in laying an ambuscade, or providing a remedy under misfortune, or in maintaining discipline among so many different nations. He drew from himself alone, the subsistence of his troops, the pay of his soldiers, the remounting of his cavalry, the recruits of his foot, and all the necessary ammunition for maintaining a heavy war in a distant country, against a powerful enemy, for the space of sixteen successive years, and in spite of a powerful faction at home, which refused him every thing, and crossed him in all his enterprises. Thus he may certainly be called a great general.

I own too, that in making a just comparison of Hannibal's design with Scipio's, the design of Hannibal must be allowed to be more bold, hazardous, difficult, and destitute of all resources. He was obliged to march through Gaul, which he was to look upon as an enemy's country; to pass the Alps, which had been thought unsurmountable by any other; to fix the

theatre of the war in the midst of an enemy's country, and in the very bosom of Italy, where he had no strong places, no magazines, no certainty of succour, nor any hopes of retreat. Add to this, that he attacked the Romans at the time of their greatest vigour, when their troops, quite fresh, and animated with the success of the preceding war, were full of courage and confidence. As for Scipio, he had but a short passage to make from Sicily into Africa. He had a powerful fleet, and was master at sea. He kept up a free communication with Sicily, from whence he was supplied with his ammunition and provision whenever he pleased. He attacked the Carthaginians at the close of a war, wherein they had suffered great losses, at a time when their power was already upon the decline, and they began to be exhausted of money, men and courage; Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily had been taken from them, and they could no longer make any diversion there against the Romans. Asdrubal's army was lately cut to pieces, and Hannibal's was extremely weakened, by several shocks it had received, and an almost general want of necessaries. All these circumstances seem to give Hannibal a great advantage over Scipio.

But there are two difficulties still to be got over; the one drawn from the generals he conquered, and the other from the faults he committed.

May not the victories which have rendered the name of Hannibal so famous, be properly said to be as much owing to the imprudence and rashness of the Roman generals, as to his own valour and wisdom? When they sent a Fabius against him, and then a Scipio, the first put a stop to his progress, and the other overcame him.

The two faults which Hannibal committed, in not marching immediately to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, and suffering his soldiers to be corrupted and enervated at Capua, are likewise supposed to take off very much from his reputation. For these faults may be reckoned essential, decisive and irreparable; and both of them contrary to the principal quality of a general,

general, which is capacity and judgment. As for Scipio, I do not know, that during the whole time he commanded the Roman army, he was chargeable with any thing like this.

I do not therefore wonder, that Hannibal, in the judgment he gave of the most accomplished generals, after having assigned the third place to himself after Alexander and Pyrrhus, and Scipio asking him what would he say then if he had conquered him? I do not wonder that he should reply, “I would then have taken place of Alexander and Pyrrhus, and of all the generals that have ever been.” [o] A fine flattering encomium in favour of Scipio, whom he distinguished from every other commander, as being superior to them all, and not proper to be brought into comparison with any.

II. *Moral and civil* VIRTUES.

Here Scipio triumphs, whose goodness, mildness, moderation, generosity, justice, chastity, and religion, are justly boasted of. Here, I say, we have his triumph, or rather the triumph of virtue, which is by far preferable to all the victories, conquests and dignities in the world. It is a beautiful expression of Livy, when speaking of the deliberation of the senate, that was assembled to determine which of the Romans was the man of the greatest probity. [p] *Haud parvæ rei judicium senatum tenebat, qui vir optimus in civitate esset. Veram certè victoriam ejus rei sibi quisque mallet quàm ulla imperia, honoresve suffragio seu patrum seu plebis delatos.* “The determining which of all the citizens was the most worthy man, was a subject of no small import. Certainly every man would have chosen a victory given to himself in this respect, rather than any empires or honours either senate or people could confer.”

[o] Et perplexum Punico astu responsum, & improvisum assentionis genus Scipionem movit, quod è grege se imperatorum velut inæ-

timabilem secrevisset. Liv. lib. xxxv. n. 14.

[p] Lib. xxix. n. 14.

The reader will not so much hesitate here, in whose favour he ought to declare, especially if he consults the frightful description which [q] Livy has left us of Hannibal. "His great virtues, says this historian, after he had given an encomium of him, were equalled by most enormous vices; inhuman cruelty, a more than Carthaginian perfidy, no regard for truth, nor any reverence for what was most sacred. He had no fear of the gods, no respect for oaths, nor any religion." *Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant; inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plusquam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti; nullus deum metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio.*

We have here a strange portrait, but I question whether truly copied after nature, and whether prejudice has not in some measure drawn it in too black colours. For the Romans in general may be suspected of not doing the justice to Hannibal that was due to him, and of saying a great many ill things of him, because he did a great many to them. Neither Polybius nor Plutarch, who have frequent occasion to speak of Hannibal, charge him with the horrid vices that Livy imputes to him. The very facts related by Livy contradict the character he has given of him. To take notice only of one single imputation, *nullus deum metus, nulla religio*; there is proof to the contrary. Before he set out for Spain, he took a journey to Cadiz, to discharge the vows he had made to Hercules, and made new ones to him, in case that god would favour his enterprise. [r] *Annibal Gades profectus, Herculi vota exsolvit, novisque se obligat votis, si cetera prosperè evenissent.* Is this step like the proceedings of a man without religion or the fear of the gods? What could oblige him to leave his army to undertake so tedious a pilgrimage? If it was hypocrisy to impose upon a superstitious people, it would have been more advantageous to him to have put on this mask of religion in the sight of all his troops assembled together, as the Romans did in the lustrations of their armies. [s] Pre-

[q] Lib. xxi. n. 4.

[r] Ibid. n. 21.

[s] Ibid. n. 22.

sently after Hannibal has a vision, which he believes is sent from the gods, to declare to him what was to happen, and the event of his enterprize. He lay several years near the rich temple of Juno Lacinia, and not only took nothing from it in the most pressing necessities of his army, but was also so careful of it, tho' it stood without the town, that none of the soldiers ever stole any thing from it; and even left there a magnificent monument before his departure out of Italy. He paid the same respect to all other temples: and we no where read, [t] as I remember, that his troops ever plundered any, in the confusion of a war diversified by so many events. [u] He evidently acknowledged the power of the Deity, when he declared that the gods sometimes took from him the inclination, and sometimes the power of taking Rome. [x] In the treaty he made with Philip, having first appealed to the gods as witnesses, he plainly declares that he expected all the success of his arms from their protection; [y] and lastly, when he comes to die, he invokes all the gods, who are revengers of the breach of hospitality. All these facts, and several others of a like nature, absolutely overthrow the crime of irreligion, which Livy lays to his charge. And the same may be said of his perjuries, and unfaithfulness in keeping of treaties. I do not know that he ever broke one, though the Carthaginians did, but without his being concerned in it. However, I shall not here draw a parallel between these two generals with reference to their civil and moral virtues. I shall satisfy myself with relating some of those which were most eminent in Scipio.

I. GENEROSITY *and* LIBERALITY.

This is the virtue of great minds, as the love of money is the vice of the base and dishonourable. Scipio understood the true value of money, which is to

[t] Liv. lib. xxviii. n. 46.

[u] Lib. xxvi. n. 11.

[x] Lib. xxiii. n. 33.

circumstance is mentioned by Polybius.

This [y] Lib. xxxix. n. 51.

gain friends and buy mankind. The contributions which he made in a proper season; the ransoms he generously restored to those who came to redeem their children or relations, gained him almost as many hearts as his victories. By this means he entered into the views and character of the Roman people, who chose rather, as he expresses it himself, to oblige mankind by civility, than fear; [z] *qui beneficio quàm metu obligare homines malit.*

II. GOODNESS, GENTLENESS.

All men cannot be partakers of our benefits, but we may express our good inclination towards all. It is a sort of coin that several are satisfied with, and does not exhaust the treasury of the general.

Scipio had a wonderful talent in conciliating the inclinations and gaining the hearts of others, by aivil and engaging behaviour.

He was very obliging to the officers, set a just value upon their services, extolled their bravery, rewarded them with presents or commendations, and behaved thus even towards those who might have given him some jealousy, had he been capable of it. He always honourably treated that famous officer Marcius, and kept him near his person, who, after the death of his father and uncle, had supported the affairs of Spain; thereby shewing, says the historian, how remote he was from any apprehensions of fear and distrust. [a] *Ut faciliè appareret nihil minus quam vereri ne quis obstaret gloriæ suæ.*

He knew how to temper even reprimands with such an air of kindness and cordiality, as rendered them amiable. [b] The rebuke he was obliged to give Masinissa, for giving way to a blind passion, in marrying Sophonisba, the declared enemy of the Roman people, is a perfect model of the manner of behaving and speaking upon such delicate conjunctures. We find in it all the refinements of eloquence, all the precau-

[z] Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 50. [a] Ib. n. 20. [b] Lib. xxx. n. 14.

tions of prudence and wisdom, all the regard of friendship, with all the dignity and noble superiority of command, without the least expression of haughtiness and pride.

His goodness distinguished itself even in chastisements. He never employed correction but once, and that much against his own inclination. It was in the sedition of Sucrone, which necessarily required a public example. “And then, he [c] said, it was like “tearing out his own bowels, when he found himself obliged to expiate the fault of eight thousand, “by putting thirty to death.” It is remarkable here, that Scipio does not make use of the words *scelus*, *crimen*, *facinus*, but of *noxa*, which is far more gentle, and signifies a *fault*. He even does not go so far as to determine absolutely whether it was a fault, and he leaves room to think it only imprudence and folly, *octo millium seu imprudentiam, seu noxam*.

He thought it far better to contribute to the preservation of a single citizen, than to kill a thousand of the enemy. [d] Capitolinus observes, that the emperor Antoninus Pius used frequently to repeat this maxim of Scipio, and put it in practice.

III. JUSTICE.

The exercise of this virtue is properly the function of persons in high station and authority. It was by this virtue that Scipio rendered the Roman government so gentle and agreeable to the allies and conquered nations, and made himself so tenderly beloved by the people, who considered him as their protector and father. He must have had a great zeal for justice, as he was so exact in shewing it to his very enemies, after an action which took away all pretensions they could have to it. The Carthaginians, during a truce

[c] Tum se, haud fecus quam viscera secantem sua, cum gemitu & lacrymis triginta hominum capitibus expiâsse octo millium seu imprudentiam, seu noxam. Liv. lib. xxviii. n. 32.

[d] Antoninus Pius Scipionis sententiam frequentabat, quâ ille dicebat, malle se unum civem servare, quam mille hostes occidere. Capitol. c. 9.

which was granted them at their earnest entreaty, knowingly, and by order of the republic, took and plundered certain Roman vessels that were put to sea; and, to make the insult still greater, the ambassadors, which were sent to Carthage to complain of it, were set upon as they came back, and narrowly escaped being taken by Asdrubal. The ambassadors of Carthage, as they were returning from Rome, fell into the hands of Scipio, who was very much pressed to make reprisals, “No, [e] says he, though the Carthaginians have not only broke the truce, but have also violated the law of nations, in the persons of our ambassadors, I will not treat theirs in a manner unworthy either the maxims of the Roman people, or the rules of moderation I have hitherto constantly observed.”

IV. MAGNANIMITY.

It shone out in all the actions of Scipio, and in almost all his words; but the people of Spain were more especially affected with it, when he refused the title of king, which they offered him upon being charmed with his valour and generosity. They saw plainly, [f] says Livy, what a greatness of soul there was in thus looking down with disdain upon a title, which is the highest object of admiration and desire with the rest of mankind.

[g] It was with the same air of grandeur, that when he was obliged to defend himself before the people, he spoke so nobly of his military expeditions, and, instead of making a timorous apology in behalf of his conduct, he marched directly to the Capitol, with all the people at his heels, to thank the gods for the victories they had enabled him to gain.

[e] *Et si non induciarum modo fides à Carthaginienſibus, ſed etiam jus gentium in legatis violatum eſſet; tamen ſe nihil nec inſtitutis populi Romani, nec ſuis moribus indignum in iis facturum eſſe.* Liv. lib. xxx. n. 25.

[f] *Sensere etiam barbari magnitudinem animi, cujus miraculo nominis alii mortales, ſtuperent, id ex tam alto ſaſtigio alpernantis.* Lib. xxvii. n. 19.

[g] Lib. xxxviii.

V. CHASTITY.

It is not easy to comprehend that a pagan should have carried his love to this virtue so far as Scipio did. The story of the beautiful young princess, who was kept in his house with as much care as if she had been in her father's, is known to all the world. I have related it in another place, as likewise the beautiful discourse he made to Masinissa upon the same subject.

VI. RELIGION.

I have often quoted the famous discourse of Cambyfes king of Persia, to his son Cyrus, which is deservedly looked upon as containing an abridgment of the most useful instructions that can be given to a general of an army, or a minister of state. This excellent discourse begins and ends with the subject of religion, as if every other branch of advice were useless without this. Cambyfes recommends to his son, before all, and above all, religiously to discharge every duty that the Deity requires of men; never to undertake any enterprise, great or small, without consulting the gods, to begin all his actions with imploring their assistance, and conclude them with giving them thanks, as all good success arises from their protection, which no man can claim, and consequently ought to be referred to them. And this, indeed, was constantly observed by Cyrus with the utmost exactness, as we have said already in speaking of this prince; and he owns himself, in the discourse from whence this is taken, that he entered upon his first campaign with a full confidence in the goodness of the gods, because he could truly give this testimony of himself, that he had never neglected their worship.

I know not whether our Scipio had read the *Cyropædia*, as it is certain the second Scipio did, who made it his ordinary study; but it is visible, that he exactly copied after Cyrus, and especially in this point

point of religious worship. [*b*] From the time he took upon him the *toga virilis*, that is, from his seventeenth year, he never entered upon any business, either public or private, without going first to the Capitol, and imploring the assistance of Jupiter. [*i*] We have in Livy the solemn prayer he made to the gods, when he set out from Sicily for Africa; and the same historian does not fail to observe, that immediately after the conquest of Carthage, he publicly returned thanks to the gods for the good success of that enterprise. [*k*] *Postero die militibus navalibusque sociis convocatis, primum diis immortalibus laudesque & grates egit.*

It is not our business here to enquire what the religion either of Cyrus or Scipio was. We know very well, that it could be no other than a false one. But the example that is given to all commanders, and in general to all mankind, of beginning and ending all their actions with prayers and thanksgiving, is of no less force. For what would they not have said and done, if like us, they had been guided by the lights of true religion, and had enjoyed the happiness of knowing the true God? After such examples, how shameful would it be for Christian generals, to seem less religious than those ancient commanders among the pagans?

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

The principal CHARACTERS and VIRTUES of the ROMANS, with respect to WAR.

THE space of time, whereof I have abridged the history, and which Polybius chose for his subject, was, as I have already observed, the flourishing times of the Roman republic, [*l*] which rendered Rome the mistress of the universe, and forced all nations to own, that a people, so far superior in merit and virtue, deserved also the superiority in power and authority. It was indeed, after this time, that

[*b*] Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 19.

[*i*] Lib. xxix. n. 17.

[*k*] Lib. xxvi. n. 48.

[*l*] Polyb. p. 160.

the Roman power, which had contended with its neighbours for several ages, within a very narrow compass, spread itself abroad like a river or a sea, which had broke its bounds, and over-run almost the whole three parts of the world with an incredible rapidity.

Plutarch, in a treatise entitled, *De fortunâ Romanorum*; gives a glorious description of the grandeur of the Roman empire, of which it may not here be improper to give an abstract. The most powerful nations of the world, says he, with their utmost endeavours, contending for universal empire, gave occasion to an horrible confusion in the universe, till such time as the Roman republic uniting all people and kingdoms under her command, the whole took a firm situation, and a secure seat under a government, which taking in almost every part of the world, made them enjoy the fruits of peace and order under her shadow; by the administration of the great men she produced, in whom every virtue shone forth.—After having observed, that the rapidity with which Rome extended her dominions; did not arise from men, but God, he goes on; Rome no more measures her victories by the multitude of the slain, the greatness of the spoil, or the number of conquered cities; her achievements are never at an end, in subduing nations, in enslaving kingdoms, in conquering great islands and vast regions. Nothing is seen there but triumphs upon triumphs, and conquests upon conquests. Philip is ruined by a single blow. Another drives the great Antiochus out of Asia. In the same year one month suffices for the conquest of Macedonia, another for subduing the kingdom of Illyria, and putting their [m] two kings to the sword. [n] One of her generals only in the course of the same expedition, brings under subjection Armenia, Pontus, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, the Albanians and Iberians; and extends the bounds of her dominions as far as the Caspian and Red Sea, And what is very remarkable, adds the same author, this happy genius of Rome has not favoured her only

[m] Perseus & Gentius.

[n] Pompey.

for a few days and a short space of time, nor merely either by sea or land, nor after slow efforts and long delays, nor has suddenly forsaken her, as has happened in other empires, but born, and in a manner grown up with Rome, has there taken and fixed her abode; has always presided over her government, has ever regulated her conduct, and constantly procured her the most glorious successes in war and peace, by sea and land, against Greeks and Barbarians.

This establishment of the Roman empire, the greatest and most powerful that ever was, [o] Polybius says, was not the effect of chance, but the result of merit and virtue, the consequence of designs wisely concerted, valiantly executed, and carried on with unvariable attention and ability. It is therefore useful and important, [p] continues he, to enquire what were the principles of the victors conduct before and after the victory, the disposition of the people in regard to them, and what was thought of those who were at the helm of the republic.

We have already seen what the great men were, who during this interval contributed to the aggrandising of the Roman empire; it now remains to consider what was the genius and character of the Roman people.

We find it excellently described in [q] Sallust. “ We must not think, says Cato, that our ancestors increased the power of Rome, in the manner they did, by their numerous armies; they had other advantages which made them truly great, and the republic with them; at home a laborious life, abroad a just and wise government, in deliberations a spirit exempt from passion and vice;—in the field, as in

[o] Pag. 64.

[p] Pag. 160.

[q] Nolite existimare majores nostros armis rempublicam ex parvâ magnam fecisse. . . Alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere, quæ nobis nulla sunt; domi industria, foris justum imperium; animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto

neque libidini obnoxius. Sallust. in bello Catilin.

Domus militiæque boni mores colebantur. . . Jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quàm naturâ valebat. . . Duobus his artibus, audaciâ in bello, ubi pax evenerat æquitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Ibid.

“ the city, says the same historian in another place,
 “ good morals and good principles chiefly prevailed,
 “ and the absolute dominion that justice and virtue
 “ had over the Romans, rose less from the laws than
 “ their own natural disposition. In fine, they sup-
 “ ported themselves and the republic, by a double
 “ means ; in war by boldness and valour, in peace
 “ by justice and moderation.”

We must not conclude from what Sallust says here of this happy period of the republic, or from what we shall hereafter say upon the same subject, that all the Romans, or even the greatest number of them, were such as are here described : but this was the spirit of the republic, the genius of those who governed them, * this small number drew all the rest after them, and produced these wonderful effects.

Neither must we imagine that the virtues we have been commending, were very pure and solid. We set the full value upon them, and represent them as Roman virtues, not as Christian. And yet, imperfect as they were, it pleased God, as St. Austin observes, to crown them with the empire of the world ; a recompence worthy of the Romans, who expected no other, and as vain as their virtues. *Receperunt mercedem suam*, says the Gospel ; *vani vanum*, as we may add, with a father who expresses himself thus concerning these illustrious pagans.

Having taken these precautions, and made use of these preservatives, I shall now proceed to relate the principal virtues wherein the Romans excelled in war. And this I shall do with all the brevity that I can.

I. EQUITY and wise CAUTION in undertaking and declaring WAR.

The Romans never lightly or rashly engaged in a war. Before all things they endeavoured to gain the favour of the gods, expecting success only from their

* *Ac mihi multa agitati constantem cuncta patravisse. Sallust. in bello Catilin.*

protection, and [r] persuaded, that as they presided in a particular manner over the events of war, they always inclined the victory to the side of justice and equity. Hence it arose, that they never took up arms without first sending heralds to the enemy, whom they named *feciales*, to lay open their grievances and causes of complaint; nor did they declare war against them, but upon their refusal to make satisfaction. It was only because they would not omit these ceremonies, in which part of their religion consisted, that they suffered Saguntum to be miserably destroyed, whose ruin, as a judicious Carthaginian had foretold, recoiled upon Carthage itself, and drew on its destruction. The Romans were alike reserved in the cases of Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, though these princes were the aggressors, and had long before broken their treaties by several manifest infractions.

II. PERSEVERANCE and CONSTANCY in a resolution once taken and decreed.

[s] The slower and more dilatory the Romans were at first, the brisker and more persevering they were in the execution. This appears evidently from the siege of Capua only. It was resolved by the Romans to attack that considerable city, the revolt of which, being left unpunished for several years, seemed to reflect shame upon Rome. At the time that Italy was ravaged by such an enemy as Hannibal, and the horrors of the war were most sensibly felt by them, they abandoned all, and quitted Hannibal himself to lay siege to Capua, whither they sent the two consuls, at the head of the two separate armies. The siege lasted above a year, and Hannibal used his utmost endeavours to save that city, which he had so much cause to value. As a last effort, he marches towards Rome

[r] Vicerunt dii hominesque, & id, de quo verbis ambigebatur, iter populus foedus rupisset, eventus belli, velut æquus iudex, unde iustitabat, ei victoriam dedit. Liv. lib.

xxi. n. 10.

[s] Quo lenius agant, segnius incipiunt; eo, cum coeperint, vereor ne perseverantius graviant. Ibid.

with a numerous army. “ There is no beast, [1]
 “ says a citizen of Capua, so intent upon his prey,
 “ but will quit his hold, if his den is attempted, and
 “ its young in danger of being carried off. But for the
 “ Romans, neither the siege of Rome, nor the cries
 “ and groans of their wives and children, which they
 “ heard almost in the camp, could divert them from
 “ the siege of Capua.”

[2] The conquest and exemplary punishment of that revolted city, convinced the world of the perseverance of the Romans in pursuing their unfaithful allies with vengeance, and how unable Hannibal was to succour a city which had thrown itself under his protection.

But this character of perseverance and constancy appears to me most admirable in the Romans, in their treaties of peace with their enemies. The terms of it were expressed at the beginning of the war, and no future event could ever induce them to depart in the least from them. Neither the shocks they sometimes received, made them diminish those conditions in any thing, nor did the considerable victories they obtained occasion any addition; so firm and invariable were this people in their resolutions, as judging them to be founded in reason and equity. The treaties they made with the Carthaginians, and with the three princes whose overthrow followed upon that of Carthage, were all of this nature.

III. *The HABIT of inuring themselves to painful LABOURS and military EXERCISES; the incredible severity of their DISCIPLINE, and the different rewards of MERIT.*

The Romans may properly be said to have been a nation of soldiers, born and trained up to war, from whence they derived all their glory and power, as it made their principal occupation. Their troops were not collected at random, but made up of citizens set-

[1] Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 13.

[2] Ibid. n. 16.

tled at Rome, or in the country, who fought for themselves whilst they were fighting for the state. They were inured to military labour from their infancy. [x] *Robustus acri militiâ puer condiscat, &c.* [y] It is surprizing to see what burdens they were loaded with in a march. Every soldier carried provisions for several days, one palifade, and sometimes more, with all the necessaries of life, besides his buckler, sword and helmet, which were not reckoned a burden, because the arms were in a manner part of the soldier, and looked upon as members of his body. Their long sieges, painful marches, remote expeditions, the extraordinary weight of their arms, baggage, and ammunition, their ordinary labour in fortifying the camp, though for a very short residence, and several other very fatiguing exercises of this nature, could not extinguish in them their love for the glory of their country; and so invincible a patience enabled them to conquer the whole earth.

It is easy to imagine what an impression those bloody executions made upon men's minds, [z] wherein fathers and consuls, to maintain and confirm the military discipline, which they looked upon as the principal support of the state, thought themselves obliged to shed the blood of their own children, and of the principal officers of the army. After such examples, a private soldier had no room to imagine that his disobedience could escape unpunished.

But what rendered the Roman armies invincible, was this great principle early established, and inviolably observed among the troops, that it was an indelible reproach, and an unpardonable crime in a Roman to deliver up his arms, and voluntarily surrender to the enemy; a principle which left no medium betwixt death and victory. Thus when it was pro-

[x] Horat.

[y] Cic. Tusc. quæst. lib. ii. n. 37.

[z] Quemadmodum . . . quantum in te fuit, disciplinam militarem, quâ stetit ad hanc rem diem

Romana res, solvisti . . . nos potius nostro delicto plestemur, quam republica tanto suo damno nostra peccata luat. Triste exemplum, sed in posterum salubre juventuti erimus. Liv. lib. viii. n. 7.

posed in the senate, after the battle of Cannæ, to redeem soldiers who had surrendered to Hannibal to the number of about eight thousand, notwithstanding the pressing instances of their relations, and the want the [a] republic then was in, of troops, they still firmly adhered to the old maxim of not redeeming the captives, as absolutely necessary in that conjuncture to confirm and preserve the military discipline; and they rather chose to arm a like number of slaves, than make the least encroachment on a principle, upon which the security of the state depended. They easily comprehended, says [b] Polybius, that Hannibal's view in the offer he made of restoring the prisoners for a certain ransom, was not so much to obtain a considerable sum of money, which notwithstanding he wanted extremely, as to remove from the Roman troops, that sense of honour and incentive to glory they carried with them to the battle, by letting them see there was a remedy left, and some hope of safety remaining for those who yielded to the enemy. [c] But the senate, by absolutely rejecting this proposal, resolved, by refusing, to confirm authentically the ancient laws of the Romans, either to conquer or die in the field. Such constancy and magnanimity, adds Polybius, disappointed Hannibal, and gave him more terror, than his victory had occasioned him joy and hope.

Add to these different motives, the marks of honour and rewards, which were publicly given after a battle, or any important action; the praises which the generals thought it their duty to bestow upon the officers, and even upon the common soldiers, as Livy observes of Scipio, and the glorious testimonies they gave in a full senate, at their return from their campaign, in favour of such as had distinguished themselves most. All this inspired the troops with inexpressible ardour, emulation, and courage. By this means pri-

[a] Liv. lib. xxii. n. 60.

[b] Pag. 500.

[c] Τῶς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐνομοθέτησαν

ἢ νικᾶν μαχομένους, ἢ θνήσκειν. Ibid.

p. 300.

vate officers acquired the merit of a general, as was seen upon an important occasion, which preserved Spain to the Romans. After the death of the two Scipios, their affairs there seemed absolutely desperate. [d] A private Roman knight, at that time very young, but of courage and magnanimity above his age and condition, who had served several years under Cneius Scipio, and had learned the art of war under him, was chosen general by common consent, and by his valour and prudence saved the army. This was Marcius, upon whom our Scipio set a great value, when he came into Spain, and ever after distinguished in a peculiar manner. Able officers were formed in this manner under able generals.

IV. CLEMENCY and MODERATION in victory.

It was the maxim of the Romans, to treat the people and princes, who submitted to them, with mildness and clemency; as also to make those who persevered in their resistance, feel the whole weight of their greatness and power. This the poet has beautifully expressed in the following verse, which may be looked upon as the motto of the Roman people:

[e] *Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.*

“To spare the vanquish’d, and subdue the proud.”

1. Though extremely incensed against the Carthaginians, when their deputies appeared in the senate in the quality of suppliants, and in an humble and pathetic tone implored the mercy of the Roman people, their vengeance and indignation gave way to sentiments of gentleness and clemency, and peace was granted them; though it was certain that it would not have been difficult for the Romans to have destroyed Carthage, and completed the conquest of Africa. It was on this occasion that Asdrubal, surnamed Hædus, who spoke as the principal deputy,

[d] Liv. lib. xxv. n. 37.

[e] Virg. *Æn.* lib. viii. v. 853.

complimented the Roman people in the following manner: [f] “It is very rare, said he, that prosperity and moderation meet together, and that men should at the same time be successful and wise. The Roman people are invincible; because they do not suffer themselves to be blinded with their good fortune. And indeed it would be surprising, added he, if they acted otherwise; for such only are dazzled and transported with prosperity, as are unacquainted with it; whereas the Romans are so accustomed to conquer, that they are scarce any longer sensible of the pleasure arising from victory; and it may be said to their glory, that they have in a manner augmented their empire more by pardoning the conquered, than by conquering.”

2. [g] The Romans kept nothing to themselves of the conquests they gained over Philip of Macedon. For the whole fruit of their victories they reserved only the pleasure of enriching their allies, and the glory of restoring liberty to Greece. And that this present, so magnificent, extraordinary, and till then unheard of, might not be subject to suspicion, or future change of sentiments, they withdrew their garisons out of all their cities, without so much as accepting one.

3. They used the like moderation after they had conquered Antiochus. They exempted all the people of Asia, as far as mount Taurus, from their subjection to him. They gratified their allies with fleets, sea-ports, cities, and whole provinces, without keeping to themselves either galley or city, or requiring any tribute, jurisdiction or homage for so many countries as were conquered and freed by their arms.

[f] Rarò simul hominibus bonam fortunam bonamque mentem dari. Populum Romanum eò victum esse, quòd in secundis rebus sapere & consulere meminèrit. Et hercule mirandum fuisse, si aliter facerent. Ex insolentiâ, quibus

nova bonâ fortuna sit, impotentes, lætitiæ insanire: populo Romano usitata ac propè jam obsoleta ex victoriâ gaudia esse; ac plus penè parcendo victis, quàm vincendo imperium auxisse. Liv. lib. xxx. p. 42.

[g] Lib. xxxiii. n. 30.

4. [b] As soon as they had subdued Macedon, they reduced all the taxes and customs they paid their kings, to half the amount. They renounced the immense profits which arose from the gold and silver mines, for this only reason, because they were a burden to the inhabitants. They granted every city the right of governing themselves by their own laws; of creating their own magistrates and officers; of holding provincial assemblies for the absolute regulation of public business; and they granted these people who had long been enemies, all the privileges of entire liberty.

5. [i] The Romans treated the Illyrians with like humanity and moderation, after their victory over Gentius. They suffered them to enjoy the same exemptions and liberty, though they had held out so long against them; and after they had withdrawn all the Roman troops, they established the same form of government there as in Macedon.

V. VALOUR *and* MAGNANIMITY *in adversity.*

This is the most peculiar character of the Roman people, and shews besides a force and constancy which nothing could shake or destroy.

This disposition was never shewn in a more wonderful manner than after the battle of Cannæ. That battle gave the last blow to the preceding defeats, which had already extremely weakened the state. Two consuls, with their armies, were entirely overthrown. The republic had neither soldiers nor generals. Several of the allies were gone over to the victorious side. Hannibal was master of Samnium, and almost all Italy. Such a blow, so terrible a misfortune, would have crushed any other people but them. [k] Yet neither the defeat of so many armies, nor the defection of their allies, could incline the Roman people to hearken to peace. They shewed not the least sign of weakness or discouragement; but all in gene-

[b] Liv. lib. xlv. n. 28. [i] Ibid. n. 26. [k] Liv. xxii. n. 61.

ral conspired to promote the public good. The resolution was as quick as unanimous, to defend themselves, and not lend an ear to any proposal of accommodation.

[1] What Polybius says, upon the occasion of another battle, was then verified; that the Romans, both in general and particular, are never more terrible than when they are exposed to the greatest dangers, and seem most upon the brink of destruction.

VI. JUSTICE *and* ADHERENCE *to their* ENGAGEMENTS *the principles of the Roman government; the springs of the love and confidence of the citizens, allies, and conquered nations.*

It is an opinion very anciently established amongst abundance of persons, and not entirely eradicated by Christianity itself, that justice and policy are scarce capable of being allied together; that a man designed for administration should not make himself a slave to the laws; that exact probity, and a scrupulous adherence to their word and solemn engagements, would often lay a prince and minister under great difficulties; that the interest of the state should always be the rule and motive of governments; in a word, that it is impossible to manage public business without committing some injustice. *Rempubicam regi sine injuriâ non posse.*

Tully, in his books *de republica*, which is an extract from Plato's admirable work upon the same subject, has fully refuted this opinion. It is not only, according to him, a false and contradictory notion, to believe that no one can succeed in the administration of public affairs without sometimes acting unjustly, but he looks upon the opposite principle as an incontestible truth, and as the basis and foundation of all the rules that can be laid down in matters of politics, namely, that A STATE CANNOT BE GOVERNED WELL, WITHOUT A STRICT OBSERVANCE OF JUSTICE IN ALL

THINGS. [m] *Nil est quod adhuc de republicâ putem dictum, & quo possim longius progredi, nisi sit confirmatum, non modò falsum esse illud sine injuria non posse, sed hoc verissimum, sine summâ justitiâ rempublicam regi non posse.*

To give the greater weight and authority to his arguments, he had put them into the mouth of Lælius and Scipio Africanus, the grandson, by adoption, of him we have so long been speaking of. It is easy to discern how much we have suffered by the loss of so excellent a work, which was copied by such an able hand, after so perfect an original. These two illustrious friends, Lælius and Scipio, who were the admiration of their own age, and may well be proposed to ours as the models of great generals and great statesmen, lay down this maxim as an indisputable principle in point of government, that there is nothing more pernicious to a state than injustice, and that no republic can ever be well governed, or even subsist, without justice. *Nil tam inimicum quàm injustitiam civitati, nec omnino nisi magnâ justitiâ geri aut stare posse rempublicam.*

Such were the rules and maxims of the Roman people, in the prosperous days of which we have been speaking, and this idea their allies and the conquered nations had of them. [n] Livy observes, that the loss of the three first battles gained by Hannibal, which spread such universal terror and consternation, did not however shake the fidelity of the allies. *Nec tamen is terror, cum omnia flagrarent bello, fide socios dimovit.* The reason he brings for it, is very glorious to the Roman people, and gives us, in a few words, the idea of a perfect government. For the allies, says he, finding they were under a just and moderate government, without difficulty obeyed a people that was far superior to them in merit, which is the only bond of fidelity. *Videlicet quia justo & moderato regebantur imperio, nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, me-*

[m] Fragm. Cic. apud S. Aug. lib. ii. c. 21. de civit. Dei.

[n] Lib. xxii. n. 13.

horibus parere. The conquered nations were of the same opinion, and comparing the Roman dominion with that under which they had formerly lived, and the Roman generals with their ancient masters, they looked upon the former as men sent down from heaven, such justice, goodness, and humanity, did they shew towards them; and they blessed themselves for having fallen under the power of a people, who strove to engage mankind to obey them, more by kindness than fear, and took pains to deserve the love and confidence of foreign nations by a mild and just government, instead of making them bear the yoke of a sorrowful servitude. [o] *Venisse eos in populi Romani potestatem, qui beneficio quàm metu obligare homines malit, exterarumque gentes fide ac societate junctas habere, quàm tristi subjectionis servitio.*

But perhaps it might be the interest of a Roman senate, to behave thus towards their allies, and the conquered nations which lay at a distance, and they shewed less regard to their citizens and natural subjects, who, for this reason, were less attached to the republic, and bore it the less affection. On the contrary, it is in this particular the Roman people is most to be admired; and what I am about to say will clearly shew, that the greatest resource of a state is the affection of the people, their love to the government, and the confidence they have in the public faith; and that to give the least blow to it, is, in point of politics, the most capital, pernicious, and irreparable fault.

After the battle of Cannæ, all seemed absolutely desperate. The fidelity of the greatest part of the allies was overwhelmed by so terrible a blow. The state had neither generals, troops, nor money, and yet new raised troops and fresh recruits were indispensibly necessary. They were obliged to fit out fleets, to furnish provisions, arms and clothes. But though the state was in want of every thing, it did not want cre-

[o] Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 49.

dit, and found ready and sure supplies in the affection of the citizens.

[p] The consul urged, that the magistrates ought to set the example to the senate, and the senate to the people, of assisting the republic in the extremity to which they were reduced; that the way to engage the lower people to contribute of their substance to the support of the state, was to begin with doing it themselves; that thus they ought all to bring their gold and silver into the public treasury. This was immediately done, and with so much zeal, that the receivers and notaries were scarce sufficient to answer the eagerness of the public, every one striving for the honour of subscribing first. The order of senators, and then the people, did the same, without requiring, for all this, any public edict.

[q] Of the thirty colonies in Italy, eighteen sent deputies to Rome, to declare they were ready to furnish the troops required of them, and even more, if it was judged necessary; that, thanks to the gods, they wanted neither means nor courage to do it. *Ad id sibi neque opes deesse, animum etiam superesse.* These deputies were received, both by the senate and people, with loud acclamations, and extraordinary marks of joy and honour. Livy has thought proper to preserve the names of these colonies in his history, [r] that they might not, says he, want the honour so many ages after, which is so justly their due. For the other twelve colonies, who refused to raise the levies required, the senate thought it most suitable to the dignity of the Roman people, to punish them only by taking no notice of them. *Ea tacita castigatio magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est.*

They received at the same time letters from the two Scipios, who commanded in Spain, by which, though they undertook to supply the soldiers pay of themselves, they required clothes and provisions to be

[p] Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 36.

[q] This was some time after.

[r] Ne nunc quidem post tot se-

cula sileantur, fraudulenturve laude sua. Liv. lib. xxvii. n. 12.

sent them immediately, or otherways it would be impossible to preserve the province. The republic were unable to supply them, in the condition it then was. The prætor called an assembly, and laid before the people the necessities of the public, and the [s] impossibility the state was in of supplying them, if it wanted credit as well as money. He exhorted those who, in times past, had increased their estates by farming the revenues of the Roman people, now to lend the republic a part of the substance they had gained by it, and to make advances for Spain, with a promise, that these sums should be exactly repaid them as soon as the state should be in a condition to do it. Three powerful companies offered their assistance, and the armies in Spain were as plentifully supplied as in the times of the greatest opulence.

[t] This noble disinterestedness and ardent zeal, reigned equally in all the orders and bodies of the state.

[u] The fleet was in want of seamen and provisions. It was agreed to lay a general tax upon every member of the state, in proportion to the rank and revenue of every private man, and the thing was executed without delay or murmur.

The public buildings were fallen to decay, for want of a proper fund for the repairing of them. The undertakers cheerfully went about it, without requiring any money for their work till the war should be ended.

In this common emulation, and general disposition of the state, to aid and support the public treasury, they first brought in the orphans money, and then the widows: [x] those who had it in possession judging they could not deposit it in a more secure and sacred asylum, than in that of the public credit.

[s] Itaque, nisi fide staret publica, opibus non staturam. Liv. lib. xxiii. n. 48.

[t] Hi mores eaque caritas patriæ per omnes ordines velut tenore suo pertinebat. Ibid. n. 49.

[u] Lib. xxiv. n. 11.

[x] Nusquam eas tutius sanctiusque deponere creditibus qui deferebant, quam in publica fide. lb. n. 12.

This generosity passed from the city into the camp: Every horseman, centurion and officer refused their pay, and whoever took it, was looked upon as a mercenary wretch.

The event shewed that they had reason to rely upon the republic. Every debt, every sum of money advanced, with every obligation, was discharged with the utmost exactness. They would have even paid off some of them before the term agreed on; and, notwithstanding the scarcity of money, they offered the masters of the slaves that were restored to their liberty, to pay the full price for them; but all declared that they would not receive it till the war was terminated.

It is from such facts as these we must form a just idea of the Roman government. That single expression which I have quoted, and which might deserve to be engraven in letters of gold, *that they found no asylum more secure or more sacred, wherein to deposit the money of orphans and widows, than that of the public faith*: this single expression, I say, is the highest encomium that can be imagined, of the Roman character. We learn from thence, that according to the constant maxim of all the great men of antiquity, the most famous legislators, and wisest politicians, the design and supreme rule of government is the good of the public, and the safety of the people. *Salus [y] populi suprema lex esto*; the affection of the people also, and their confidence in the justice and integrity of those who governed them, are the firmest support, and sometimes the safety and sole resource of states.

VII. RESPECT for RELIGION.

We need but open the historians, to be convinced that religion prevailed in every thing amongst the Romans. Were they to undertake a war, or engage in a battle, they consulted the gods, implored their assistance, and employed all the proper means of ren-

[y] Cic. lib. de leg. n. 8.

dering them favourable. Did they obtain a victory, or any advantage, they presently ordered public thanksgivings, sacrifices, and festivals, and the concourse of people in all the temples was incredible. [z] Hannibal was scarce set out upon his return into Africa, but they blamed themselves for their delay in returning thanks to the gods, for a benefit so long expected, and so little hoped for. [a] It was a prevailing principle among them, that piety towards the gods was the cause of all their good success, as the neglect of their worship brought upon them all their misfortunes. Hence it came to pass, says [b] Polybius, that the Romans, in any pressing necessity, so diligently applied themselves to gain the favour of gods and men, and that in all the ceremonies of religion, which such sort of conjunctures required, there was nothing mean or unworthy their grandeur to be found. [c] And in another place he observes, that what raised the Roman people to such a degree of superiority above all other nations, was their respect for religion and fear of the gods, though in other places it was often treated as the sign of a mean and narrow spirit. Among the Greeks, adds he, let them take what pains they please, to tie up the hands of those who are entrusted with the public money, by a thousand precautions of signatures, witnesses, securities, and overseers; it is all insufficient to keep them honest; whereas, among the Romans, the religion of an oath only keeps their hands clean in the management of far more considerable sums; nothing being more rare at Rome, than to have a general or a governor convicted of embezzling the public treasure.

VIII. *The love of GLORY.*

I shall conclude with this article, because the disposition I am now speaking of, was the soul of all the

[z] Liv. lib. xxx. n. 21.

evenisse sequentibus deos, adversa spernentibus. Lib. v. n. 51.

[a] Intuemini horum deinceps aunorum vel secundas res vel adversas, invenietis omnia prosperè

[b] Pag. 262.

[c] Pag. 498.

actions of the Romans. [*d*] St. Augustin makes this reflection in several places, and observes that this passion, I mean the thirst of glory, extinguished in them every other passion; that all their most beautiful and glorious actions, which have gained them the admiration of all people and all ages, were entirely owing to this. The desire of being esteemed and commended, as defenders and protectors of liberty, justice and laws, and as enemies of injustice, violence and tyranny; this desire, I say, was a kind of a curb, which restrained and moderated their ambition, and inspired them with those sentiments of goodness, clemency and generosity, with the simple relation of which we are still charmed after so many ages.

Was ever any day more glorious to the Roman empire, than when by her order liberty was restored to all the states of Greece, and the edict for it published amidst the joyful acclamations and applauses of so many people? How great an encomium was that then heard through all Greece, the sound of which soon after passed through the whole universe, [*e*] that there was a nation upon earth, which scrupled not to take upon itself the expences, fatigues and dangers of long and laborious wars, to procure the liberty of nations remote from their country; and which crossed the seas to prevent there being an unjust government or empire in any part of the world, and to establish justice, equity, and laws universally?

Upon these motives the Romans acted in the flourishing ages of the republic. It was this spirit which animated their consuls and their generals. [*f*] They aspired to rule, but by the methods of honour and glory; and to this end they strictly observed justice and the laws; whereas, in after-ages, ambition being no longer kept in, nor moderated by this restraint, it

[*d*] B. div. Del, lib. v. c. 12.

[*e*] Ène aliquam in tenuis ænitem, que sua impensâ, suo labore ac periculo, bella gerat pro libertate alterius, nec hoc finitimo aut propinquo vicinitatis horribilus,

aut terris continenti junctis præset; maria trajectat, ne quid toto orbe terrarum minutum imperium sit, & ubique jus, fas, lex, potentissima sint. Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 33.

[*f*] Sallust. in bello Catilin.

acted the last excesses of injustice, violence and cruelty, as may be seen under Marius, Sylla, Cæsar and Anthony.

In the history of the Maccabees, [g] we have a particular account of the virtues, by which the Romans raised their republic to that height of glory and power to which it attained. Their counsel and wisdom are particularly commended. Their unity to promote the public good, their particular disinterestedness, their obedience to the laws and lawful authority, their faith in treaties, their patience in labour, their constancy in their resolutions, their courage and valour, and, above all, their love of equality, and freedom from all ambition: these virtues, although defective in their end and motives, as they were not referred to God, but to vain-glory, were notwithstanding very valuable in themselves, with respect to the rules and duties of civil society.

I cannot better conclude this article, than with the solid reflection of St. Augustin, [h] upon the causes of the Roman power. “ Though they were void, says he, of true piety, which consists in the sincere worship of the true God; they observed notwithstanding certain rules of probity and justice, which are the foundation of a state, contribute to its increase, and serve to establish it. And it pleased God to grant them an incredible success, to shew, by the example of so great and powerful an empire, how useful civil and political virtues are, though separate from true religion; and to let other men thereby see how valuable they become, when exalted and ennobled by true religion, and in what manner they may thereby become citizens of another country, where truth is king, charity the law, and whose duration is eternity. *Cujus rex veritas, cujus lex caritas, cujus modus æternitas.*”

[g] Maccab. lib. i. c. 8.

[h] S. Aug. ep. 138. ad Marcell. c. 3.

The FOURTH PIECE of ROMAN HISTORY.

The CHANGE of the ROMAN REPUBLIC into a MONARCHY, foretold and observed by the historian Polybius, in the sixth book of his history.

I SHALL divide what I have to say upon this subject into two parts. In the first I shall give a short account of the principles which Polybius lays down upon the different sorts of government, and on which he formed conjectures that foretold the change which was to happen in the Roman republic. In the second I shall explain, as briefly as I can, how this change actually came to pass, after the manner, and for the reasons which Polybius had expressed.

I think myself obliged to inform my readers, in the beginning of this little dissertation, that when I speak of the different sorts of government, and the judgment to be formed of them, I only relate the sentiments of Polybius. For my own part, I adhere to the decision which is found in [i] Herodotus, where the monarchical state is preferred to the other two.

C H A P. I.

The PRINCIPLES of Polybius upon the different SORTS of GOVERNMENT, and particularly that of the ROMANS.

THE different sorts of government are generally reduced to three kinds; one where the king governs, which Polybius calls βασιλεία, *regal government*; another in which the nobility have the supreme authority, which is called an *aristocracy*; and a third which is called a *democracy*, where the whole power of the state is vested in the people.

Every one of these forms of government has another which very much resembles it, borders upon it, and into which it often degenerates, whereof mention shall be made hereafter.

[i] Herod. lib. iii. c. 80.

A perfect government would be that which should unite in itself all the advantages of the three former, and avoid the dangers and inconveniencies they include.

Such was the government of Sparta. Lycurgus, being sensible that the three forms of government we have mentioned, had each of them great inconveniencies, which were almost inevitable; that royalty sometimes degenerated into tyranny and arbitrary power; aristocracy into an unjust dominion of some particular persons, and the power of the people into anarchy and confusion; Lycurgus, I say, contrived to introduce these three forms of government into that of Sparta, and in a manner blend them into one; insomuch that the royal authority was balanced by the power of the people, and a third order, composed of the elders and wise men of the republic, served as a counterpoise to the two former, to hold them constantly in a kind of equilibrium, and hinder the one from rising too much above the other. This wise legislator was not mistaken in his views; and no republic ever preserved its laws, its customs, and its liberty, so long as that of Sparta. The institutions of Lycurgus, indeed, were by no means proper for a state determined upon conquests and aggrandizing itself, which therefore did not enter at all into his scheme or design, as this wise legislator did not place the solid happiness of a people in it. It was his intention that the Spartans, confining themselves within the natural bounds of their country, without any thoughts of invading the territories of another, should, by their justice and moderation, still more than by their power, become the masters and arbiters of the fate of all the other people of Greece, which, in his opinion, was no less glorious than to carry the success of their arms abroad. Nor did they fall from their glory, till they departed from these wise views of their legislator. For when they were obliged to furnish provisions out of their own territories, to fit out fleets, pay seamen, and defray the expences of a long war, their iron money was no longer

of any use to them; and this laid them under a necessity, as haughty as they were, of servilely making their court to the grandees of Persia to obtain money of them, every where current, and of becoming voluntary slaves before they were subdued by force.

If the glory of a state, says Polybius, is made to consist in the aggrandizing and extending itself, in making conquests, in ruling over many people, and attracting the eyes of the whole earth, it must be owned that no government had ever so many advantages, nor was so calculated for obtaining this end, as that of the Romans. Like the government of Sparta, it united in one the three forms of authority we have mentioned. The consuls held the place of kings; the senate formed the public council, and the people had a great share in the administration. There was only this difference in it, that it was not by a plan and design laid down from the beginning, as at Sparta, but by the consequence of events, that Rome assumed this form of government; every one of the three parties which made up the body of the state, had a distinct power; the description of which may not here be disagreeable, as it may very much contribute to the understanding of the Roman history. Polybius is very particular upon this subject.

The POWER of the CONSULS.

Whilst the consuls resided at Rome, they had the administration of all public affairs. All the other magistrates, except the tribunes of the people, were subject to them, and obliged to obey them. Upon them turned whatever related to the deliberations of the senate. They admitted ambassadors into it, proposed the public affairs, and reduced its resolutions to form in writing. They carried them to the people, called assemblies for that purpose, in which they were to deliberate of the common affairs of the public, laid before them the decrees of the senate for their examination, and, according to the importance of the subject,

after

after a deliberation, attended with many other formalities, concluded by the majority of voices. They presided in the creation of the magistrates of the republic, and for this reason were so frequently recalled from the army, and were not ordinarily allowed to be both absent from Italy.

As to war and military expeditions, the consuls had almost sovereign power; they had the care of raising armies; of settling the number of troops, which the allies were separately to furnish; and of nominating the principal officers to serve under them. When they were in the field, they had the right of condemning and punishing without appeal. They disposed of the public money at their pleasure, and applied it as they judged convenient; the quæstor constantly attending them, and supplying them with such sums as they required, out of the funds assigned to them for the service; so that, considering the Roman republic in this point, one would be almost inclined to think it governed by a regal and monarchical authority.

The Power of the SENATE.

The senate almost absolutely disposed of the finances and public treasure. They took account of all the revenues and expences of the state, and the quæstors could not deliver out any sum, except to the consuls, without a decree of the senate. The case was the same with reference to all the expences the censors were obliged to be at for the support and repairs of the public buildings.

The senate nominated commissioners to take cognizance of all the extraordinary crimes which were committed at Rome and in Italy, and demanded the attention of the public authority, such as treason, conspiracy, poisoning and murders; and to pass sentence upon them. The affairs and causes of private men, or cities, which had any relation to the state, were also judged by the senate. It was the senate which sent ambassadors, declared war against the enemies of the

state, granted audience, and gave answers to the deputies and embassadors of foreign people and princes. It was the senate likewise which sent commissioners abroad, to hear the complaints of the allies, to regulate the limits and the frontiers, to see good order observed in the provinces, and to decide the pretensions of states and kingdoms. Thus, a stranger, who should have come to Rome in the absence of the consuls, would have thought the government of the republic was entirely aristocratical, that is, in the hands of the elders and sages.

The POWER of the PEOPLE.

The power of the people, however, was very considerable. They were sole masters and arbiters of rewards and punishments, which is the most essential part of government. They often fixed pecuniary mulcts upon such as had been possessed of the highest employments, and had alone the right of condemning the Roman citizens capitally. And in this last case there was a very laudable custom at Rome, according to Polybius, and worthy our observation, which was, to leave a person who was accused of a capital crime, the power of preventing judgment, and retiring into some neighbouring city, where he past the rest of his life in peace and liberty, in a voluntary banishment. It was the people, who by their suffrages conferred all offices and honours, which in a republic are the most glorious rewards of probity and merit. They had alone the right of instituting and abrogating laws, and what is still more considerable, it was the people who deliberated of peace and war, who decided alliances, treaties of peace, and conventions with foreign people and princes. Who would not have thought such a government absolutely popular and democratical.

The mutual DEPENDENCE of the CONSUL, SENATE, and PEOPLE upon each other.

It is this mutual dependence of the different parts of a republic, wherein the security, strength, and beauty

beauty of it consists. From this reciprocal want they have of one another, arises a kind of harmony between the different members, and an unanimous concurrence; which holding them all strictly united amongst themselves, by the bond of common interest, renders the body of the state invulnerable, and not to be conquered by any foreign power.

We have already observed, that the power of the consul, in time of war, was almost sovereign, and yet he absolutely depended, in several particulars, both upon the senate and people. For on one side it was only by order from the senate that he could receive the sums that were necessary for the provisions, clothes, and pay of the soldiers; and the denial, or delay of these succours, disabled the general from forming any attempt, or pursuing his designs as far as he could wish. The same senate, at the end of the year, could appoint a successor to the consul, or continue him in the command of the army, and thereby had it in their power to leave him the glory of ending the war, or to take it from him. Lastly, it depended upon the senate to cast a blemish upon the achievements of the generals, or advance their glory. For it was the senate which decreed the honour of a triumph, and appointed the expences necessary for that pompous solemnity. On the other side, as it belonged to the people to declare war, to confirm or disannul the treaties made with princes and foreign nations, and to call the generals to an account for their conduct at their return from the army, it is easy to see how attentive it was necessary for them to be in conciliating the favour of the people.

As to the senate, though their power was so great in other respects, yet in several points it was subject to that of the people. In great affairs, and such especially as concerned the lives of the citizens, the intervention of their authority was requisite. When any laws were proposed, even such as tended to diminish the rights, honours, and prerogatives of the senate, and the estates of the senators, the people were the judges

judges whether they should be received or rejected. But the greatest instance of their power was, that if but one of their tribunes opposed the resolutions and designs of the senate, it sufficed to put a stop to them, so that after this opposition the senate could proceed no farther.

Lastly, the people likewise in their turn, were nearly concerned to keep fair with the senators, both in general and in particular. The receivers of taxes, tributes, and customs, in a word, of all the income and revenue of the state, the undertakers, who engaged to furnish the army with provisions, to repair the temples and other public buildings, to keep up the high-roads; these persons formed numerous societies, which were all taken out of the people, and subsisted a great number of citizens, some being employed in collecting the revenues, others serving for security to the farmers, others lending their money by way of advance, and putting it out to use in that manner. Now the censors were the persons who adjudged these farms to the companies who offered to accept them, and also allotted to the undertakers the several works to be done; and it was the senate, which either of itself, or by commissioners of their nomination, passed judgment without appeal, concerning the disputes which might arise upon any of these matters, so far as to disannul sometimes such agreements as became impracticable, and to grant a farther time for the payment, or to lower the rate of the leases, upon account of some ill accident intervening. And, what was still more capable of inspiring the people with modesty and respect for the decrees of the senate, [k] the judges of the greatest part of the public and private affairs of any consequence, were taken out of their body. The citizens were likewise obliged to keep fair with the consuls, upon whom they all depended, especially in time of war, and when they served under them in the army.

[k] The form of judgment was changed in after-times.

It was this mutual relation and agreement of all the orders of the republic, which rendered the government of Rome the most accomplished that ever was in the world.

When we read, in the infancy of the republic, and the times immediately following it, of the almost continual seditions which so long divided the senate and people, and that kind of intestine war between the tribunes and consuls, we justly stand astonished, how a state agitated by such frequent and violent convulsions, should not only be able to subsist, but to conquer, even at that very time, all the neighbouring people, and presently after to extend their victories into countries far more remote. Polybius gives a solid reason for it, which reflects a considerable honour upon the Roman people; and this is, that when the republic was attacked by an enemy from without, the fear of the common danger, and the motive of the public good, suspended their private quarrels, and entirely re-united them. The love of their country was then in a manner the soul which put all the parts and members of the state into motion, every one striving to discharge their duty in their several functions, either by forming resolutions with deliberation and wisdom, or by putting them in execution with promptitude and alacrity; and it was this good understanding and unanimity which constantly rendered the republic invincible, and gave success to all their undertakings.

It was this very constitution of the Roman government which maintained and subsisted the republic for some time, even after the citizens, delivered from the fear of a foreign enemy, grown haughty and insolent by their victories, emasculated by riches and pleasures, and corrupted by praise and flattery, began to abuse their power, and commit violence and wrong in a thousand instances. For in this condition the authority of the senate, and that of the people, being always counter-balanced by each other, when one of the two parties at any time endeavoured to extend its power, the other presently joined all its forces to pull
it

it down, and keep it in order; and thus, by this mutual equality, this balancing power and authority, the republic always maintained itself in its liberty and independency.

CAUSES of the CHANGE of a REPUBLIC into a MONARCHY.

It is with a state and a republic, says Polybius, as with the human body, which has its progress and increase, its time of strength and maturity, its declension and end; and usually, when a state is arrived at the height of grandeur and power, it afterwards degenerates by more or less sensible declensions, and falls at last to ruin.

Thus, says Polybius, whilst the government of Carthage, like that of Sparta and Rome, was made up of the [1] three sorts of power we have been speaking of, it was very potent and flourishing. But in the beginning of the second Punic war, and in the time of Hannibal, it might be said in some measure, to be upon the decline. Its youth, flower, and vigour, were already faded; it had begun to fall from its former height, and tend towards its ruin. Whereas Rome was then, as I may say, in full strength and vigour, and making large advances towards the conquest of the world. The reason which Polybius gives, of the fall of the one, and the increase of the other's power, is drawn from the principles he had laid down concerning the successive revolutions of states. Amongst the Carthaginians, the people had at that time the principal authority in all public affairs; on the other hand, at Rome, the senate had then more credit than ever. From whence he concludes, that a people, guided by the prudence of old men, must necessarily have the advantage over a state governed, or rather hurried on by the rash counsels of the multitude. Rome accordingly, which, properly speaking, began then to extend its power, and make trial of its strength against foreigners, governed by the wise counsels of

[1] Kings, formerly named Suffetæ, the senate and the people.

the senate, was at last superior in the total result of the war, though in particular it had the disadvantage in several engagements, and established its power and greatness upon the ruins of its rival.

But all things under the sun have their decrease and end, and the wisest and best constituted republics as well as all the rest. Now the fall of states must arise either from internal causes, and such as subsist in the state itself, or from causes that are foreign and external. It is not easy for human wisdom, however penetrating, to foresee the latter, as they depend upon numberless uncertain and obscure events; whereas the former have, if I may be allowed to say so, a fixed order, and almost certain prognostics.

To pass a right judgment upon the cause of changes in states, we need only attend to the manner in which these states are usually formed and established, and we shall then be surprised to see by what unforeseen and unexpected revolutions things return almost always to the first point from whence they set out.

It is natural, [*m*] when a multitude of men are found together in the same country, without laws, government, or any subordination, and by a necessary consequence exposed to a great deal of wrong and violence, that the strongest amongst them, as always happens among animals, should become their head. This man employing afterwards his power and authority to protect and succour the rest, to defend them against violence and injustice, to procure them rest and tranquillity, to favour constantly such as are judged to be men of the greatest probity, and to be exact in treating every one of his subjects according to their merit; they then with one consent confirm the authority he had at first usurped, and of violent had made just and reasonable. They then swear to pay him an entire obedience, and a perfect submission, which is so much the more firm and sure, as it is founded upon the interest of those who engaged to submit to

[*m*] We see in Herodotus, that thus established in the person of the kingdom of the Medes was Dejoces.

it. [n] Such is usually the origin of monarchy, and such the steps by which it is converted into regal sway, which, in the governing of willing subjects, chuses rather to employ the wisdom of counsels, than terror and force; which motives conduced most in making Romulus a king.

In after-times the successors of this authority, at first so mild and beneficial, observing their power to be thoroughly established, and plentifully enjoying all kind of happiness and honours, begin to abuse their power, commit numberless wrongs, exercise abundance of cruelty, and become the object of the people's hatred. It is easy to discern in this description the character of Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of the Romans.

The royal authority being thus changed into tyranny, conspiracies are formed against the tyrants, and persons of the greatest distinction, greatness of mind, valour and fortitude, place themselves at the head of the conspirators, men of that character bearing the unjust treatment of their masters with the greatest impatience. The people then, seeing that they owe their quiet and liberty to their courage, willingly submit to their government, and cheerfully intrust the supreme authority in their hands; as it actually happened when the Tarquins were expelled Rome. And thus an aristocracy is formed, or a government by wise men and elders, such as those grave old men were, of whom the senate was composed.

This sort of government may have a longer duration and stability, but at last it degenerates in its turn like the rest; and instead of those prudent, experienced, and disinterested old men, who had no other view but the good of their country, a small number of men, distinguished from the rest only by ambition, pride and avarice, industriously engross authority to themselves, which paves the way to an oligarchy; of which we have seen some first essays and images in, the

[n] Μόνη τὴν ἐξ ἐκείτων συγχωρημένην, καὶ τῆ γνάμη τὸ πλεῖον ἢ φόβῳ καὶ θίξιν κυβερνωμένην.

violent conduct of the decemvirs, and in the cruel avarice of the wealthiest senators, which forced the people more than once to stand upon their defence against their vexations, by those famous retreats upon the sacred and Aventin hills; and this is what is called an oligarchy.

When a republic is in this condition, and the citizens are alike disgusted and tired with all the preceding forms of government, it is natural that they should turn their views and desires towards a democracy, by striving to increase the power of the people in general, and to equal their rights and privileges with those of the nobility. So long as the sense and remembrance of past ills remain, good order subsists for some time, and an equality is kept up amongst the citizens. But those who come after, and are little affected with the advantages of the old liberty and popular equality, which are now grown stale through use, seek to raise themselves above others, and such are generally the most wealthy. As the legitimate admission to honours, arising from virtue and merit, is often denied them, they employ their great wealth in buying the votes of the people, and use their utmost endeavours to corrupt them by bribes and donations. When once these ambitious men, abandoned to their lust of power, have obtained their ends of the multitude by the temptation of gain, there are no longer any excesses of which they are not capable. The commonwealth falls in this manner into the greatest of misfortunes, which is when the populace becomes supreme dispensers of all things; and this is called ochlocracy.

Polybius observes, that this change of manners, which draws after it an alteration of government, is the usual consequence of the good success and long prosperity of a state. When a republic, says he, having passed through great dangers, becomes victorious after long and heavy wars, and arrived at the height of glory and power, has no more enemies to dispute empire with it, but has subjected all to itself; such a
prosperity,

prosperity, if it is long and lasting, never fails to introduce luxury and ambition into this republic, which infallibly produce the ruin of the most flourishing states. Luxury, to furnish the expences, which daily become greater and more enormous, soon degenerates into avarice, and is forced to have recourse to injustice and rapine; and ambition, to compass its ends, omits nothing that may gain the favour of the people, flattery, complaisance, bribery and corruption. Hence it follows, that the multitude, on one side provoked by the unjust exactions of the rich, and on the other corrupted and grown insolent by the flatteries and bribes of the ambitious, consult only their own passions and caprice in public debates, refuse to give ear to their first magistrates, and to submit to their authority; and, assuming the specious name of liberty and democracy, give themselves up to an unlimited licentiousness, and entirely shake off the yoke of the laws. Accustomed to live upon the substance of others, and fatten in ease and idleness, if they find a head who is not in a condition to supply all their wants of himself, but, being bold and enterprising, seems capable of gratifying their desires by other expedients, they adhere to him, and support and advance him. Hence arise seditions, murders, banishments, proscriptions, new divisions of lands, and disannulling of debts; till at last, somebody, more powerful and mighty than any of the rest, starts up, who assumes the whole authority to himself, and becomes sole master of the government. Thus the too eager desire of liberty, or to speak more properly, the abuse the people make of it, ends in the loss of that very liberty, and the establishment of a new sovereign and arbitrary government.

Such were in short the revolutions, which changed the face and nature of the Roman republic, as it now remains for us to shew.

C H A P. II.

The CHANGE of the ROMAN REPUBLIC into a MONARCHY.

WHAT Polybius had foreseen came to pass, in the manner and for the reasons he had observed. It was the very grandeur and prosperity of Rome which occasioned the loss of its liberty. From the time that the Roman republic was arrived at that height of glory to which the courage and virtue of its ancient generals and magistrates had raised it, it began to decline, at first by imperceptible degrees; but afterwards by such as were more obvious, and ended at last in the open violation of the ancient maxims of the government, and the infraction of the fundamental laws of the state.

When the republic, [o] says Sallust, had raised itself by labour and justice; when mighty kings had been conquered in war, and fierce nations and numerous people subdued by force; when Carthage the rival of Rome was entirely conquered, and all, in a word, made subject to the Roman empire both by sea and land, there arose a surprising revolution in the whole body of the state. Those whom neither labour, nor dangers, nor so many adversities could ever conquer, were subdued by the softness of repose, and the allurements of plenty and prosperity. Avarice and ambition, the fatal springs of every evil, increased in proportion to the power of Rome. Avarice banished integrity, probity, and every other virtue from the republic, and substituted in their place pride and pomp, a contempt of religion, and a shameful commerce which exposed every thing to sale; and ambition in its turn introduced dissimulation, fraud and treachery, and soon after violence, cruelty and murder.

It was thus, according to the fine thought of Juvenal, that luxury, a more fatal and cruel scourge than

[o] Sallust. in bello Catilin.

war, ravaged the Roman empire, and revenged the conquered world.

—————*Sævior armis*

Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.

It remains therefore only to shew how just the conjectures were which Polybius wisely formed, concerning the change which he foresaw would happen in the republic, to give a particular account of the principal causes which brought on that revolution, as we find them either in contemporary authors, or in such as wrote soon after that great event. By this we shall clearly see the surprising difference there was betwixt the first ages of the Roman republic, and those which preceded its ruin, and have at the same time a more perfect idea of all the states through which it passed.

RICHES, *attended with* LUXURY in BUILDING, FURNITURE, DIET, &c.

I shall not here repeat what I have already observed in the beginning of this volume, concerning the noble disinterestedness of the Romans, and their esteem of poverty, simplicity, frugality and modesty. Virtues at that time so common, and so generally practised, that they were less ascribed to the particular merit of some citizens, than to the genius of the nation, and the happy character of those early ages; but, at the same time, virtues so sublime, and carried to so high a point of perfection, that, in the latter ages of the republic, they passed for fables and fictions, so remote were they from the taste that then prevailed, and seemed so far superior to human weakness.

[*p*] From the time that riches were had in honour, and became the only introduction to offices, power, and glory, virtue was no longer held in esteem. Poverty was looked upon as a reproach, and innocence

[*p*] Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœperunt, & eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur; hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, inno-

centia pro malevolentia duci cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritia, cum superbia invasere. Sallust. in bello Jugurth.

of

of manners as the effect of a melancholy humour. And the fruit of these riches was luxury, avarice and pride.

The epocha of this change of disposition amongst the Romans, was that of the grandeur of the empire.

[q] The first Scipio laid the sure foundation of their future greatness; the last, by his conquests, opened the door to luxury. From the time that Carthage, which kept Rome in exercise by disputing the empire with it, was entirely destroyed, the declension of manners proceeded no longer by slow degrees, but was sudden and precipitate. Virtue immediately gave way to vice, the ancient discipline to looseness of manners, and the active laborious life, to idleness and pleasure.

And whereas the ancient Romans strove rather to honour the gods by piety than magnificence, [r] *colabantur religiones piè magis quàm magnificè*, the immense riches, which were the fruits of their later conquests, were employed in raising lofty temples to the gods, and magnificent buildings for the decoration and embellishment of Rome.

It is difficult, not to say impossible, but what is made the object of admiration, must sooner or later become the taste of private persons. Thus an historian observes, that from the time they began to use marble in the building of temples, and raised theatres and porticoes, the luxury of private persons followed close at the heels of the public magnificence, [s] *publicamque magnificentiam secuta privata luxuria est*. The madness for building was carried to a prodigious excess, and mere private men made it their diversion, and, at the same time, their glory, to lavish away vast sums of money in levelling mountains, and filling up seas.

Their luxury was the same in every other particular, and it was the army that returned victorious out of Asia, which introduced it into Rome, or at least made it far more common there than it had been be-

[q] Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 1.

[r] Liv. lib. iii. n. 57.

[s] Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 1.

Sallust. in bello Catilin.

fore. [t] Livy enumerates the several kinds of rich furniture, which from that time came into use: the comedians, singing women, and players upon instruments, began then also to make part of the entertainment at meals; the meals themselves no longer retained the air of the ancient simplicity, but were made at a great expence, and with a large apparatus. A cook, who was looked upon by the ancients as a vile slave, was then held in esteem and honour, as an officer not to be dispensed with; and what before had been a low employment, became an art very much studied and esteemed. And yet all this was nothing in comparison of the excess they afterwards fell into.

[u] Cato the Censor took a deal of pains to lay before the senate the fatal consequences of the luxury, which in his time began to be introduced into the republic. Seeing the great progress of their arms in Greece and Asia, provinces abounding with the dangerous baits and allurements of every kind of pleasure, and that the Romans began to lay hands upon the treasures of kings; "I fear, [x] said he, that we shall become the slaves of those riches, instead of their masters; and that the conquered nations will conquer us in their turn, by communicating their vices to us." His apprehensions were not imaginary, and all that he had foretold, came afterwards to pass.

TASTE for STATUES, PICTURES, &c.

[y] It was the conquest of Syracuse which produced this unhappy effect; though the statues and pictures, which that great city was filled with, were spoils justly acquired by the right of war, and Marcellus was so cautious as to carry off but a small number of

[t] Lib. xxxix. n. 6.

[u] Lib. xxxiv. n. 4.

[x] Hæc ego, quo melior lætiorque in dies fortuna Reipublicæ est, imperiumque crescit; & jam in Græciam Asiamque transcendimus, omnibus libidinum illecebris repletas & regias etiam attractamus gazas:

eo plus horreo, ne illæ magis res nos ceperint, quam nos illas.

[y] Hostium quidem illa spolia, & parta belli jure: cæterum inde primum mirandi græcarum artium opera, licentiæque hinc sacra profanaque omnia vulgò spoliandi, factum est. Lib. xxv. n. 40.

them, only to adorn a temple at Rome, without reserving any for the ornament of his own house or gardens, those works of art, which were so much valued and sought after, became fatal to the empire, by inspiring the Romans with an admiration and taste of those vain ornaments.

[z] Fabius, by his generous contempt of them, after the conquest of Tarentum, shewed more prudence than Marcellus had done at Syracuse. For when an officer asked Fabius what he would have done with a great number of statues which were found in the city, and were so many gods of a large stature, represented as fighting with each other, in a particular attitude, “*Let us leave the Tarentines, says Fabius, their angry gods.*”

The second Scipio, in the conquest of Carthage, behaved in a manner still more worthy of the old Roman greatness. [a] After he had severely prohibited his men from seizing, or even buying any thing of the spoils, he ordered the inhabitants of Sicily to come and claim the statues which the Carthaginians had formerly taken from them; [b] and restoring to the Agrigentines the famous bull of Phalaris, he told them, that this monument of the cruelty of their ancient kings, and the mildness of their present masters, should inform them which was the greatest advantage, to be under the yoke of the Sicilians, or under the government of the Roman people. Not, [c] says Cicero, that this great man, who had a mind so well improved, wanted either places for these curious works of art, or judgment to discern all their beauties. But, surpassing not only in disinterestedness, but in delicacy of taste, all our most refined connoisseurs, he judged that these works were wrought, not to satisfy the vain curiosity, much less the luxury of mankind, but to serve as ornaments in temples and cities. And as an [d] historian judiciously observes, it were much to be

[z] Liv. lib. xxvii. n. 16.

[a] Cic. Ver. iv. n. 86.

[b] Ver. vi. n. 3.

[c] Ver. iv. n. 87. & Ver. vi. n. 98.

[d] Vell. Paterc. lib. i. n. 13.

wished, for the benefit and honour of the republic, that they had ever retained the noble contempt of Scipio, or even the ignorance and gross taste of Mummius. This last, in transporting the most valuable part of the spoils of Corinth to Rome, was so little acquainted with the value and excellence of performances of this sort, that he told the undertakers, who were employed to bring them over, that if any of them were lost, they should be obliged to make them good at their own expence. The republic would have been happy, if this pretended good taste had never been introduced among them, as it opened a door to such rapine and violence, as highly dishonoured the Roman people among strangers.

What Cicero relates of the horrible excesses into which this passion of collecting valuable vessels and pictures led Verres, during the time of his prætorship in Sicily, is scarce credible. The generality of the other governors were not far behind hand with him in this kind of robbery. [e] But how great a difference was there between such magistrates and the ancient Romans, who thought it a duty and an honour to leave this kind of ornaments to their allies, and even to the people tributary to them, that the one might be sensible of the mildness of the Roman government, and the other have some consolation under their slavery?

Insatiable Avarice, Injustice, Rapine, Ill-treatment of the Allies and conquered Nations.

[f] It is a very just reflection in Tully, that the oracle of Apollo, which declared that Sparta should never be ruined but by avarice, gave a prediction which concerned all other wealthy nations besides the Lacedæmonians. This oracle was verified in the case of the Roman republic, more than in any other state. All the historians who speak of its ruin, agree that avarice was the cause of it, and that this avarice arose

[e] Ver. vi. n. 134.

[f] Lib. ii. de offic. n. 77.

from riches and luxury. [g] In short, from the moment that any one grows passionately fond of magnificence, grand equipages, fine furniture, plenty and elegance in eating and drinking, it is a natural and necessary consequence, that he will set no bounds to his love of money, which buys all these things, and without which they cannot be procured.

[b] Sallust owns, after a great many reflections upon the causes of the grandeur and power of the ancient Romans, who often defeated numerous armies with a small body of troops, and, with a very moderate revenue, supported long wars against very wealthy kings, without losing courage in the least from any adversity; Sallust, I say, owns that Rome was indebted for this grandeur and power to a small number only of illustrious citizens, whose excellent merit and solid virtue had rendered poverty victorious over riches, and a small body of soldiers superior to innumerable armies. But, adds he, from the time the citizens suffered themselves to be corrupted by luxury and idleness, Rome, like a woman past child-bearing, has ceased to produce great men; and though it still subsisted some time after, it was only in consequence, and by means of its ancient grandeur, which continued to support the republic, notwithstanding the weakness and vices of its governors.

It is worth while to compare those happy times of the republic, when poverty was generally had in honour, with the latter ages, when pomp, luxury, and magnificence reigned, in conjunction with a mean and sordid avarice. What great men were those consuls and dictators, who were taken from the plough? What noble sentiments, what magnanimity in the two Scipios, in Fabius, and in Paulus Æmilius? Did these ancient Romans set any value upon money? When [i] Pyrrhus endeavoured to corrupt the senate by pre-

[g] Delectant magnifici apparatus, vitæque cultus cum elegantia & copiâ; quibus rebus effectum est, ut infinita pecuniæ cupiditas esset.

De offic. lib. i. n. 25.

[b] Sallust. in bello Catilin.

[i] Liv. lib. xxxiv. n. 4.

sents, was there one single person in the city tempted to receive them? The case was much altered in the time of Jugurtha, who found means to gain the votes of almost all the senators by the influence of his bribes; [k] so that when he was forced to leave Rome, turning his eyes back upon it from time to time, he called it a city ready to be sold to the highest bidder, and which only wanted a purchaser.

So long as this noble disinterestedness lasted, those who had the command of the troops, and the government of the provinces, instead of seeking to enrich themselves with the spoils of the allies or conquered people, looked upon themselves as their fathers and guardians. [l] It was then the principle of the Roman people to conquer less by force of arms than benefits, and to prefer the gaining of friends before the making of slaves. Neither the marches of their troops, nor the encampment of their armies, nor their winter quarters, nor the residence of the generals in any city, were any expence to the inhabitants. It was this conduct that acquired the Roman empire so much honour and esteem. The senate then, says Tully, was the refuge and asylum of kings, people, and nations. Our magistrates and generals then placed their chief glory in defending the provinces, and supporting their allies with inviolable justice and fidelity. [m] Thus we were the protectors rather than the masters of the world.

Let us hear the same Tully, and he will tell us how much things were altered in his time. [n] All the provinces, says he, groan, all free people are in desolation, all kingdoms loudly complain of the violences and vexations they suffer from us. In the large extent of countries, which are terminated by the ocean, there is now no place so remote, whither the avarice and injustice of our generals and magistrates have not penetrated. It is now no longer possible to sustain, I say

[k] Sallust. in bello Jugurth.

[l] Ibid.

[m] Itaque illud patrocinium orbis terre verius quam imperium po-

terat nominari. De offic. lib. ii. n. 27.

[n] Ver. iv. n. 207.

not the power, the arms, the invasion of nations, but their cries, their complaints and their reproaches. It is difficult, [o] says he in another place, to tell you how odious the unjust and violent conduct of the governors, whom we send into our provinces, have made us to all foreign nations. There is no temple which they have held sacred, no city which they have respected, no private house has been barred or inaccessible to their avarice. This was the state of the republic in late times; and if we enquire into the first cause and origin of all these disorders, we shall find, what I cannot repeat too often, that they were the insatiable love of riches and luxury.

IMMODERATE AMBITION, *a boundless desire of RULE, attended with Factions, Seditions, Murders, and the entire subversion of Liberty.*

[p] Tully, after Plato, lays down two essential rules to be observed by persons employed in government. The first is to have no other view than the public good, without the least regard to their own private interest; the second, to extend their cares equally to the whole body of the state, without favouring one part more than another. For, adds he, a governor is a kind of guardian, and under that character must consider the interest of the person committed to his care, and not his own. And he who should take care of one part of the citizens only, and neglect the rest, would introduce discord and sedition, than which nothing can be more pernicious to states.

These may properly be said to be the fundamental laws of every wise and well ordered government, and it was the exact observation of these rules, that formed the character of the good citizens and great men of the republic, as it was upon this plan, and these principles, the republic was first formed and established.

[v] Pro Lege Manil. n. 65.

[p] Offic. lib. i. n. 85.

[q] When

[*q*] When the authority of annual magistrates was substituted in the place of regal power, which was become unsupportable, the senate was considered as the perpetual and public council of the state, to be in a manner the soul and head of the republic, the guardian and defender of the laws, the protector of the liberty and priviledges of the people; and all the citizens were admitted into this illustrious body, without any other distinction than that of virtue and merit. The magistrates gloried in respecting the authority of the senate, and were looked upon as the ministers of that august council, and the different orders of the state contributed their peculiar lustre to exalt the glory of the highest and most noble assembly. It was this concert and union in promoting the public good, which so long preserved a good understanding in the republic, which gave success to all the wars they undertook, and spread the glory and terror of the Roman name throughout the world. An opposite conduct produced the quite contrary effect.

[*r*] Before the destruction of Carthage, the disputes among the citizens for power and authority were not carried to any excess of violence. The fear of foreign powers was a restraint, which kept them within the bounds of moderation, and inspired a respect for the laws. [*s*] Till then the Romans had not ventured to shed the blood of their citizens, and the highest excess of their civil dissensions was carried no farther than to quit the city, and retire to the top of some neighbouring mountain. When Rome saw herself delivered from all apprehensions of foreign enemies, licentiousness and pride, the usual consequences of prosperity, soon disturbed the union and concord which had till then prevailed. The nobility and people, the one under a pretext of supporting their dignity, and the other their liberty, fought each of them separately to enlarge their authority, and engross all power to them-

[*q*] Cic. orat. pro Sext. n. 137.

[*r*] Sallust. in bello Jugurth.

[*s*] Nondum erant tam fortes

ad sanguinem civilem, nec prater

externa noverant bella, ultimaque

rabies secessio ab suis habebatur,

Liv. lib. vii. n. 40.

selves. [1] And most part of those who set themselves at the head of the two parties, under the specious title of defenders of the public good, laboured in reality at nothing more than the establishment of their own private power; and amidst these two factions, the republic, torn by their divisions, and given up as a prey to the ambition of her citizens, was always in a state of subjection to the most powerful. [u] It must not be asked which of the heads of these parties had most right and justice on their side; all were alike unjust, and all usurpers of a power which did not belong to them. He who was the strongest, and remained the conqueror, was always sure to be applauded.

[x] We learn from hence, that nothing is more capable of extinguishing justice and the laws, than the passion for power and dominion over others; a passion the more dangerous, as it is covered over with the appearance of virtue and glory, and for that reason generally draws in such as suppose themselves distinguished from the rest of mankind, by more noble sentiments and a superior greatness of mind.

We shall now see these fatal dispositions disclose themselves by little and little, increase as it were by degrees with time, and at last end in the entire subversion of liberty.

The GRACCHI.

Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, descended by their mother from the famous Scipio Africanus, supported the honour of their birth by an extraordinary merit.

[1] Per illa tempora, quicumque rempublicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii sicuti jura populi defenderent, pars quo senatus auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quisque potentia certabant. Sallust. in bello Catilin.

[u] Boni & mali cives appellati, non ob merita in rempublicam, omnibus pariter corruptis; sed uti quisque locupletissimus, & injuria vali-

dior, quia praesentia defendebat, pro bono ducebatur. Sallust. in frag.

[x] Maximè adducuntur plerique, ut eos justitiae capiat oblivio, cum in imperiorum, honorum, gloriae cupiditatem inciderunt. . . Est autem in hoc genere molestum, quod in maximis animis splendidissimisque ingeniis, plerumque existunt honoris imperii, potentiae, gloriae cupiditates. Offic. lib. i. n. 26.

They

They had each of them great capacity, a noble soul, joined to a disposition entirely disinterested, with an irresistible force of eloquence, to which were added a lively and ardent zeal for justice, a natural compassion for the miserable, and an irreconcilable hatred against all oppression; which opposition improved into a personal animosity against the oppressors. It cannot be denied, but that these two illustrious brothers had very upright intentions, and that they had no other end in what they undertook, but an apparently necessary reformation; and that in short they provided a remedy for several disorders by wise regulations. But engagements formed at first with good views, and afterwards carried on with too much warmth, led them farther than they designed. They pursued what they had begun through a virtuous disposition, with an inflexible obstinacy, and by this means their great qualities, which might have been very useful to the state, had they been conducted with discretion and moderation, became fatal and pernicious to it.

The principal subject of the discord that arose upon their account, was the law they proposed concerning the distribution of lands, which, for that reason, was called the Agrarian law. When the Romans had got possession of the lands of their neighbours by conquest, it was customary with them to sell one part of them, to add the rest to the domain of their republic, and to give these last to the poorest of the citizens, to make the best they could of them, upon condition that they paid into the public treasury, a small acknowledgment of rent every year. The rich having begun to encroach upon them, to advance their rents, and by that means to drive the poor out of their possessions, a law was made, requiring that no citizen should possess above five hundred acres of land. This law laid a restraint upon the avarice of the rich for some time, but they afterwards found means to evade it, by causing the farm of those lands to be adjudged to themselves under borrowed names; and at last, holding them openly themselves, the poor were reduced to
extreme

extreme misery, and Italy in danger of being overstocked with the slaves and Barbarians, whom the rich made use of to cultivate the lands of which they had dispossessed the citizens.

This practice was most shamefully scandalous, and the law proposed by the Gracchi seemed extremely reasonable. They were at first content to ordain, that the rich should quit the lands they had usurped upon receiving from the public the price of the possessions they so unjustly held, and that the citizens who stood in need of them, should enter upon them in their stead. “Why, [y] said they to the people, the wild
“beasts find holes and dens to creep into, in the
“mountains and forests of Italy, and shall those
“brave Romans, who are exposed to fight and die for
“the defence of Italy, enjoy no more than the light
“and air which cannot be taken from them, and be
“obliged to wander in the fields with their wives and
“children, without house or home? They only fight
“and die to increase the revenue, and support the lux-
“ury of the rich, and these pretended masters of the
“world (for so they are called) have not one single inch
“of ground which is properly their own.”

There are sometimes disorders in a state which cannot be remedied without ruining the state itself; as in some diseases of the human body, the cure cannot be attempted without an almost certain danger of death. The men of the greatest probity at Rome, and such senators as were most inclined to promote the public good, saw plainly how fatal the consequences would be of the laws proposed by the Gracchi; and their misfortune was, as [z] Tully observes, that they did not agree in opinion and conduct with that most sound and wise part of the republic. [a] It cost both of them their lives, and their tragical end seemed to erect the standard of bloody dissensions, and give the citizens the signal of rising in arms against each other to satisfy the ambition of particular men. From that

[y] Plut. in vit. Gracch.

[a] Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 1.

[z] Cic. Orat. de Harusp. resp. n. 41.

time the laws gave way to violence : the most powerful lorded it over the rest ; the civil dissensions, which till then had ended in pacific treaties, came to be decided only by force of arms ; and as ill examples continually increase, the citizens blood was soon after seen to flow in large streams through the streets of Rome, and Roman armies to march with their ensigns displayed against each other.

II. MARIUS *and* SYLLA.

Marius and Sylla, both born with excellent talents, are an instance of the excess of rage and cruelty, to which ambition may rise, when it is not retained within just bounds by sentiments of honour and probity, and a love for the public good. They seem to have had all the other qualities necessary to form great men.

[*q*] Defect of birth in Marius was hid by the most eminent virtues. Inured from his infancy to a severe life, and afterwards brought up, not in studying of Greek, nor after the delicate manner then practised at Rome, but in the laborious exercises of the camp, he presently became a master in the art of war, and carried his skill in it to as great a height of perfection as any officer had ever done. Capable of the greatest enterprizes in the field, moderate in his particular conduct, and far removed from pleasure and avarice, he had no other passion than that of glory. He behaved himself in such a manner in all the offices wherein he was employed, that he seemed always deserving of greater. And the rest of his life was answerable to this beginning. The several consulships which were successively conferred upon him, the war with Jugurtha happily terminated ; the overthrow of the innumerable armies of Barbarians which ravaged Italy, in two batties, wherein above three hundred thousand were killed or taken, are circumstances which shew the abilities of Marius.

[*b*] Sallust. in bello Jugurth.

[*c*] Sylla,

[c] Sylla, though of a very different character, was inferior to him in no respect. He was of a patrician family, and perfectly instructed in polite literature. He had a lofty soul, loved pleasures, but was fonder of glory. His leisure moments he spent in diversions, but never delayed the dispatch of business upon their account. He was eloquent, of refined wit, and an obliging friend, of profound secrecy and dissimulation, liberal, or rather prodigal. Though before the civil wars he might have been considered as the most fortunate man in Rome, yet his merit never appeared below his fortune, and it could not easily be decided whether he was more happy, or more brave. What proofs of courage, boldness, prudence and ability, did he not give in all the wars wherein he commanded, and especially in the war with Mithridates, the most formidable enemy of the Romans!

Thus they were certainly great men, and very deserving our esteem, if we judge of greatness and glory by honours, talents, or great exploits. But here we must call to mind the truth which I have advanced before, that man is to be judged of by the heart, and the want of integrity and probity can never be atoned for by the most shining qualities.

What a shameful part did a violent desire of obtaining the consulship make Marius at first act? because Metellus, under whom he served as lieutenant, seemed to disapprove of his design, he in the warmth of his rage against him, and consulting only his own resentment and ambition, first privately took pains to discredit him among the soldiery, and presently after becoming the declared enemy and calumniator of his general, supplanted him by unworthy methods, and got himself appointed his successor to terminate the war against Jugurtha. The whole glory of it however did not fall to his share. His quæstor Sylla, into whose hand Jugurtha was delivered, carried off a great part of it from him; and, proud of an event that was so glorious to him, caused the picture of it

to be engraven on a ring, and ever after made use of it as a seal; which gave Marius an irreconcilable aversion for him, and was the first source of their divisions.

[*d*] Paterculus wonderfully describes the character of Marius in a few words. He was a man, says he, eager after glory, and insatiable in the pursuit of it, violent in his desires, and devoured by a restless ambition. *Immodicus gloriæ, insatiabilis, impotens, semperque inquietus.* When he was candidate for a sixth consulship, there was no degree of meanness he did not submit to, that he might gain the favour of the people, nor any unworthy or criminal method he did not make use of, so far as to join with two of the most [*e*] infamous wretches in the city, in order to prevent the election of [*f*] Metellus, who was one of his competitors, and a man of the greatest probity in the republic; and proceeded so far as to procure his banishment by falsehood and perjury, [*g*] which, according to him, were part of the merit and ability of a great man.

How great must be the torments of an ambitious mind? So many honours heaped upon Marius, six consulships [*h*] successively conferred upon him, of which there never was a precedent, immense riches acquired in a very short time, victories without number, and over enemies of every kind; several triumphs, and every one more glorious than the other; all this accumulation of grandeur and prosperity made but a light impression upon the heart of this ambitious man; whilst the rising glory of Sylla, which was perpetually upon the increase, raged within him, distracted and tormented him like a madman.

[*i*] His jealousy was awakened upon the election of a general to be sent against Mithridates. He could not bear that this command should be given to his rival. Though worn out with fatigues, feeble with age, and grown very unwieldy, he endeavoured to shew

[*d*] Lib. ii. n. 11.

[*e*] Glaucia & Saturninus.

[*f*] The same person who has been already mentioned.

[*g*] Αὐτῷ εἰς ἀπέλις καὶ δεινότητος

μερίδα τὸ ψεύσασθαι τιθέμενος. Plut. in vit. Mar.

[*h*] There were only two years between the first and second.

[*i*] Plut. in vit. Mar.

himself in the field of Mars, among the young men who exercised themselves there in riding and fencing. A spectacle which moved pity in all worthy and sensible men. They could not imagine that at his years, after so many triumphs, and having acquired so much glory, he could think of marching into Cappadocia, and to the extremity of the Euxine sea, to exhaust the remains of his old age in fighting against the nobles of Mithridates; yet he was nominated by the people to command in the war, and Sylla obliged to fly to save his life.

But Sylla within a small time returned to Rome at the head of a numerous army, and Marius, after a weak resistance, was in his turn obliged to fly. A price was set upon his head, and the tribune Sulpitius was strangled. Sylla, without tarrying any longer at Rome, marched directly against Mithridates, as fully assured the victories he should gain over so formidable an enemy, would contribute more than any thing to strengthen his authority.

The absence of Sylla gave Marius an opportunity of returning. He had run through strange adventures, been obliged to fly trembling from city to city, to hide himself sometimes in forests and sometimes in a morass. His entrance into Rome was followed by the murder of an infinite number of citizens, and the most considerable persons in the city that adhered to the party of Sylla.

In the mean time a report was spread, that Sylla had put an end to the war with Mithridates, and was returning to Rome with a vast army. Marius, who had procured himself to be chosen consul for the seventh time, was so alarmed at the news, that he could never sleep, and contracted a distemper, of which he died soon after. It is said, that in the delirium, which never left him, he would talk and act as if he were fighting against Mithridates. [k] So deeply had his desire of commanding, and his natural jealousy im-

[k] Οὕτω δεινὸς αὐτῷ καὶ δυσπαρα- ἔως ἐπέθηκε τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων.
 μέβητος ἐκ φιλαρχίας καὶ ζηλοτυπίας Plut. in vit. Mar.

printed in his heart a strong and violent passion for the conduct of that war.

The cruelty of Marius seemed a trifle in comparison of what was afterwards exercised by Sylla. He filled Rome with continual and endless murders, and set no value upon the lives of the citizens. He proscribed at different times an immense number, and forbad all people, upon pain of death, to receive or shelter any that were proscribed, without excepting the person that should save a brother, a son, or a father; and even proposed a reward for the homicide, either in the case of a slave that should kill his master, or a son that should cut the throat of his own father. The death of the proscribed was followed by the confiscation of their goods. [1] Thus avarice gave occasion to cruelty: riches were guilt, and every one appeared criminal in proportion to the wealth he possessed, which at once became the danger of the rich, and the recompence of the murderer. Sylla nominated and declared himself dictator, a title which had not been known at Rome for a hundred and twenty years before. He passed an act of general oblivion for all that was past, and caused himself to be invested with full power, for the future, of putting to death what citizens he pleased; of confiscating estates, distributing lands, destroying cities, building others, taking away kingdoms, and conferring them on whomsoever he pleased.

But what is scarce to be comprehended, after he had put to death so many thousands, introduced into the republic such strange changes and unheard-of innovations, he ventured to resign the dictatorship, to live as a private man, and ended his days in his bed, without one man being found, among so many citizens, whose fathers, brothers and children he had put to death, to attempt his life: divine justice reserved the punishment of him to itself. He was struck with

[1] Id quoque accessit, ut sævitia causam avaritia præberet, & modus culpæ ex pecuniæ modo constitue-

retur, & qui fuisset locuples fieret nocens, siquæ quisque periculi merces foret. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. n. 22.

an horrible disease, and made the prey of a shameful and cruel vermin, which continually increasing in his corrupted flesh, and admitting of no remedy, infected the whole house with an unsupportable stench, and at last brought him to a miserable end.

We learn from Marius and Sylla how very fatal the consequences of a misguided ambition may prove. It is less to be wondered that Marius, who had always something rough, austere and savage in his disposition, [*m*] *birtus atque horridus*, unimproved by study or education, and in a manner uncivilized, should carry his revenge and cruelty the lengths he did. But such excesses are almost incredible in a man of [*n*] Sylla's character, who had always appeared mild, humane, tender, and compassionate, even so as to weep at the misfortunes of others; one that from his youth had been addicted to gaiety and pleasures, and who managed his fortune at first with so much wisdom and moderation. Could this, says Plutarch, be a change of temper and manners arising from high honours and great prosperity? Or was it the bare eruption of a secret depravity concealed in his heart, which his absolute power gave him an opportunity of displaying? Be that as it will, we must conclude, that ambition, when a rival is to be removed, is capable of the blackest crimes, and the most inhuman cruelties.

That of Sylla produced very fatal effects, for several ages after. Possessed with a boundless passion for power, he was the first, who, to gain the affection of the troops, corrupted them by a servile complaisance and excessive bribes. He taught them that it was in their power to give lords to the empire, and it was from this first example that the legions began to consider themselves as having an absolute right, exclusive even of the senate, to dispose of the empire, to advance and depose emperors at their pleasure, without paying any regard to the merit of the best and greatest princes.

[*m*] Paterc.[*n*] Plat. in Syl.

III. CÆSAR, POMPEY.

We have here two other ambitious men, of a character very different from the former; as their ambition, covered and supported by the most glorious qualities, seems less worthy of blame, and was yet no less pernicious to the republic.

These two great men had no superiors in antiquity, if we consider only their military virtues, their enterprises and victories, which filled the universe with the glory of their name.

[*o*] Cæsar, in less than ten years, when he commanded in Gaul, took above eight hundred cities by force; subdued three hundred nations, fought at several times in pitched battles against three millions of enemies, a million of which he cut in pieces, and took another million prisoners. For which reason an historian says, that in respect to the greatness of his projects, the rapidity of his conquests, his courage and intrepidity in dangers, he might be compared to Alexander the Great, but then only while Alexander was neither heated with wine nor angry. [*p*] *Magnitudine cogitationum, celeritate bellandi, patientiâ periculorum, magno illi Alexandro, sed sobrio neque iracundo, simillimus.*

The encomiums which [*q*] Tully gives, in a thousand places, to Pompey's merit, are extremely honourable. From his youth he signalized himself by great commands and important expeditions. He had a share in more battles than those of his rank and age had usually read. He gained as many triumphs as the world has different parts, and as many victories as there are different sorts of war. Success and courage had so constantly attended on him, that he might be said, in some manner, to be exalted above the condition of humanity. And lastly, all the moral virtues, probity, integrity, disinterestedness and religion, had acquired him an immense reputation amongst foreign nations, and taught them to believe that what

[*o*] Plut. in Cæsar.

[*p*] Faterc. lib. ii. n. 41.

[*q*] Pro Cornel. Balb. n. 9. . . .

Pro leg. Manil. n. 28, 41.

was told of the virtue of the ancient Romans was not a fable.

Take ambition from these two rivals, and substitute instead of it a real love for their country, and, I repeat it again, antiquity has never produced two greater men; but the one could not bear a superior, nor the other an equal. Pompey, [r] says an historian, was exempt from almost every fault, if it was not one of the greatest, that being born in a city that was free, and sovereign of nations, in which by right all the citizens were equal, he could not bear that any one should be equal to him in dignity and power. [s] And Cæsar, resolving to rule, and lord it over the rest at any rate, had those verses of Euripides continually in his mouth, which insinuate, that if the greatest crimes were to be committed, it was when a throne was the motive.

*Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratiâ
Violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

[t] The triumvirate formed between Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus, with a view only to their private interests, and which occasioned their own destruction, no less than the ruin of the republic, shews what we are to think of the so much boasted probity of the great Pompey. [u] He went still farther; and, to strengthen his power, was not ashamed to take Cæsar for his father-in-law, adopting by that alliance all his criminal views and designs, the injustice of which he knew better than any body. [x] Thus Cato, in reply to some persons, who were saying that the differences which had arose between Pompey and Cæsar had ruined the commonwealth, no, says he, *it was their union.*

Cato was not mistaken. He had foreseen all that happened afterwards. Finding the laws overthrown, the authority of the senate despised, the people cor-

[r] Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 29.

[u] Cic. lib. iii. de offic. n. 82.

[s] Cic. lib. v. offic. n. 82.

[x] Plut. in Pomp.

[t] Paterc. lib. ii. n. 44.

rupted by bribes, the first places in the commonwealth publicly sold for money, and even with Pompey's knowledge and consent, he did not forbear to inform the senate and people, that they were labouring to give themselves a master, and to divest themselves of the most valuable part of their substance, which was their liberty.

It fell out as he had foretold. Discord at last broke out; the two parties took up arms; [y] the one seemed to have more justice on his side, the other more force. Here the pretence was the more specious, and there the measures most wisely taken. Pompey relied upon the authority of the senate, and Cæsar upon the valour of his soldiers. But the step which Pompey took, of quitting Rome and Italy, took off very much from the high opinion which had before been conceived of his merit.

All the world is acquainted with the success of this civil war. After a great deal of bloodshed, and that the best blood of the republic, Cæsar remained conqueror, and assumed a sovereign power to which the diadem only was wanting, with the title of king, to gratify his ambition; and this he tried several times in vain to obtain by his emissary. It was this which hastened his death, and, by a last effort of expiring liberty, armed against him the hands of his best friends, and those upon whom he had conferred the greatest benefits. It was looked upon as the effect of divine vengeance, that this usurper, who had pursued Pompey to his destruction, after he had made use of his interest to establish his own tyranny, should fall dead, and covered with wounds, at the foot of that Pompey's statue.

IV. *The young* OCTAVIUS.

Matters were now brought to that degree of disorder and confusion in the Roman republic, which Po-

[y] Alterius ducis causa melior Pompeium senatus auctoritas, Cævidebatur, alterius erat firmior. farem militum armavit fiducia. Hic omnia speciosa, illic valentia. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 49.

lybius speaks of, where the only remedy for the present, is the supreme authority of a powerful man, as alone capable of restoring order and regularity. This man was the young Octavius, destined to introduce a new form of government. He was the son of Julius Cæsar's niece, who had adopted him, and declared him his heir by will, and he was not then quite twenty years old. As soon as he heard the news of his uncle's death, he made haste to Rome, took the name of Cæsar, distributed all the money the deceased had left him among the citizens, and by that means formed a powerful party against Anthony, who aspired to the government.

Tully was the person that contributed most to the advancement of the young Cæsar. I beg leave here to explain at large the part which Tully had in this great event. I have endeavoured in the second volume to give some idea of his genius and eloquence, and it may not be improper here to take a view of him as a politician and member of the state. An author who is seldom out of the hands of youth, ought to be known by them in every light.

Tully was then very powerful in the republic; all eyes were turned upon him, as the strongest bulwark and firmest defender of liberty. His hatred against Anthony, whose resentment he had cause to fear, very much contributed to make him incline to Octavius's party. But he was also more attached to him, [z] says Plutarch, through a secret motive of vanity and ambition, as hoping that the arms of this young man would secure and increase his own power and authority in the government, for the good of the republic.

This was always the weak side of Cicero, which induced him to make so mean a court to Cæsar after his victory, and which even hindered him from distrusting Pompey as he should have done, and as he was advised to do, [a] by being told that he must not al-

[z] In vit. Cic.

[a] Pompeius solet aliud sentire
& loqui: neque tamen tantum valet

ingenio, ut non appareat quid cupiat. Epist. i. lib. 8 ad Famil.

ways rely on his fine speeches, and that it was easy, amidst all his fair discourtes, to discover what he aimed at and desired. But Tully would be praised, flattered, considered and employed. A commendation in which there appeared some reserve, was capable, if not to make a quarrel, at least to make him behave with coldness to his best friends; as actually happened in the case of Brutus, [b] who upon some occasion had only called him an *excellent consul*. And what, says Cicero, could an enemy have said more sparingly? On the other hand, whoever praised and caressed him might get from him whatever they would. The young Cæsar was not sparing in this point. He was continually loading him with civilities and flatteries, called him his father, seemed inclined to depend entirely upon him, and do nothing without his advice. And for this reason Tully, who was extremely warm in the pursuit of every thing he had at heart, [c] so highly extolled him in the senate and before the people, and procured him so many privileges, dispensations and extraordinary honours, in preferring the courage with which he had opposed himself to Anthony above all the most glorious actions. And as men of understanding, who doubtless discerned a great fund of ambition, joined with considerable merit, in the young Cæsar, were apprehensive that such particular distinctions might be attended with ill consequences, and the public liberty suffer by them, [d] Tully, to reconcile them, persisted in repeating, that instead of taking any alarm at them, they ought on the contrary to have the highest expectations from this young man, whose sentiments he was thoroughly acquainted with, and knew that he held nothing more dear than

[b] Hic autem (Brutus) se etiam tribuere multum mihi putat, quod scripserit optimum consulem. Quis enim jejunius dixit inimicus? Ad Att. lib. xii. epist. 22.

[c] Laudo, laudo vos, Quirites, cum gratissimis animis prosequimini nomen clarissimi adolescentis, vel potius pueri: sunt enim facta

ejus immortalitatis, non ætatis. Multa memini, multa audiui, multa legi; nihil tale cognovi, &c. Philip. iv. n. 3. Qui nisi esset in hac republicâ natus rempublicam scelere Antonii nullam haberemus. Phil. iii. n. 5.

[d] Philip. v. n. 50, 51.

the republic, nothing more deserving his respect than the authority of the senate, nothing more valuable than the esteem of good men, nor any thing more pleasing and agreeable than true glory.

[e] Brutus, though at a distance from Rome, and the center of business, expressed the same fears and apprehensions. He represented to him, that as he was placed in the highest degree of authority and credit, that a citizen could have in a free city, and to the satisfaction of all his friends, he became in a manner responsible for all events; that to a man in his station good intentions were not sufficient, unless they were attended with prudence; that in the present conjuncture, the principal effect of prudence was to be cautious of the honours that were conferred on those who did service to the republic; as the senate ought never to grant any thing to a private man, which might become of pernicious example to such as were ill disposed, or even supply them with arms and forces against the state.

Tully was not thoroughly sensible of the wisdom and importance of this advice, till Augustus began to treat him with coldness. [f] He then grew sensible what a weight he had laid upon himself in passing his word for him to the republic, and became apprehensive that he should scarce be able to make good his promise. Not that he yet absolutely despaired of it; he thought he saw a remedy in his good disposition, but he feared the inconstancy and flexibility of his age, and dreaded still more the tribe of flatterers, that were constantly around him, and laboured incessantly to turn his head with false ideas of a vain and trifling grandeur.

The conspirators, at whose head was Brutus, were at first highly honoured and commended. And Augustus himself, by pursuing Anthony as an enemy of the republic, seemed to declare openly in their favour. But when he saw his power entirely established, he no longer dissembled, but threw off the mask.

[e] Brut. ep. iii. ad Cic.

[f] Epist. xvii. Cic. ad Brut.

This alteration was very grievous to Cicero, who plainly foresaw the consequences of it, which he was no longer in a condition to prevent. He wrote him a letter upon the subject, in which he implored his protection for the conspirators, but in such a manner as highly offended Brutus, to whom Atticus, their common friend, and doubtless with Tully's consent, had sent a copy of the letter. Brutus expressed his grief and astonishment at it to both of them, in two letters, which well deserve to be read, as they shew, by the generous and noble sentiments they contain, that this great defender of liberty was justly called the last of the Romans. I hope it may not be unacceptable, if I here quote some passages from them.

[g] In the letter to Cicero, after the first compliments, he opens his heart to him upon the mean and submissive manner in which he wrote to Octavius, which might almost occasion a suspicion that Cicero thought they had only changed their master, and not shook off the yoke of dominion. *All that is required of him, you say to him, is, that he would be pleased to protect and defend the citizens, who are esteemed and valued by men of probity, and the Roman people.* Are we then at the discretion of Octavius, and ruined, unless he pleases to protect us? It were better to die an hundred deaths, than to be indebted to him for living.

[b] I do not think the gods so much the enemies of Rome, as to require that the preservation of any citizen, and much less of the deliverers of the world, should be asked of Octavius as a favour; for I think it proper to talk in this high strain to persons ignorant of what every one has to fear, and of whom any thing is to be asked. Are we then upon the point of settling the conditions of slavery, and not of abolishing the slavery itself? What matters it whether it is

[g] Lib. ep. ad Brut. ep. 15.

[b] Ego medius fidius non existimo tam omnes deos aversos esse à salute populi Romani, ut Octavius orandus sit pro salute cujusquam civis, non dicam pro liberatoribus

orbis terrarum. Juvat enim magnificè loqui; & certè decet adversus ignorantes quid pro quoque timendum, aut à quoque petendum sit.

Cæsar,

Cæſar, or Anthony, or Octavius that reigns? Have we only taken up arms to change our maſter, and not to aſſert our liberty? The gods ſhall rather take my life from me a hundred times, than take from me the reſolution of not ſuffering. I ſay not that the heir of him I have ſlain ſhould reign in his place, but that my very father, were he to live again, ſhould make himſelf lord of the laws and ſenate. You intreat for our ſecurity and return to Rome; but be aſſured that we value neither the one nor the other, if they are to be bought at the price of our honour and liberty. [i] To live, in my opinion, is to be at a diſtance from ſlavery, and from thoſe who are friends to it. Every place ſhall be Rome to me, where I can be free. [k] Take care therefore that you do not hereafter recommend me to that Cæſar; nor, if I have any credit with you, yourſelf either. The few years you have left to live, are of ſtrange value to you, if they can induce you to make abject ſupplications to that boy. For my own part, I am reſolved not to be led by the weakneſs or deſertion of others. There is nothing I ſhall omit to preſerve our common country from ſlavery; [l] and I ſhall look with pity upon thoſe, in whom neither their advanced age, the glory of their paſt actions, nor the example of courage which others ſet them, can diminifh a fondneſs for living. If our deſires, and the juſtice of our cauſe meet with ſucceſs, we ſhall be ſatiſfied. But if things happen otherways, I ſhall not judge myſelf at all the more unhappy, as I think myſelf born to defend and deliver my country, and that life is only deſirable on this account.

[m] In his letter to Atticus, he expreſſes himſelf with ſtill greater force and freedom. I agree, ſays

[i] Ego verò longè à ſervientibus abero, mihi que judicabo eſſe Romam, ubicumque locorum eſſe licebit.

[k] Me verò poſthac ne commendaveris Cæſari tuo, ne te quidem ipſum, ſi me audies. Valdè carè æſtimas tot annos quot iſta ætas

recipit, ſi propter eam cauſam puero iſti ſupplicaturus es.

[l] Ac veſtri miſerebor, quibus nec ætas, neque honores, neque virtus aliena dulcedinem vivendi minuere potuerit.

[m] Ibid. epiſt. 16.

he, that Cicero had a very good intention in all that he has done. No body is better acquainted with his affection and zeal for the republic than I am. But upon this occasion, shall I say, that his wisdom is mistaken, or that he has been too much guided by policy? he who was not afraid, for the safety of the state, to make Anthony his enemy? This I am sure of, that by treating Octavius as he has, he has only nourished and inflamed his ambition and presumption. He boasts of having put an end to the war against Anthony, without moving a single step from Rome. Did he do this only to give him a successor? I am grieved that I am forced to write thus to you. But you have desired me to lay open my heart with entire freedom. How imprudent is it, through a blind fear to draw upon ourselves the ills we apprehend, and which possibly we may avoid? [n] Death, banishment and poverty are too terrible to us. Cicero seems to judge these the worst of misfortunes; and, provided he finds persons who respect and commend him, and from whom he may obtain what he desires, he is in no dread of slavery, in case it be honourable; if indeed any thing can be honourable, in the lowest and most wretched degree of infamy. Octavius indeed may well call Cicero his father, and seem willing to depend entirely upon him, and load him with commendations and civilities. We shall soon see how much his words and actions disagree. Is any thing, in short, more opposite to common sense, than to call him father whom we do not look upon as a free man? But it is easy to see, that the good Cicero labours only to make Octavius favourable to him. [o] I no longer set any value upon all his philosophy. For of what use are those noble sentiments to him, with which his books

[n] Nihilum timemus mortem, exilium, & paupertatem. Hæc mihi videntur Ciceroni ultima esse in malis; &, dum habeat à quibus impetret quæ velit, & à quibus colatur ac laudetur, servitutem, honorificam modò, non aspernatur: si quicquam in extremâ ac miserimâ

contumeliâ potest honorificum esse. [o] Ego verò jam iis artibus nihil tribuo, quibus scio Ciceronem instructissimum esse. Quid enim illi profunt quæ pro libertate patriæ, quæ de dignitate, de morte, exilio, paupertate scripsit copiosissimè?

are filled, where he treats of death and banishment, of poverty and solid glory, of real honour, and the zeal which every man ought to shew for the liberty of his country? [p] Let Cicero then live in submission and servitude, since he is capable of it, and neither his age, nor his honours, nor his past actions, make him ashamed to suffer it! For my own part, no condition of slavery, how honourable soever it may appear, shall hinder me from declaring war against tyranny, against decrees irregularly made, against unjust dominion, and every power that would set itself above the laws. He concludes his letter with declaring, that though his friendship for Cicero is not at all lessened, yet he could not avoid thinking of him with far less esteem than formerly, as it is not in our power to judge otherways of men than from the idea we have conceived of them.

Every thing fell out as Brutus had foreseen. Octavius Cæsar soon perceived that the men of probity, who were all zealous for liberty, designed to restrain his authority within the just bounds of lawful power. He learnt also, that Cicero, who seldom or ever stifled his jest, and valued himself upon his skill in railery, that Cicero, I say, by an ambiguous expression, which is not to be expressed in any other language than the Latin, spoke of him as of a young man that was to be praised and honoured, and then taken off. [q] *Laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum.* But the other sharply replied, that he would take effectual care that it should not happen so. *Se non esse commissurum ut tolli possit.*

He took effectual care indeed, by declaring himself at once against the conspirators, to commence a process against them. Then Cæsar, Lepidus, and Anthony, being reconciled, and forming amongst themselves that famous league, which is so well known by the name of the second triumvirate, they divided the

[p] Vivat hercule Cicero, qui potest, supplex & obnoxius, si neque ætatis, neque honorum, neque re-

rum gestarum pudet.

[q] Ep. xi. lib. xx. ad Famil.

provinces, made that horrible proscription of above two hundred of the most illustrious citizens, and set a price upon their heads. We see here again how cruel and violent ambition is, even in such persons as appear to be of a mild and gentle disposition, and how it extinguishes all sense of honour, probity and gratitude. [r] Cæsar, to compass his end, after a weak and faint resistance, sacrificed his benefactor, the artificer of his fortune, in a word, the person he called father, to the hatred of Anthony. He who for so many years had employed his voice in defending the interests both of private persons and the public, died without finding any one to defend himself.

[s] What a sad spectacle! The head of Cicero was placed between his two hands, upon that very rostrum, from whence, as consul, and afterwards as a person of consular dignity, he had so often made his voice to be heard; and where, that very year, he had declaimed against Anthony, with more than human eloquence, and unprecedented applause. He was threescore and three years old when he died, so that his death might not have seemed untimely, if it had not been violent. His genius distinguished itself as well by his works, which were the fruits of it, as the honours which were the reward of it. His state of prosperity, which was of long standing, was mixed with very severe trials, with banishment, the ruin of the party he had embraced, the death of a daughter he affectionately loved, and so unhappy and tragical an end. Of all these misfortunes, death was the only one he bore like a man of courage. After all, set the good against the ill, and we may truly say that he was a very great man, of a very extensive genius, and deserving the admiration of all ages; and that to give him his just praise, would require another Cicero.

[t] St. Augustine, speaking of this event, observes how limited the views of the most prudent men are, and how short-sighted we are in relation to the future.

[r] Paterc. lib. ii. n. 66.

[t] De civit. Dei, lib. iii. c. 30.

[s] Liv. in fragm.

Cicero had warmly espoused the party of the young Cæsar, in hopes of surmounting, by his interest, that of Anthony his enemy, and of restoring liberty by his means; and directly the contrary fell out. It was this young man which gave him up to the rage of Anthony, and within a little time after usurped dominion, and made himself master of the republic.

To resume the series of the narration, and conclude, Cæsar, delivered from his two rivals, by events which it would be too long to relate here, found himself master of all that was subject to the Romans. [u] He then consulted with Agrippa and Mecænas, his most intimate friends, whether he should restore the republic to its ancient liberty, by resigning the authority into the hands of the senate and people, or whether he should take upon himself the sovereign power. Agrippa, though he was the companion of his fortune, and the husband of his niece, was of the first opinion. Mecænas represented to him, by a great many reasons, that the state could not subsist but under a monarchy; that he could not himself resign his authority without danger of his life; but that he would find it his glory, as well as his security, to govern in a just and equitable manner. Cæsar therefore complied with this last advice. M. de St. Evremont has given us a description of his government and genius, which well deserves to be read. I shall here insert an extract of it.

“ After the tyranny of the triumvirate, and the
 “ desolation which the civil war had wrought, he was
 “ disposed at last to govern a people by reason, whom
 “ he had subdued by force; and disgusted at the vio-
 “ lence to which he was led, perhaps by the neces-
 “ sity of his affairs, he was pleased to establish a happy
 “ subjection, which was farther removed from slavery
 “ than from their ancient liberty.

“ One of his greatest and most constant cares, was
 “ to make the Romans taste the happiness of his go-
 “ vernment, and render his dominion as insensible to
 “ them as possible. He cast off even the very names

[u] Dio lib. lii. M. de Tillem. vie d'Aug.

“ that

“ that might displeafe them, and especially rejected the
 “ character of dictator, which was detefted in Sylla,
 “ and odious in Cæfar himfelf.

“ The generality of perfons, who raife themfelves,
 “ affume new titles to authorife their new power. He
 “ chofe to conceal a new power under familiar names
 “ and common titles of honour. He caufed himfelf
 “ to be called [x] emperor from time to time, to pre-
 “ ferve his authority over the legions; he was created
 “ tribune, to difpofe of the people, and was called
 “ prince of the fenate, to govern it. But by uniting
 “ fo many different powers in his perfon, he charged
 “ himfelf alfo with different employments, and be-
 “ came the general, the magiftrate, and the fenator,
 “ when he had attained the fovereignty. Thus he made
 “ no other ufe of his power than to remove the con-
 “ fufion which univerfally prevailed. He reftored
 “ the people to their rights, and retrenched only the
 “ canvaffing that was ufual in the election of magi-
 “ ftrates. He reftored the fenate to their ancient
 “ fplendor, after he had firft banifhed corruption from
 “ it. For he contented himfelf with a moderate
 “ power, which did not leave him the liberty of do-
 “ ing ill; but he exercifed an abfolute one, when he
 “ was to impofe upon others the neceffity of doing
 “ well. Thus the people were as free as before in
 “ every other refpect but that of being feditious;
 “ and the fenate was full as powerful, except that it
 “ could not be equally unjuft. Liberty loft nothing
 “ but the ills which it might occafion, nor any thing
 “ of the happinefs it could produce.”

[y] Upon his firft entrance on his fovereign autho-
 rity, he had the pleafure of feeing the temple of Janus
 fhut, which was never done, but when war had ceafed
 throughout the empire. M. de Tillemont obferves,
 after Eufebius, that the Son of God being upon the
 point of making himfelf man, to bring us from hea-

[x] He tranfmitted the title of emperor to his fucceffors, as alfo that of Auguftus, which he re-
 ceived after the famous battle of Actium.
 [y] M. de Tillem. vie d'Aug.

ven the true peace with God, ourselves, and the rest of mankind, was pleased at the same time to give an image of that inward peace, by establishing an outward and visible peace upon earth. This peace and union of a great number of provinces in one and the same monarchy, was agreeable to the designs of God, by the facility it gave the preachers of the gospel to pass from province to province, and universally diffuse the light of the faith; and the people, not being engaged by the troubles and tumult of wars, gave a willing ear to what they preached, and embraced the faith with joy, when God had opened their hearts by his grace.

It is thus that God, the sole arbiter of all human events, determines, as lord of all, the fate of empires, prescribes the form of them, regulates their limits, marks out their duration, and makes the very passions and crimes of men subservient to the execution of his gracious and just designs in favour of mankind; and by the secret springs of his admirable wisdom, disposes at a distance, and without man's being sensible of it, the preparations for the great work to which all the rest relates, which is the establishment of his church, and salvation of his elect.

PART THE FOURTH.

Of FABLE and ANTIQUITIES.

IT remains that I speak in this fourth part of Fable and Antiquities, and this I shall do in very few words.

CHAP. I.

Of FABLE.

THERE is no subject in literature, either of greater use than what I now speak of, or more susceptible of profound erudition, or more perplexed with doubts and difficulties. My design is not to pe-

netrate into these obscurities, or to resolve them, but only to exhort youth not to neglect a study which may be of great advantage to them. I shall therefore confine myself to two reflections, which yet I shall but lightly touch upon. One relates to the origin of Fable, and the other to its utility.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

Of the ORIGIN of FABLE.

FABLE, which is a medley composed of real facts and ornamental falsehoods, took its rise from truth, that is, from history, as well sacred as profane; the several events of which have been altered in different manners, and at different times, either by popular opinions, or poetical fictions.

I say, that Fable took its rise in part from sacred history, and that its first and principal origin is to be found there. The family of Noah, perfectly instructed in religion by that holy patriarch, preserved for some time the worship of the true God in all its purity. But when after their fruitless endeavours to build the tower of Babel, they were divided and dispersed into different countries; the diversity of language and habitation was soon followed by an alteration of worship. Truth, which till then had been conveyed by the sole channel of tradition, subject to a thousand variations, and was not yet fixed by scripture, the secure guardian of facts, truth, I say, was obscured by an infinite number of Fables, and those of the latest invention increased the darkness of such as were more ancient.

The tradition of great principles and great events was preserved amongst all people, not without some mixture of fiction, but with evident and very discernible traces of truth; a certain proof that these people were all sprung from the same original.

Hence arose the universal notion of one supreme God, almighty, the Lord and Creator of the world; and

and the consequence of it, the necessity of an outward worship by ceremonies and sacrifices. Hence the uniform and general consent in respect to certain facts; the creation of man by the hand of God himself; his state of happiness and innocence, implied by the golden age, when the earth, without being watered by the sweat of his brows, or cultivated by painful labour, supplied him with every thing in abundance; the fall of the same man, from whence arose all his misfortunes, and followed by a deluge of crimes which brought on an inundation of waters; the saving of the human race by an ark, which stopt upon a mountain, and lastly, the propagation of mankind by a single man and his three sons.

But the detail of particular actions being less important, and for this reason less known, was presently altered by Fables and fictions, as we clearly see even in the family of Noah. As he was the father of three children, and the people that were descended of them, dispersed themselves after the deluge into three different parts of the world, this history gave occasion to the fable of Saturn, whose three children, according to the poets, divided the empire of the world amongst them.

Cham or Ham is the same with Ammon or Jupiter; Japhet, known under this name by the poets, was also worshipped under that of Neptune, because the maritime countries fell to his share.

The posterity of Shem, several of whose descendants had a better sense of religion, left his name in oblivion. For which reason he was taken for the god of the dead and of oblivion.

It is easy to see upon what the scandalous history of Saturn was founded, who was injuriously treated by one of his sons.

It is as easy to comprehend that the licentiousness of the Saturnalia arose from an irreverent remembrance of the drunkenness of Saturn or Noah.

The severe punishment of the son, who saw the nakedness of Noah, has left among the Pagans the me-

mory of Saturn's indignation, who, according to [z] Callimachus, made an irrevocable law, that whoever should behave with the like temerity towards the gods, should presently be deprived of sight.

How many particulars do we observe, wherein Moses and Bacchus agree? and so of a great many others.

Here then we have certainly one of the sources of Fable, which is the alteration of facts and events in history.

The ministry of angels, with reference to men, has been another. God, who had associated the angels to his spiritual nature, to his intelligence and immortality, was pleased farther to associate them to his providence in the government of the world, as well in relation to nature and the elements, as to the government of nations. [a] The scripture speaks to us of angels, who preside over the waters, the winds, the lightning, thunder and earthquakes. It points out to us others, who, armed with a sword of thunder, ravage all Egypt, destroy a vast body of people in Jerusalem by the plague, and exterminate the army of an impious prince. [b] There is mention also made of an angel who was prince and protector of the empire of the Persians; of another, prince of the empire of the Greeks; of the arch-angel Michael, prince of the people of God. The external ministry of angels is as ancient as the world, as we see from the example of the cherubim placed at the gate of the terrestrial paradise, to guard the entrance into it.

Noah and the patriarchs were thoroughly instructed in this truth, which very nearly concerned them, and they were doubtless very careful to teach it to their families, who by little and little losing the purer and spiritual ideas of an invisible Deity, fixed their attention only upon the ministers of his benefits and vengeance. And thence it possibly might happen, that men took their notion of the gods, which presided,

[z] Callim. hym. εις λαύρα τῆς v. 1, 5, 7. c. xvi. v. 5.

Παλλάδος.

[b] Dan. c. x. v. 20, 21.

[a] Apoc. c. vii. v. 1. c. viii.

some over the fruits of the earth, and others over rivers; some over war, others over peace, and so of all the rest; of gods, whose power and ministry were limited to certain countries, and certain people, but were all subject to the authority of a supreme God.

Another principle of religion, generally engraven in the minds of all people, also made way for the multiplicity of the pagan divinities, and that is a constant persuasion that divine providence presides over all human events both great and small; and that no one, without exception, escapes its vigilance and care. [c] But men, astonished at the immense number of particulars, to which it was requisite the Deity should descend, thought to ease him of the trouble, by giving every god his peculiar and personal function. *Singulis rebus propria disponentes officia numinum.*

The care of the whole country would have been too much business for a single god; the lands were committed to one, the mountains to another, the hills to a third, and the vallies to a fourth. St. Augustine reckons up a dozen different divinities, all employed about a stalk of corn; every one of which, according to his particular function, takes a peculiar care of it at different times, from the moment the seed has been thrown into the earth, till the corn arrives at maturity.

[d] Besides this multitude of inferior gods designed for these mean functions, there are others, says St. Augustine, that are more [e] considerable, and of an higher rank, as having evidently a more noble share in the government of the world.

But, [f] adds the father, they are these very important and renowned gods, which fable has most disgraced and disparaged, by attributing to them the most

[c] S. Aug. de civit. Dei, lib. iv. c. 8.

[d] Ibid. lib. vii. c. 2. Illam quasi plebeiam numinum multitudinem minutis opusculis destinatum.

[e] Numina selecta dicuntur . . . quia opera majora ab his admini-

strantur in mundo.

[f] Illam infimam turbam ipsa ignobilitas texit ne obrueretur opprobriis. . . . Vix selectorum quispiam, qui non in se notam contumeliæ indignis acceperit. Lib. vii. cap. 4.

shameful crimes and most detestable disorders, murders, adulteries and incests. Whereas in the case of those inferior gods, their obscurity and meanness has secured their honour by leaving them in oblivion. And this has besides been a fruitful source of fictions, with which the corruption of man's heart has supplied Fable, in order to palliate and excuse the most frightful irregularities by the example of the gods themselves.

There was no species of infamy which was not authorised, and even consecrated by the worship paid to certain gods. [g] Upon the festival of the mother of the gods, they sung such songs that the mother of a comedian would have blushed at; and Scipio Nafica, who was chosen by the senate as the fittest man in the republic with whom to lodge her statue, would have been grieved to have had his own mother a goddess at such a rate, or that she had held the place of Cybele.

[b] The philosophers blamed all these impure ceremonies, but with fear, in faint terms, and only within the limits of their own schools. However religious among their disciples, they followed the people in the temples and theatres, where these abominations took place; and [i] Seneca, in a work which we have lost, where he rails with great force at these sacrilegious superstitions, declares notwithstanding that a wise man will externally conform to them, in compliance to the laws of the state, though he knows well that such a worship can never please the gods, but must only provoke them. *Que omnia sapiens servabit tanquam legibus jussa, non tanquam diis grata.*

I do not here propose to point out all the sources from whence Fable has taken its rise, but only to shew some of the most common; and in this number we may place the sense of admiration or gratitude, which inclined men to annex the idea of divinity to what-

[g] S. Aug. de civit. Dei, lib. ii. c. 4, 5.

[b] Etsi non liberè prædicando, saltem utcumque in disputationibus

mussitando, talia se improbare testati sunt. Lib. vi. c. 1.

[i] Lib. vi. c. 20.

ever made an impression on their imagination, nearly affected them, or seemed to procure them any advantage, such as the sun, moon, or stars; the fathers with regard to their children, and children with respect to their fathers; the persons who had either invented or carried any useful arts to perfection; the heroes who had distinguished themselves in war by extraordinary valour, or purged the land of robbers and disturbers of the public tranquillity; and lastly, all those, who, by any virtue, or glorious action, seemed superior to the generality of mankind. And it is very visible, without my observing it, that profane, as well as sacred history, has given occasion to all those demi-gods and heroes which Fable has placed in heaven, by joining frequently under one and the same head and name, such actions as were very distinct, both as to time, place, and persons.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Of the USEFULNESS of FABLE.

WHAT I have already observed concerning the origin of Fables, which owe their birth to fiction, error and falshood, to the alteration of historical facts, and the corruption of man's heart, may give reason to ask, whether it is proper to instruct Christian children in all the foolish inventions, absurd and idle dreams, with which paganism has filled the books of antiquity.

This study, when applied to with all the precaution and wisdom which religion demands and inspires, may be very useful to youth.

First it teaches them what they owe to Jesus Christ, their redeemer, who has delivered them from the power of darkness, to bring them into the admirable light of the gospel. Before him, what were even the wisest and best of men, those celebrated philosophers, those great politicians, those famous legislators of Greece, those grave senators of Rome; in a word, all

the best governed and wisest nations of the world? Fable informs us, they were blind worshippers of the devil, who bent their knees before gold, silver, and marble; who offered incense to statues that were deaf and dumb; who acknowledged, as gods, animals, reptiles and plants; who were not ashamed to adore an adulterous Mars, a prostituted Venus, and an incestuous Juno, a Jupiter polluted with all manner of crimes, and for that reason most worthy of the first place among the gods.

What great impurities, what monstrous abominations, were admitted into their ceremonies, their solemnities and mysteries? The temples of their gods were schools of licentiousness, their pictures invitations to sin, their groves places of prostitution, their sacrifices a frightful mixture of superstition and cruelty.

In this condition were all mankind, except the people of the Jews, for near four thousand years. In this state were our fathers, and we should have likewise been, if the light of the gospel had not dispersed our darkness. Every story in fabulous history, every circumstance of the lives of the gods should fill us at once with confusion, admiration and gratitude, and seem to cry out to us aloud, in the words of St. Paul to the Ephesians, [*k*] *Remember, and forget it not, that, being sprung from Gentiles, ye were strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world.*

A second advantage of Fable is, that in discovering to us the absurd ceremonies and impious maxims of Paganism, it ought to inspire us with new respect for the august majesty of the Christian religion, and the sanctity of its morals. We learn from ecclesiastical history, that an holy [*l*] bishop, in order to eradicate entirely all dispositions to idolatry out of the minds of the faithful, brought to light, and publicly exposed all that was found in the inside of a temple

[*k*] Eph. ii. v. 11, 12.

andria. Theod. v. c. 22. Ruff. ii.

[*l*] Theophilus bishop of Alex- c. 23, 24. Socr. v. c. 16.

he had caused to be demolished; the bones of men, the members of children sacrificed to devils, and several other footsteps of the sacrilegious worship, which the Pagans paid to their deities. The study of Fable should produce a like effect in the mind of every sensible person, and it is this use that the holy fathers and all the apologists of Christianity have made of it.

It is impossible to understand the books which have been written upon this subject, without having some knowledge of fabulous history. St. Augustine's great work, intitled, *De Civitate Dei*, which has done so much honour to the church, is, at the same time, both a proof of what I lay down, and a perfect model of the manner how we ought to sanctify profane studies. The same may be said of the other fathers, who have gone upon the same plan from the beginning of Christianity, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Theodoret, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and especially St. Clement of Alexandria, whose Stromata are not to be understood by any one, that is not versed in this part of ancient learning. Whereas the knowledge of Fable makes the understanding of them extremely easy, which we ought to look upon as no small advantage.

It is also very useful (and particularly to youth, for whom I write,) for the understanding both of Greek, Latin, French and English authors, in reading of which they must be often at a stand, without some acquaintance with Fable. I do not speak only of the poets, to whom we know it is a kind of natural language; it is also frequently made use of by orators, and sometimes, by an happy application, supplies them with very lively and eloquent turns: such, for instance, amongst a great many others, is the following passage in Tully's oration concerning Mithridates king of Pontus. [*m*] The orator takes notice that this prince, flying before the Romans, after the loss of a battle, found means to escape out of the hands of his covetous conquerors, by scattering upon the

[*m*] Pro lege Manil. n. 22.

road,

road, from time to time, a part of his treasures and spoils. In like manner, says he, as is told of Medea, that when she was pursued by her father, in the same country, she scattered the members of her brother Absyrtus, whom she had cut to pieces along the way, that his care in gathering up the dispersed members, and his grief at the sight of so sad a spectacle, might retard his pursuit. The resemblance is exact, except that, as Tully remarks, Æta the father of Medea was stopped in his course by sorrow, and the Romans by joy.

There are different species of books exposed to the view of the whole world, such as pictures, prints, tapestry and statues. These are so many riddles to those who are ignorant of fabulous history, from whence their explication is frequently to be taken. These matters are likewise frequently brought into discourse, and it is not, in my opinion, over agreeable to sit mute, and seem stupid in company, for want of being instructed, whilst young, in a matter so easy to be learned.

All these reasons have ever made me wish that somebody would be at the pains to draw up an history of the fabulous times, which might be put into the hands of all the world, and be expressly calculated for the use of youth. F. Galtruchius's work is somewhat of this kind, but it is too short; as is also F. Jouvenci's treatise, intitled, *Appendix de Diis*, which otherwise is excellent. M. L'Abbé Banier's performance, in three volumes, contains most of what is wanting upon this subject, the substance of it being taken from history itself, which is the best system in this kind, and explains the different sources of it with great solidity and erudition. But this work is too learned and too large for boys, as that also of F. Tournemine would be; of which he has given us such a plan as makes us wish the work was finished. There has been lately published, a book, intitled, *Dictionnaire de la Fable*. It may be very useful in clearing up any
difficulties

difficulties relating to Fable, which may occur in reading, but it is not a continued history.

One single volume, of a reasonable length, might be made to contain the most considerable and remarkable facts, and such as would contribute most to the understanding of authors. I should think it would be adviseable to omit what barely relates to learning, as it would render the study of Fable more difficult and less agreeable, or at least to throw all reflections of this kind into short notes; but it would be absolutely requisite to throw out every thing that might be prejudicial to purity of manners, and not only to leave out any story, but even any expression that might give the least offence to any chaste or christian ears. I have engaged a person, who has a great deal of knowledge, judgment and piety, to undertake this small performance, which cannot but be very useful to all young persons of both sexes; and I hope in a little time it will be in a condition to be published.

C H A P. II.

Of ANTIQUITIES.

BESIDES the events contained in history, and the reflections which are the natural consequence of them, this study contains still another part, which, though less necessary and agreeable indeed, may yet be very useful, if made with judgment and discretion; I mean the knowledge of usages, customs, and whatever else is understood by the name of Antiquities. The readers of history are in some respect like travellers. There is generally some end proposed, either of going into their own country, or to some other place, whither their business or their interest leads them; and it is this end, this motive, which puts them in action, and sets them a-going. Notwithstanding, if they have leisure and curiosity, they take care by the way, to examine whatever they meet worth notice, and insert in the journals or memoirs they

they draw up for their own private use. Thus also we should act in studying history; besides the series of facts and events, and the wise reflections arising from them, we should carefully collect whatever relates to usages, customs, laws, arts, and a thousand other curious branches of knowledge, which serve as ornaments to the mind, and likewise contribute very much to the perfect understanding of what we read.

The usefulness of the STUDY of ANTIQUITIES.

This study, to a certain degree, is absolutely necessary to all masters. There are in all authors a great many expressions, allusions, and comparisons, which cannot be understood without it; and it is scarce possible without it to make one single step in the reading of history, and not be puzzled with difficulties, which a very slight knowledge of Antiquity would frequently resolve. Let any one lightly run over the first book of Livy, which, with the origin of the Roman people, contains that of the greatest part of their laws and customs, and he will soon be sensible of the utility and advantage of the study I am now recommending. I know, that this study, like all others, if carried too far, has its rocks and dangers. There is a kind of obscure and ill-managed learning, which is employed only upon questions equally vain and frivolous, which hunts after what is most abstruse and uncommon in every subject, and is almost wholly confined to the discovery of such things as are absolutely superfluous, and which it is often better to be ignorant of, than to know. [n] Seneca, in more than one place, complains of this bad taste, which taking rise amongst the Greeks, transferred itself to the Romans, and began to seize upon the nation. [o] He

[n] Ecce Romanos quoque invadit inane studium supervacua discendi. Lib. de Brev. vit. cap. xiv.

[o] Plus scire velle, quam sit factis, intemperantiæ genus est. . . . An tu existimas reprehendendum, qui supervacua usu sibi comparat, & pretiosarum rerum pompam in

domo explicat? non putas eum, qui occupatus est in supervacua literarum supellestiliæ? quid quod ista liberalium artium consecratio molestos, verbosos, intemptivos, sibi placentes facit, & ideo non discentes necessaria, quia supervacua didicerunt. Epist. 88.

observes, that there is, in point of study, as in every thing else, a vicious excess and intemperance; that it is no less blameable to collect at a vast expence, an heap of useles knowledge, than of superfluous furniture; that this sort of learning is calculated only to make men impertinent, foolishly possessed with a notion of their own merit, and at the bottom really ignorant. Speaking of Didymus, the famous grammarian, who had written four thousand volumes, wherein he examined abundance of useles questions, not worth remembering; I should have thought a man wretched enough, says Seneca, if he had been condemned, I say, not to write, but only to read such a heap of trifles. *Quatuor millia librorum Didymus grammaticus scripsit; miser, si tam multa supervacua legisset.*

[p] Juvenal also justly derides the bad taste of some persons in his time, who were not satisfied unless a preceptor directly could give an answer to a thousand absurd and ridiculous questions. It is, in short, to be little acquainted with the value of time, and to spend one's pains and labour to very bad purpose, to employ them in the study of such difficulties and obscurities, as are at the same time, according to [q] Tully's observation, unnecessary, and often trifling and vain.

[p] Sed vos sævas imponite leges,
Ut præceptorum verborum regula
constet;
Ut legat historias; auctores noverit
omnes
Tanquam unguis digitosque suos,
ut fortè rogatus
Dum petit aut thermas, aut Phœbi
balnea; dicat
Nutricem Anchisæ, nomen patri-
amque novercæ
Anchemoli; dicat, quot Acestes
vixerit annos,
Quot Siculus Phrygiibus vini dona-
verit urnas. Juv. l. iii. sat. 7.

“ All authors, ev'ry poet to an
“ hair;
“ That, ask'd the question, he may
“ scarce despair
“ To tell who nurs'd Anchises, or
“ to name
“ Anchemolus's step-mother, and
“ whence she came;
“ How long Acestes liv'd, what
“ stores of wine
“ He gave to the departing Trojan
“ line.”

[q] Alterum est vitium, quod
quidam nimis magnum studium
multamque operam in res obscuras
atque difficiles conferunt, easdem-
que non necessarias. Offic. lib. i.
n. 19.

—“ Hard laws upon the master lay.
“ Be sure he knows exactly gram-
“ mar rules,
“ And all the best historians read
“ in schools;

*Terpe est difficiles habere nugas,
Et stultus labor est ineptiarum.*

MARTIALIS

“ The deep and dull researches of the schools,
“ Are but the busy indolence of fools.”

A judicious master will carefully avoid falling into this mistake. In applying himself to history and Antiquities, he will not carry his enquiries too far, but be guided in this point by prudence and discretion. He will remember what [r] Quintilian says, that it is a foolish and pitiful vanity to be over curious in knowing all that the worst authors have said upon a subject; that such an occupation very idly wastes the time and pains which ought to be better employed; and that among the virtues and perfections of a good master, it is none of the least, to be ignorant in some particulars. *Ex quo mihi inter virtutes grammatici habebitur, aliqua nescire.*

There is an art of making these dry and ordinarily tedious matters, very agreeable, by intermixing them with short stories and reflections; by removing from them most of the thorns and difficulties, and leaving only the flower, in a manner, for the boys to gather, by exalting their taste, and awakening their curiosity with such particular circumstances as are likely to make an impression; in a word, by making them fond of this kind of exercise, and expect it with a sort of impatience.

With these precautions we cannot too much recommend the study of Antiquities, either to scholars or masters. The latter especially should look upon it as an essential branch of their duty. It is a part of learning not only suitable to their character, but absolutely necessary for all such persons as are designed by their station to study and teach the *belles lettres*. The university has, in all ages, been distinguished by this particular, as well as in every other respect. She has constantly sent abroad all sorts of learned men, who have done honour to literature and the nation, by

[r] Quintil. lib. 1. cap. viii.

the valuable works they have published. Turnebus, Muretus, Buchanan, Scaliger, Casaubon, and the many others, who have taught or studied in the university of Paris.

It is incumbent on us to support their glory, and to look upon their reputation as a rich inheritance, which we ought to transmit to our successors in all its value, and not suffer it to be spent or lavished by our idleness and indolence. We see several of our brethren in the university distinguish themselves in different kinds of literature, according to their particular taste and inclination, either by compositions in prose, or in Greek or Latin verses; or by a diligent study of rhetoric and the old rhetoricians; of the art of poetry, and the writers who had treated it; of grammar in general, and all its parts; by an exact knowledge of the ancient authors of the Greek and Roman history, and of the Antiquities of both nations. We are allowed a noble emulation in this point, and we should all of us strive to equal, and, if possible, even to excel those who have gone before us.

It is not only the glory of the university, which is herein concerned, but the honour of the nation ought sensibly to affect us. Some neighbouring countries seem inclined to deprive us of the glory of learning, by their extraordinary application to the sciences, and by the great and learned works with which they enrich the public. They cannot deny the French their excellency in eloquence and poetry, in the study of polite learning, in the beauty and delicacy of composition; the age of Lewis XIV. having been to us, what the age of Augustus was formerly to the Romans, that is, the rule and model of good taste in every kind. In preserving this glorious part of our ancient inheritance with care and jealousy, we must not neglect another, which ought also to be very valuable to us; and it is the perfection of our condition to join both together, a good taste in the *belles lettres* with that of erudition.

These two parts, though very different, are not incompatible, and should be ready to lend each other a mutual assistance; in short, erudition makes a quite different figure, when supported by elegant and beautiful composition, such as we see in the works of Muretus, Manutius, and a great many other illustrious learned men, who have done such honour to literature; and on the other side, the delicacy of composition receives very considerable improvements from the solidity and multiplicity of thoughts and materials supplied by erudition.

I know not whether I am blinded by a love to my country, and prejudiced for a body, of which I have the honour to be a member, but, in my opinion, the two characters I have just mentioned, are happily united in most of the memoirs which the Royal Academy of *inscriptions* and *belles lettres* have published. We find there a considerable part of Antiquities explained with great clearness and eloquence. I have made great use of them in the little I relate here. The twofold title this academy bears, of *inscriptions* and *belle lettres*, sufficiently shews that their design is to unite the polite parts of literature with the depths of erudition. Not to mention several other learned members of this body, such as were M. L'Abbé Fraguier, and M. L'Abbé Massien, they have lately lost an excellent person, who had both these qualities in an eminent degree, I mean the younger M. Boivin, the royal professor in the Greek tongue, keeper of the king's library, and one of the forty in the French Académie. He had a vast fund of erudition; and I question whether any man in all Europe was more thoroughly master of the Greek tongue than he; and yet at the same time, he composed in three languages, Greek, Latin, and French, either in prose or verse, in a manner extremely elegant. Several of the most able professors in the university never failed to lay their compositions before him, and always found an advantage from his criticism, which was equally modest and judicious. For my own part, though he was much younger than
me,

me, I always looked upon him as my master in matters of polite learning, especially where the Greek was concerned, and I stand indebted to him for a great part of the little I know.

It is this erudition which young masters should aim at, who are seriously inclined to follow their own studies, and direct those of others. Nor should they be frightened with the length and difficulty of the labour; for by setting apart a certain portion of their time every day for the reading of ancient authors, they will, by little and little, make so rich a collection in this kind, as themselves will afterwards be astonished at; let them but begin, make the best use of their time, and take down their remarks with order and perspicuity. But a man must have already some tincture of erudition, before he can know what it is proper for him to observe as he reads. Thus, to confine myself to the present point, it were to be wished that a master, before he engages in the study of the ancient historians, would at least run over what Rosinus has written upon the Roman Antiquities. This is not a work of much labour, and may, notwithstanding, be of great advantage to young masters in the perusal of authors, by making them attentive to several things, which otherways might escape them. We have a small Latin treatise by F. Cantel the jesuit, entitled, *De Romanâ Republicâ*, which is very proper for young beginners. There is also one in French, but very concise, called *Abregé des Antiquités Romaines*, which may be put into the hands of boys, till a better is expressly drawn up for their use; and I hope some skilful master will take upon himself this little work. A good part of what relates to Antiquities may be reduced to seven or eight heads, viz. religion, politics, war, navigation, public monuments and buildings, games, battles, spectacles, arts and sciences, and the usages of common life, such as meals, habits, money, &c.

Every one of these parts contains a great many others. For instance, under the title of religion are comprehended the gods, the priests, the temples, the

vessels, and other instruments employed in several acts of religion, the sacrifices, feasts, vows, and oblations, oracles and predictions; and under the title of political government, the comitia or assemblies, the different offices of magistracy, the laws and judgments, and so of all the rest.

There are abundance of curious points, and such as certainly deserve to be taken notice of, which a master that has some knowledge in this study may observe to his scholars, as occasion offers, and which in time will supply them with an abundance of useful and agreeable points of knowledge at no great expence of pains. A few examples will explain my meaning, and shew how serviceable the study of Antiquities may be towards exciting the curiosity of youth, and inspiring them with a taste for learning, or even to instil into them the useful principles of morality and religion. I shall here confine myself to one single article relating to arts, and shall treat only of a very small part of them.

FACTS *and* REFLECTIONS *relating to the* INVENTION *of* ARTS.

It is of great moment, as we read, to observe carefully the origin of arts and sciences, their different progress, their declension and fall; the rare and curious facts which occur upon this subject; the illustrious men who have excelled in them; the princes who have made the study of them flourish, by giving protection and encouragement to such persons as have distinguished themselves by their skill in any art; nor must we omit the discoveries which have escaped the enquiries of the ancients, and been reserved for later ages. I shall here speak only to the two last articles, and content myself with pointing out some few examples, to which I shall add something upon measures and coins.

I. DISCOVERIES *unknown to the ancients.*

In the descriptions of battles, with which authors abound, youth often find the cavalry mentioned, but seldom observe one thing, which is very surprizing in itself, and scarce comprehensible; which is, that anciently the horsemen never made use of stirrups. They must either, when grown heavy with age, have been put upon their horses by their grooms, if they had any; or have taken the advantage of a higher ground, or of some stone, or a trunk of a tree. [s] Plutarch observes, that Gracchus placed stones at certain distances upon the great roads, to assist horsemen in mounting on horseback.

We are, with reason, surprized, that the ancients never made use of glass for their windows. Glass however was in use amongst them; without mentioning the looking-glasses and large panes, which were the ornaments of their chambers, they made vases, cups, and goblets of glass, which perfectly imitated chrystal, and were none of the least ornaments of their beaufets. What could be more easy than to glaze their windows with it? and yet this was what the ancients never did.

They likewise never used any linen for their shirts, which however is so neat and wholesome; and this was one of the reasons which made bathing so absolutely necessary amongst them.

It is also proper to observe to pupils, that several of the most necessary inventions of life, such as water-mills, windmills, spectacles, the compass, printing, and a great many others of the like nature, were unknown to the ancients; and that we owe the greatest part of these rare and valuable inventions, to the barbarous ages in which that stupidity and ignorance still prevailed, which the eruption of the northern people, enemies and destroyers of all the works of art, had spread all over Europe. How many discoveries have been made in astronomy by means of the telescope? how great a change has the compass made in navigation?

[s] In vit. Gracch.

It is highly proper, upon this occasion, to observe, that the invention of arts ought not to be attributed to human industry alone, but to a peculiar providence, which usually concealing itself under such circumstances as seem to be the effect of chance, conducts mankind by degrees to wonderful discoveries, in order to procure for them, at appointed seasons, the necessities and conveniencies of life. This is a truth confessed by the Heathen themselves; and [†] Tully, running over what was most useful and valuable in nature, owns that all this would have remained in oblivion, and buried in the bowels of the earth, if God had not disclosed the knowledge and use of it to man.

To confirm this reflection, and render the truth more evident, it may be proper to explain at large to youth, the particular circumstance of the compass; and such an account cannot but be very pleasing to them. The compass then, they may be told, is a small box, in which there is inclosed a needle, that has been touched by a loadstone, and so supported, that it may easily be turned every way. This needle, by virtue of the loadstone which has touched it, always constantly directs itself so as to fix very near upon the meridian line, turning one of its extremities towards the north, and the other towards the south, and by this means discovers to the pilot the course he steers. The ancients, before the invention of the compass, could not sail very far in the open sea, as they had no other guidance than the sun and stars; and when this assistance failed them, they went on by chance, and knew not what course the vessel took; for which reason they never removed very far from the coasts, nor ventured to undertake any long voyages. The compass has removed these difficulties, as it constantly shews where the north and south lie, let the weather be what it will, by day or night; and by a necessary consequence, shews which is the east and which is the west, and certainly points out the course the vessel is to take.

[†] Cic. lib. i. de Divin. n. 116.

The discovery of the new world, and consequently the salvation of abundance of souls, depended upon the invention of the compass; and it is surprising it should have lain so long concealed, for it has been known in Europe but about three hundred years. The ancients were perfectly acquainted with one of the two specific virtues of the loadstone, to wit, that of attracting and supporting iron; how came they not to discover the other, of fixing and turning itself always towards the north and south, which now appears to us so easy and natural a discovery? Who does not clearly see, that God, who makes men attentive to the effects of nature, or heedless of them, according to his own designs and good pleasure, had reserved this important discovery in his eternal decrees, for the season in which he was pleased that the gospel should be transported into those countries, which till then were inaccessible to our ships, as they were separated from us by immense tracts of sea, which could not be crossed over, as God had not yet taken away the obstacle to our entrance into them?

In speaking of the vessels of the ancients to the pupils, it will be proper to inform them, that the learned differ much about the manner in which the ranks of oars were disposed. There are some, says F. de Montfauçon, who will have them placed longways, almost in the same manner as the ranks of oars are now placed in galleys; others, and amongst this number himself, are of opinion that the ranks of the biremes, the triremes, the quinqueremes, or pentiremes, and the rest, which have been multiplied to the number of forty in certain vessels, were set one above another, not perpendicularly, for this would be impossible, but obliquely, and as it were by steps; and this they prove by abundance of passages from ancient authors. But what is still more decisive in favour of this opinion, the ancient monuments, and especially the column of Trajan, represent these ranks one above another; yet adds F. Montfauçon, the best of our seamen all say, that this is impossible.

I have discoursed up on this subject, some of which are persons of the first distinction, and of abilities known to the whole world, agree in the same opinion.

Without any great skill in matters relating to the sea, it is easily conceived, that there must have been an almost insuperable difficulty in the working of vessels of extraordinary bigness, such as were those of [u] Ptolemy Philopater king of Egypt, and Hiero king of Syracuse. The vessels of Hiero, built by the direction of Archimedes, had one of them twenty ranks of oars, and the other forty. This last was two hundred and eighty cubits long, thirty-eight broad, and about fifty cubits high. The oars of those who held the highest rank, were thirty-eight cubits long. It appears by the column of Trajan, that in the biremes and triremes, there was only one rower to every oar. It is not easy to decide for the rest. Thus [x] Plutarch observes, that the vessel of Ptolemy, which was more like an immoveable building than a ship, was only for pomp and show, and not for use. Livy says almost the same thing of the ship of Philip king of Macedon, which had sixteen ranks of oars. [y] *Jussus Philippus naves omnes telas tradere, quæ & regiam unam inhabitabilis prope magnitudinis, quam sexdecim, versus remorum agebant.* Vegetius reckons only among ships of a reasonable bigness, and fit for war, the quinqueremes and those of less rank; and there is scarce mention made of any others amongst authors. It seems farther evident, that from the time of Augustus, they scarce ever made use of vessels with more ranks of oars, than the triremes and the biremes.

But to pass a right judgment upon the working of these vessels of such extraordinary bigness, a man must have seen them with his own eyes. [z] We read of the ships of Demetrius king of Syria, which had sixteen ranks of oars. Before his time there had never been seen any thing like them. Their agility, says Plutarch,

[x] A description of them may be seen in Athenæus, lib. v.

[y] In vit. Demetr.

[y] Lib. xxxiii. n. 30.

[z] Plut. in vit. Demetr. Diod. Sic. lib. xx.

their speed, and their easiness in tacking about, was still more admirable than their enormous bulk. All this was the invention of that prince, who had a wonderful genius for arts, and found out abundance of things unknown to the architects. These ships were the admiration of mankind in his age, who could not have believed this had been possible, if they had not seen it.

I have made these remarks, to shew how important it is, in reading the Greek and Latin authors, to be very careful to observe exactly whatever relates to the building of vessels, their forms and different kinds, and to the different alterations that have happened in sea affairs, with reference to navigation, in the descriptions they give us of fleets and engagements at sea.

I must however advertise youth in general, that there are certain wonderful facts related by the ancients, of which they would do well to suspend their belief a while, till they have been more carefully examined. [a] Pliny says, that in the time of Tiberius, they had found out the secret of making glass malleable, but this invention was entirely stifled for fear it should lessen the price and value of gold, silver, and all sorts of metals. [b] Dion tells us of a workman, who designedly letting a glass vessel, which he offered to Tiberius, fall to the ground, presently gathered up the pieces, and after he had handled them a little, shewed the vessel whole and without a fracture. Other authors after Pliny have related the same fact; and yet the learned declare, that this pretended malleability of glass is a mere chimera, absolutely rejected by sound physics. And Pliny himself owns, that what was said of it was grounded more on report, than any certain foundation.

I question whether more credit is due to what the same [c] Pliny relates of a small fish, called by the Greeks *Echeneis*, and by the Latins *Remora*, which fastening itself in the rudder of the galley that carried the emperor Caligula, stopt its course in such manner,

[a] Lib. xxxvi. cap. 6. [b] Lib. lvii. p. 619. [c] Lib. xxxi. c. 1.

that four hundred rowers were unable to remove it one way or other.

II. HONOURS *paid to learned men.*

There are many things proper to be observed in ancient history, concerning the honours paid to such as have been inventors of arts, or have carried them to perfection, or in general to the learned of the first rank, who have been distinguished in a particular manner. But my design does not admit me to dwell long upon this subject, affecting as it is to us.

[*d*] One cannot read the letter, which Philip king of Macedon wrote to Aristotle, without admiring to find, that it was a greater satisfaction to this prince to have the first philosopher of his age, and the most learned man the world ever produced, for a tutor to his son, than it was to have been his father.

The singular value that Alexander the Great had for the poems of Homer, and the respect he paid to the memory of Pindar, when he stormed the city of Thebes, have gained him no less reputation than all his conquests; and we almost as much admire him, when, dismissing the pomp of royalty, he chuses to discourse familiarly with the famous painters and sculptors of his time, as when, marching at the head of his army, he spreads an universal terror.

The glorious protection which Mécænas gave men of letters, employing all the interest he had with his prince in doing them service, has rendered his name immortal, and acquired the age of Augustus the glory of being always regarded as the golden age of literature, and the rule of good taste in every kind of learning.

[*e*] When we read that the king of Spain and cardinal Ximenes, going one day to a public act, which was held in the new university of Alcalá, insisted upon the rector's walking between them, (a prerogative which that university has ever since preserved) it

[*d*] Aul. Gel. lib. ix. c. 3. [*e*] Hist. de Ximen. par M. Fléchier, liv. vi.

is plain that this public homage was not paid to the person of the rector, but that a great king and a great minister intended by this means to inspire a taste for learning and the sciences, which always return the glory with usury which they receive from princes.

The singular privileges which our kings formerly granted to the university of Paris, the mother and model of all others, arose from the same principle; and the reputation which it has acquired to itself and the kingdom, throughout the whole Christian world, shews, that the kings, who have been our founders, have not been mistaken in their views, and that all their expectations have been more than fulfilled. And thus it will be in all ages. Arts and sciences will always flourish in the states where they are honoured; and in return, they will reflect infinite honour upon the states and princes, who give them encouragement.

I cannot here avoid inserting a fact which lately happened, and almost within our own view; a fact which deserves to be celebrated in all languages, and inscribed in shining characters in all records of literature. It is what passed in England at the interment of the famous Sir Isaac Newton, the Archimedes of our age, both for the sublimity of his reasonings in theory, and the force of his industrious and inventive genius in practice. I shall only transcribe what is said upon this subject, in the beautiful panegyric made upon him by M. de Fontenelle, with his usual eloquence, at the opening of the academy of sciences in the year 1727.

“ His body was exposed upon a bed of state in the
 “ Jerusalem chamber, a place from whence persons of
 “ the highest rank, and sometimes crowned heads,
 “ are carried to their graves. He was conveyed thence
 “ into Westminster Abbey, the pall being supported
 “ by my Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Montrose and
 “ Roxburgh, and the Earls of Pembroke, Suffex,
 “ and Macclesfield. These six English peers, who
 “ discharged this solemn office, give room to judge,
 “ what a number of persons of distinction must have
 “ made up the funeral pomp. The Bishop of Rochef-
 “ ter

“ter read the service, attended by the whole clergy of
 “the church. The body was interred near the en-
 “trance into the choir. We must go back to the an-
 “cient Greeks, if we would find examples of a like
 “veneration paid to learning. Sir Isaac Newton’s
 “family copies still nearer the example of Greece, by
 “a monument they are about to erect for him, which
 “will cost a considerable sum. The Dean and Chap-
 “ter of Westminster have allowed it to be raised in a
 “part of the Abbey which has often been refused to
 “noblemen of the first rank. No country or family,
 “though he had chosen them, could have expressed
 “more gratitude to his memory.”

I have no need to ask pardon for this digression. Whoever has the least regard for the public good, and the honour of learning, cannot but be very much affected with this kind of solemn homage, which the nobility of a powerful kingdom, as it were in the name of the whole nation, pays to learning and merit.

III. *Of the MEASURES of TIME and PLACE, and of ANCIENT COINS.*

I add this article, not with a design to enter into the discussion of these points, which are generally very difficult, but to give youth a slight knowledge of them, and to lay before them a table of the different sums, which often occur in authors, and which of themselves do not present to the mind any clear idea of their value. The elder [f] Pliny says, that Roscius, the most famous actor of his time, gained five hundred thousand sesteritia a year. *Apud majores Roscius histrion H. S. quingenta annua meritâsse proditur.* We read in [g] Paterculus, that Paulus Æmilius brought two hundred millions of sesteritia into the public treasury, *Bis milles centies H. S. ærario contulit.* Youth do not expressly know the value of these sums. The table informs them at one cast of their eye, that the first sum amounts to six hundred and twenty-five thousand livres, and the second to twenty-five millions of our money.

[f] Lib. vii. cap. 39.

[g] Lib. i. cap. 9.

I. MEASURES of TIME.

The Greeks reckoned by Olympiads, every one of which contains the space of four whole years. These Olympiads took their name from the Olympic games, which were celebrated in Peloponnesus, near the city of Pisa, otherways called Olympia. The first Olympiad, in which Choræbus carried the prize, begun, according to Usher, in the summer of the year of the world 3228.

According to the same Usher, Rome was built a little before the beginning of the eighth Olympiad, in the year of the world 3256, at the time that the great empire of the Assyrians was destroyed by the death of their last king Sardanapalus, when Joatham reigned at Jerufalem, and consequently in the days of Isaiah. From the foundation of Rome to the battle of Actium, are reckoned seven hundred and twenty-three years.

II. MEASURES of ROADS.

A point is the smallest part that can be described.

Two points make a line.

Twelve lines make an inch.

Twelve inches make a foot.

Two feet and a half make the common pace.

Two common paces, or five feet, make the geometrical pace.

This being supposed, the most noted itinerary measure stands thus.

The *stadium* was peculiar to the Greeks, and consisted of a hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces; and consequently twenty of them must go to a common French league, which consists of two thousand five hundred paces.

The *mile*, among the Romans, consists of eight *stadia*, or a thousand geometrical paces; somewhat less than half a league.

The *league* of the ancient Gauls is one thousand five hundred paces.

The

The *parasanga* of the Persians is ordinarily thirty *stadia*, that is a league and an half. Some of them from twenty to sixty *stadia*.

The most common *schaenos* of the Ægyptians is forty *stadia*, or two leagues. There are of them from twenty to a hundred and twenty *stadia*.

The common *league* of France is two thousand five hundred paces. The small one two thousand paces, and the great one three thousand. When we mention the leagues of France, we usually understand the common ones.

III. Of ancient COINS.

The Attic *drachma*, which answers to the Roman penny, must serve us for a rule whereby to know the value of all the other coins. M. de Tillemont makes it amount to twelve *sols* of French money; F. Lamy to near eight; and M. Dacier to ten. I shall adhere to this last opinion, without enquiring into the reason of these differences, only because this manner of reckoning is the most easy, and consequently most proper for young people. I here fix the French mark at seven and twenty livres, which is looked upon by most nations of Europe as the intrinsic value of the silver.

Greek COINS.

The Attic *obolus* is the sixth part of an Attic *drachma*.

The Attic *drachma* contains six *oboli*. It answers to the Roman penny, and is worth six French *sols*.

The Attic *mina* is equivalent to an hundred drachmas, and consequently fifty French livres.

The Attic *talent* is equivalent to sixty *minæ*, and is consequently three thousand French livres.

Myriad is a Greek word, which signifies ten thousand. Thus a myriad of drachmas signifies ten thousand drachmas, and is of equal value with five thousand livres.

The Attic *stater* was a golden coin that weighed two drachmas, equal in value to twenty drachmas of silver, and consequently to ten livres of France. The
daric

daric, a golden coin of the Persians, and that which bore the name of Philip king of Macedon, *Philippei*, were of the same value with the Attic stater.

The *scle* or *shekel*, an Hebrew coin, was equivalent to four Attic drachmas or forty *sols*.

Roman COINS.

The Roman *as*, called otherwise *libra* or *pondo*, was originally the tenth part of the Roman penny, or *denarius*.

The *small sesterce*, *sestertius* or *nummus*, was the fourth part of the Roman penny, and equivalent to two French *sols* and an half. It was at first marked thus L-L-S, as being equal in value to two *asses*, or two pounds and a half; *sestertius* is for *semistertius*, or three, lacking a half. At length the scribes put an H instead of the L-L, and marked the sesterce thus, HS.

The *denarius* or *penny*, was a small piece of silver, equal in value to ten *asses*, four *sesterces*, and consequently ten French *sols*.

The *great sesterce*, or *sestertium* in the neuter, signifies a sum of equal value with a thousand small sesterces, two hundred and fifty Roman pence, and a hundred and twenty-five French livres.

This last sum was differently reckoned. *Decem sestertia*, ten great sesterces, or ten thousand small ones, *Centena millia HS. five nummâna* hundred thousand small sesterces. By the adverb *decies sestertium* was here understood *centies*; it was therefore a thousand great sesterces, or a million small ones; or *decies centena*, understanding *sestertia*: or *decies* alone in short, and understanding *centies sestertium*, or *centena sestertia*.

The name of the golden coin was *aureus* or *solidus*, and is generally judged by authors to amount in value to twenty-five silver pence.

The proportion of gold to silver has been different at all times. We may keep to that of ten to one for our reckoning in antiquity. Thus a talent of silver amounted to three thousand livres, a talent of gold to

OF ANTIQUITIES.

thirty thousand. The proportion of gold to silver, at present, is near fifteen to one.

Roman NUMBERS.

	I	1
	V	5
	X	10
	L	50
	C	100
	D	500
00.	CD	1000
	M	5000
	CCCD	10000
	MMMM	50000
	CCCCD	100000

A TABLE of the VALUE of the Greek MONEY.

MYRIADS.

1 Myriad of Attic drachmas	5000 <i>liv.</i>
2 myriads	10,000 <i>liv.</i>
3 myriads	15,000 <i>liv.</i>
4 myriads	20,000 <i>liv.</i>
5 myriads	25,000 <i>liv.</i>
10 myriads	50,000 <i>liv.</i>
20 myriads	100,000 <i>liv.</i>
50 myriads	250,000 <i>liv.</i>
100 myriads	500,000 <i>liv.</i>
200 myriads	1,000,000 <i>liv.</i>
1000 myriads	5,000,000 <i>liv.</i>

TALENTS.

1 Talent	3000 <i>liv.</i>
2 talents	6000 <i>liv.</i>
5 talents	15,000 <i>liv.</i>
10 talents	30,000 <i>liv.</i>
50 talents	150,000 <i>liv.</i>
100 talents	300,000 <i>liv.</i>
500 talents	1,500,000 <i>liv.</i>
1000 talents	3,000,000 <i>liv.</i>
	5000

5000 talents	15,000,000 <i>liv.</i>
10,000 talents	30,000,000 <i>liv.</i>
20,000 talents	60,000,000 <i>liv.</i>
50,000 talents	150,000,000 <i>liv.</i>
100,000 talents	300,000,000 <i>liv.</i>

A TABLE of the VALUE of the Roman MONEY.

A s.

Millia singula æris, or 1000 asses	50 <i>liv.</i>
Duo millia æris	100 <i>liv.</i>
Quatuor millia æris	200 <i>liv.</i>
5 millia æris	250 <i>liv.</i>
10 millia æris	500 <i>liv.</i>
20 millia æris	1000 <i>liv.</i>
50 millia æris	2500 <i>liv.</i>
100 millia æris	5000 <i>liv.</i>
500 millia æris	25,000 <i>liv.</i>
1000 millia æris	50,000 <i>liv.</i>
millies	
10,000 millia æris	500,000 <i>liv.</i>
decies millies	
20,000 millia æris	1,000,000 <i>liv.</i>
vigesies millies	
100,000 millia æris	5,000,000 <i>liv.</i>
centies millies	

SESTERTIUS.

1 Sestertius, five nummus	2 <i>sols and a half.</i>
8 sestertii, five nummi	1 <i>liv.</i>
24 sestertii	3 <i>liv.</i>
80 sestertii	10 <i>liv.</i>
100 sestertii	12 <i>liv.</i> 10 <i>sols.</i>
200 sestertii	25 <i>liv.</i>
400 sestertii	50 <i>liv.</i>
800 sestertii	100 <i>liv.</i>
1000 sestertii	125 <i>liv.</i>
4000 sestertii	500 <i>liv.</i>
8000 sestertii	1000 <i>liv.</i>
80,000 sestertii	10,000 <i>liv.</i>

100,000

100,000 vel centena millia HS. feu nummum	12,500 <i>liv.</i>
200,000 vel bis centena millia HS.	25,000 <i>liv.</i>
500,000 vel quingenta millia HS.	62,500 <i>liv.</i>
1,000,000 vel decies centena mill. HS.	125,000 <i>liv.</i>
Quindecies centena millia HS.	187,500 <i>liv.</i>
Vicies centena millia HS.	250,000 <i>liv.</i>
Quinquagies centena millia HS.	625,000 <i>liv.</i>
Centies centena millia HS. <i>or</i> 10,000,000 of sesterces	1,250,000 <i>liv.</i>
Quingenties centena millia HS. <i>or</i> 50,000,000 of sesterces	6,250,000 <i>liv.</i>
Millies centena millia HS. <i>or</i> 100,000,000 of sesterces	12,500,000 <i>liv.</i>
Bis millies centena millia HS. <i>or</i> 200,000,000 of sesterces	25 millions.
Decies millies centena millia HS. <i>or</i> 1,000,000,000 of sesterces	125 millions.
Vicies millies centena millia HS. <i>or</i> 2,000,000,000 of sesterces	250 millions.
Quadrages millies centena millia HS. <i>or</i> 4,000,000,000 of sesterces	500 millions.
Quadrages quater millies centena mil- lia HS. <i>or</i> 4,400,000,000 of sesterces	550 millions.
Quadrages octies millies centena mil- lia HS. <i>or</i> 4,800,000,000 of sesterces	600 millions.
Quinquagies sexies millies centena mil- lia HS. <i>or</i> 5,600,000,000 of sesterces	700 millions.
Sexagies quater millies centena millia HS. <i>or</i> 6,400,000,000 of sesterces	800 millions.
Septuagies bis millies centena millia HS. <i>or</i> 7,200,000,000 of sester- ces.	900 millions.
Octuagies millies centena millia HS. <i>or</i> 8,000,000,000 of sesterces	1000 millions.
Centies millies centena millia HS. <i>or</i> 10,000,000,000 of sesterces	1250 millions.

SESTERTIUM.

1 Sestertium	250 drachmæ	125 liv.
2 sestertia	500 dr.	250 liv.
4 sestertia	1000 dr.	500 liv.
10 sestertia	2500 dr.	1250 liv.
20 sestertia	5000 dr.	2500 liv.
50 sestertia	12,500 dr.	6250 liv.
100 sestertia	25,000 dr.	12,500 liv.

1000 sestertia, or *decies sestertiūm*, is the same thing as *decies centena millia HS.* mentioned above, and so of the following numbers.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

Of PHILOSOPHY.

SHOULD I undertake to treat Philosophy in all its extent, I might apply myself to the boys, for whom I write, in the words which Tully puts into the mouth of Anthony, who was once prevailed upon to talk of rhetoric against his inclination, [*b*] “Hear, said he, hear a man that is going to instruct you in what he has never learnt himself.” There would be only this difference in the case, that Anthony’s ignorance was feigned and counterfeit, whereas mine is actual and true, having never applied myself to the study of Philosophy, but very superficially, for which I have often had cause to repent. Though perhaps if I had studied it under as skilful masters as have since been in the university, and are now there in great number, I might have had as much taste for it as for the study of polite learning, to which alone I have given up all my time. But however, I am enough acquainted with the usefulness and great advantages deducible from it, to exhort youth not to fail in giving all the application they possibly can to so important a science. It is to this particular I shall confine myself in this small dissertation, which shall not be a treatise of Philosophy, but a bare exhortation to the boys to study it with care.

Though we had nothing more than eloquence in view, this study would be absolutely necessary, as Tully declares in more than one place, and he makes no scruple to own, that what progress he had made in the art of speaking, was less owing to the precepts of the rhetoricians than the lessons of the philosophers.

[*b*] Audite verò, audite, inquit, de omni genere dicendi sentiam. hominum, &c. Decebo vos, discipuli, id quod ipse non didici, quid Cic. lib. ii. de Orat. n. 28, 29.

[i] *Fateor me oratorem, si modo sim, non ex rhetorum officinis sed ex academiæ spatiis extitisse.* But the usefulness of Philosophy is far from being confined to eloquence; it extends to all the conditions and every season of life.

In short, this study, when properly directed and carefully pursued, may contribute very much to regulate the manners, to perfect reason and judgment, to adorn the mind with an infinity of learned notions equally useful and curious, and what I think far more valuable, to inspire youth with a great reverence for religion, and fortify them by solid principles against the false and dangerous arguments of infidelity, which are every day gaining ground upon us.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

PHILOSOPHY *may be very serviceable in regulating the*
MANNERS.

ONE of the most effectual methods for regulating the conduct of man is to make him acquainted with what he is, upon what conditions he received his being, what obligations and duties he lies under, whither he ought to tend, and for what end he was created. Now this is the subject of Philosophy; I say, even of the Pagan Philosophy; and in my opinion its instructions upon all these points, though imperfect and often intermixed with obscurity, ought to have a great weight upon every reasonable mind.

Man came out of the hand of God not only the most excellent of his works, but the most perfect image of himself. He bears some resemblance in every thing about him to the nobleness of his extraction, and bears the lines and characters of his original in a manner imprinted in his nature.

With regard to the soul, an insatiable desire of learning, a penetration and sagacity that extends to every thing, a desire of happiness which nothing li-

[i] Orat. n. 12.

mitted can satisfy, the lively sense of a liberty to which every thing is indifferent, except [*k*] one sole object, the thorough conviction of his being designed for immortality; all these, and a great many other circumstances, shew clearly how great man is, and [*l*] how he cannot, (it is Tully who speaks thus) if we may be allowed the expression, be compared to any thing but God himself.

If we consider only the [*m*] structure of his body, it is plain that nothing but the hand of God could possibly form so perfect a work, dispose it with so much order, so much beauty, such connection and proportion between all the parts which compose it, [*n*] so as to make it a proper abode for the master that inhabits it. And we see that Seneca had reason to say, man was not a precipitate and hasty performance, but the master-piece of the divine wisdom, [*o*] *scias non esse hominem tumultuarum & incogitatum opus.*

First duty
of man
with re-
gard to the
Divinity.

Now with what design was he framed? We will answer in a [*p*] word, God made the whole world for man, and man for himself; that by him nature, otherwise dumb and stupid, might become in a manner eloquent and grateful towards its Creator; and that man placed in the midst of the creatures, who were all designed for his use and service, might lend them his voice, his understanding and admiration, and be in a manner the priest of all nature. How many benefits in short has it pleased God to confer upon man? Not content with providing for his necessities, his care and tendernefs have supplied him even with what

[*k*] Good, in the general acceptation of the word, and the supreme good evidently known.

[*l*] *Animus humanus, decerptus ex mente divina, cum alio nullo, nisi cum ipso Deo, si hoc fas est dictu, comparari potest. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. n. 38.*

[*m*] We may read in Tully, lib. ii. de nat. Deor. n. 133, 153, and in M. de Fénelon's Lettres sur la religion, pag. 163. the admirable

description they give of the several parts of the body, and their respective functions.

[*n*] *Figuram corporis habilem & aptam ingenio humano dedit. Cic. lib. i. de leg. n. 26.*

[*o*] *Senec. lib. vi de Benef. cap. 23.*

[*p*] *Omnia quæ sunt in hoc mundo, quibus utuntur homines, hominum causa facta sunt & parata. Cic. lib. ii. de Nat. Deor. n. 154.*

ministers^c

ministers to pleasure and delight. [q] *Neque enim necessitatibus tantummodo nostris provisum est, usque in delicias amamur.* [r] What variety of trees, herbs, and excellent fruits for the different seasons of the year? What an immense number of animals are industriously supplied by the air, earth and sea? There is no part of nature which does not pay a tribute to man, that man in his turn may pay the author of all these benefits the due homage of gratitude and praise, which is the principal part of the worship we owe to the Deity, and the most essential duty of the creature. Nor must ingratitude be allowed to say, that it is nature supplies us with all these blessings, unless by this word, which has usually no distinct idea affixed to it, we are to understand only the Divinity himself, which moves every thing, produces every thing, shews himself to us in every thing, and makes himself known to us every moment by his benefits and bounty. [s] *Quocunque te flexeris, ibi illum videbis occurrentem tibi. Nihil ab illo vacat. Ergo nihil agis, ingratisime mortalium, qui te negas Deo debere, sed naturæ. . . . Quid enim aliud est natura, quem Deus?* “Wheresoever you turn, you meet your God. No place is free from his presence. How vain then, thou most ungrateful of mortals, to ascribe all your happiness to nature and not to God; for what is nature but God?”

If man, says [t] Epictetus, had any sense of honour and gratitude, all that he sees in nature, all that he experiences in himself, would be to him a continual subject of gratitude, praise and thanksgiving. The herb of the field which supplies the animals with milk for his nourishment, the wool of those animals which furnishes him with clothes, ought to fill him with ad-

[q] Senec. de Benef. lib. iv. c. 5.

[r] Tot arbuſta non uno modo frugifera, tot herbæ ſalutares, tot varietates ciborum per totum annum digeſtæ, ut inerti quoque fortuita terræ alimenta præberent. Jam animalia omnis generis, alia in ſiccò ſolidoque, alia in humido naſcentia, alia per ſublime dimiſſa; ut omnis

rerum naturæ pars tributum nobis aliquod conferret. Ibid.

[s] Ibid. cap. 7, 8.

[t] Arrian. Epict. lib. i. c. 16. Epictetus was a Stoic philoſopher, who lived in the firſt century. He was the ſlave of Epaphroditus, a captain of Nero's guards.

miration. When he sees the clods of earth crushed and broken to pieces by the plough-share, and a long ridge thrown up for the reception of the seed, he ought to cry out, How great is God, how good, in having procured for us all the instruments proper for tillage? When he sits down to table to eat, every thing should recal God to his mind, and renew his gratitude. 'Tis he, he should say, who has given me hands to take up my food, teeth to break and grind it, a stomach to digest it; and what is the subject of praises which more nearly concern me, it is he who to all the benefits he confers upon me, adds besides the inestimable advantage of knowing the author of them, and making such use of them as is conformable to his will. As then, continues the same Epictetus, all mankind are plunged into a deep lethargy concerning Providence, is it not just that some one, in the name of all the rest, should publicly sing hymns and songs to its honour? What else can such a weak and [u] lame old man, as I am, do than celebrate the divine praises? [x] Were I a swan or a nightingale, I would sing, because that would be the end for which I was created. But as reason has fallen to my lot, I ought to employ myself in praising God. 'Tis my proper function and business, which I will regularly discharge, and never cease to discharge to my latest breath; and I would advise you to do so likewise. One would imagine it was a Christian that was here speaking, and not a Stoic philosopher.

Second duty of man with regard to himself.

Besides this principal duty, which is the foundation of religion, man has another, which is by his virtues to represent and imitate the Deity, of whom he

[u] One day, as his master, who was very passionate, gave him a violent blow upon the leg, he coldly bid him take care, or he would break it. And the master repeating his blows in such a manner as to break it indeed, Epictetus without any emotion continued, Did I not tell you, that if you went on thus, you

would break my leg? He reduced all Philosophy to the two points of bearing and forbearing. "Ανέχεσθαι, καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι.

[x] Εἰ γοῦν ἀηδῶν ἦμην, ἐποίησεν τὰ τῆς ἀηδῶν. εἰ κύκνος, τὰ τοῦ κύκνου. Νῦν δὲ λογικὸς εἶμι· ὑπομένει με δεῖ τὸν Θεόν.

is the living and animated image. [*y*] How little soever he examines himself, he may discern the precious lines of it, and the impressiion stamp't upon his soul, which is in a manner the temple of God, and this should lead him to make the dignity of his sentiments correspond with the dignity of his origin. From thence arise those natural ideas and primitive notions which we bear about us of good and evil, just and unjust, virtue and vice; [*z*] notions common to all mankind, who without any agreement amongst themselves alike annex the idea of turpitude to vice, and glory to virtue; for there is no nation which does not love and esteem those, who are of a mild, humane, obliging character; and which on the other hand does not despise and hate such persons as are of a cruel, ungrateful, haughty disposition, who take a pleasure in doing ill. Thence also arises the inward [*a*] testimony and secret voice of conscience, which makes the just enjoy peace in the midst of the greatest afflictions, and creates the wicked such cruel torments in the very bosom of the greatest joy and most sensible pleasures, and which prescribes to both the rules they ought to follow, and the duties they ought to fulfil.

[*b*] These rules and laws are not arbitrary and dependent upon the fancies of men; they are imprinted in

[*y*] Qui se ipse norit, aliquid sentiet se habere divinum, ingeniumque in se suum sicut simulacrum aliquod dedicatum putabit: tantoque munere deorum semper dignum aliquid & faciet & sentiet. Cic. lib. i. de leg. n. 59.

[*z*] Communis intelligentia nobis notas res efficit, easque in animis nostris inchoavit, ut honesta in virtute ponantur, in vitiis turpia. . . . Quæ natio non comitatem, non benignitatem, non gratum animum & beneficii memorem diligit? Quæ superbos, quæ maleficos, quæ crudeles, quæ ingratos non aspernatur & odit? Ibid. n. 32, 44.

[*a*] Magna vis est conscientiæ in utramque partem; ut neque timeant

qui nihil commiserunt, & pœnam semper ante oculos versari putent qui peccaverunt. Cic. pro Mil. n. 63.

[*b*] Hanc video sapientissimorum hominum fuisse sententiam: Legem neque hominum ingenii excogitam, neque scitum aliquod esse populorum, sed æternum quiddam, quod universum mundum regeret imperandi prohibendique sapientia. . . . Quæ vis non modò senior est quàm ætas populorum & civitatum, sed æqualis illius cœlum atque terras ruentis & regentis Dei. Neque enim esse mens divina sine ratione potest: nec ratio divina non hanc vim in rectis pravisque sciendis habere. . . . Quamobrem lex vera

in the substance of the soul, by the Creator; they existed before all ages, and are of greater antiquity than the world, as they are an emanation of the Divine Wisdom, which cannot think otherways of virtue and vice. They are the model and original of human laws, which in a manner cease to be, as soon as they swerve from this primitive type of justice and truth, which all lawgivers should propose to follow in all their institutions.

These first notions of good and evil may be weakened and obscured by a bad education, by the torrent of example, by the violence of passions, and above all by the dangerous attractions of pleasure, which spoils and corrupts our minds by false delights, which it lays before us, that we do not find in the practice of virtue. But there is constantly left within us an inward sense of these primitive truths, and it is the business of Philosophy to rekindle these precious sparks by its salutary instructions, to remove all errors from us, by giving us a nearer view of the first principles, to cure us of popular opinions and prejudices, to make us understand [c] that we are born for justice and virtue, to convince us by sensible and evident proofs, [d] that there is a Providence which guides and presides over all, and which takes care not only of the world in general, but of every man in particular; that nothing escapes its all-seeing eyes, and that God knows thoroughly all our actions, and sees our most secret thoughts and intentions; for such a conviction is very

atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vitandum, ratio est recta summi Jovis. . . Ergo est lex justorum injustorumque distinctio, ad illem antiquissimam & rerum omnium principem expressa naturam, ad quam leges hominum diriguntur, quæ supplicio improbos afficiunt, & defendunt, & tucntur bonos. Cic. lib. ii. de leg. n. 8, 13.

[c] Nos ad justitiam esse natos, neque opinione, sed natura constitutum esse jus. Lib. i. de leg. n. 28.

[d] Dominos esse omnium rerum

ac moderatores deos, eaque quæ gerantur, eorum geri judicio ac numine. (Neque universo generi hominum solum, sed etiam singulis à Diis immortalibus consuli & provideri. Lib. ii. de nat. Deor. n. 64.) Eisdem qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religiones colat, intueri; piorumque & impiorum habere rationem. His enim rebus imbutæ mentes, haud sanè abhorrebunt ab utili & à vera sententia. Cic. lib. ii. de leg. n. 15.

proper to inspire us with respect for the Deity, and love for virtue.

Though a man were alone upon earth, he would be always bound to observe the two sorts of duties, which I have now spoken of, that is, he ought always to honour the Divinity, and pay a regard to himself, by living in a wise and regular manner; [e] but he is under other obligations with relation to the common society whereof he is a member. God is the common father of a great family, and all men are his children, united by the bond of humanity, formed for one another, and consequently obliged to promote the public good, and mutually assist each other by all good offices. Thus man should not limit his views or his zeal to the particular place where he was born, [f] but look upon himself as a citizen of the whole world, which in this sense is but a single city.

Third duty of man in regard to society.

[g] It is true, this general society, which at first takes in the whole race of mankind, afterwards divides itself by degrees into other less extensive societies, betwixt men of the same city and the same family, and from thence arise the different duties of civil society with regard to friends, allies, relations, parents, and country; but they have all their origin in the first principle we have laid down, which is, that man, according to the views and appointment of God, is born for man.

This is a small abridgment of the maxims of morality, which Paganism supplies us with, and these principles, it must be owned, are great, solid, and

[e] Quoniam (ut præclare scriptum est à Platone) non nobis solum nati sumus, ortusque nostri partem patria vindicat, partem parentes, partem amici; hominesque hominum causa generati sunt, ut ipsi inter se alius alii prodesse possint: in hoc naturam debemus ducem sequi; & communes utilitates in medium afferre mutatione officiorum. Cic. lib. i. de offic. n. 22.

[f] Univerſus hic mundus, una

civitas communis hominum existimanda. De leg. lib. i. n. 23.

Socrates quidem, cùm rogaretur Cujatem se esse diceret, Mundanum inquit: totius enim mundi se incolam & civem arbitrabatur. Lib. v. Tusc. Quæst. n. 108.

[g] Gradus plures sunt societatis hominum. . . Ab illa enim immensa societate generis humani, in exiguum angustumque concluditur. Lib. i. de offic. n. 53.

evident;

evident ; but they do not extend so far as they ought ; and as perfect as they appear, they leave us on the way, without shewing us either the motive that should sanctify our actions, or the end we should propose to ourselves in them. It is the holy Scripture alone, which gives us a clear and certain notion of man, by discovering to us the advantages of his first origin ; his fall into sin, and the fatal consequences of that fall ; his restoration by a Redeemer ; his different duties with regard to God, his neighbour and himself ; the end he ought to have in view, and the means of conducting him to it ; and a Christian philosopher will not fail to instruct his scholars in all these truths. But in my opinion, it is no small advantage to point out to them in Paganism itself, the rules of such refined morality, and the principles of so sublime a conduct, which invincibly prove, that virtue is not an empty name, as the libertines would persuade themselves, nor the duties of religion and of civil life mere human establishments, politically invented to lay a restraint upon the multitude ; but that all these duties, all these obligations, and all these laws, are included in the very nature of man, and a necessary consequence of God's designs towards him.

It is for this reason I look upon it as a very useful custom to make the youth, who study Philosophy, read from time to time select passages out of the philosophical books of Tully, and especially from those where he treats of offices and laws.

Besides this advantage, they will find there wherewithal to improve the taste of polite learning, which they have acquired in the preceding classes ; and it may also be of great use to masters themselves, by teaching them to write Latin in a pure, neat and elegant manner, proper for the treating philosophical subjects, which is a matter of no small consequence to their profession.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

PHILOSOPHY *may very much contribute to the PERFECTION of REASON.*

[*b*] **O**F all the natural gifts which man has received from God, reason is the most excellent; that which distinguishes him from other animals, and which displays in him the brightest lines of his resemblance to God. By reason he has the idea of what is beautiful, great, just, and true; he decides and judges concerning the properties of every thing; he compares several objects together, deduces consequences from principles, makes use of one truth to come at another; and lastly, by reason he gives order and connexion to his notions and reasonings, which diffuse a light and grace through them, which render them far more intelligible, and discover more fully their whole force and truth. The importance of a science, which aids and assists the mind in all these operations, is easily conceived.

We find excellent reflections upon this subject, in the first discourse prefixed to the art of thinking. I shall make use of them here, as knowing nothing more proper to give youth a just esteem and taste for Philosophy, or more capable of explaining to them all the advantages, and even necessities of it.

There is nothing, says the author of this logic, more valuable than good sense, and rectitude of mind in discerning truth and falsehood. All the other qualities of the mind are limited in their use, but exactness of reason is universally useful, in all parts and in all the employments of life. It is not only difficult in the sciences to distinguish truth from error, but also in most of the subjects that men speak of, and the affairs of which they treat. There are almost universally dif-

[*b*] In homine optimum quid est? bonum est; cætera illi cum animalibus fatisque communia. Senec. Ratio perfecta, proprium hominis epist. 76.

ferent paths, some true and others false, and it is the business of reason to make the choice. Those who chuse well have a right understanding, and those who chuse amiss have a wrong one; and this is the first and most important difference that we can make betwixt the qualities of the human mind.

Thus our principal application should be to form the judgment, and render it as exact as may be; and it is to this end the greatest part of our study should be directed. We make use of reason as an instrument to acquire the sciences; and, on the other hand, we should make use of the sciences as an instrument to bring our reason to perfection; a right mind being far more considerable than all the branches of speculative knowledge we are capable of obtaining, by means of the most true and solid sciences.—Men are not born to spend their time in measuring of lines, in examining the proportion of angles, or considering the different motions of matter. Their understanding is too great, their life too short, their time too precious to be employed upon such trivial objects. But they are obliged to be just, equitable and judicious in all their discourse, in all their actions, and in all the affairs they undertake, and for this they should principally exercise and form themselves.

This care and study is so much the more necessary, as it is surprising how seldom we meet with this exactness of judgment. We scarce meet with any but wrong minds, that have very little discernment of truth, take all things by a false bias, that pay themselves with very bad reasons, and would put them off upon others as current, suffer themselves to be carried away by the slightest appearances, and are always in excess; who boldly decide concerning matters they are ignorant of and do not understand, and who adhere to their own opinions with such inflexible obstinacy, that they will hearken to no body that can undeceive them.

This ill turn of the mind is not only the cause of errors in the sciences, but also of most part of the faults which are committed in civil life; unjust quarrels,

rels, suits of law ill grounded, rash advice, and ill concerted enterprises. There are few of these which have not their source in some error and some fault of judgment. So that there is no defect which we are more nearly concerned to correct.

A great part of the false judgments of mankind are caused by precipitation of mind, and through want of attention; so that a rash judgment is passed upon what we know but confusedly and obscurely. The small regard which men have for truth, makes them often careless about distinguishing what is true from what is false. They suffer all sorts of discourse and maxims to enter into their minds, chuse rather to take them for true than to examine them. If they do not understand them, they are willing to believe that others do; and thus they burden their memory with abundance of false and obscure things not understood, and reason upon those principles, almost without considering what they say or what they think. Vanity and presumption very much contribute to this fault. They think it a shame to doubt and be ignorant, and chuse rather to talk and decide at random, than to own that they are not sufficiently informed in the points in debate, to pass a judgment upon them. We all abound in ignorance and error, and yet there is no difficulty so great as to prevail upon any one to own himself mistaken, though the acknowledgment be so just and agreeable to our natural condition.

There are others, on the contrary, who, having understanding enough to know that many things are obscure and uncertain, and being willing to shew, by another kind of vanity, that they are not carried away by popular credulity, place their glory in maintaining that there is nothing certain. Thus they get rid of the trouble of examining them, and upon this bad principle call in question the most received truths and religion itself. This is the source of Pyrrhonism, which is another extravagance of human understanding, and though it seems opposite to the rashness of those who give credit to every thing, and decide upon
every

every thing, yet it proceeds notwithstanding from the same source, which is the want of attention. For as the one will not give themselves the trouble to find out error, so the others will not take the pains to discover truth, with the care that is necessary to discern the evidence of it. The least glimmering of light is sufficient for the one to make them believe extravagant falsehoods, and suffices to the other to make them doubt of the most certain facts. But both in the one and the other these very different effects arise from the same want of application.

Right reason places all things in the rank that properly belongs to them; it doubts concerning such as are doubtful, rejects such as are false, and sincerely acknowledges such as are evident.

To these reflections extracted from the art of thinking, I shall add one from M. L'Abbe Fleury.

All the world, says he, in his treatise of study, see the usefulness of reasoning justly; I mean not only in the sciences, but in business, and the whole conduct of life. But many perhaps do not see the necessity of recurring to the first principles, because in reality there are few who do it. The most part of mankind reason only in a narrow compass, from one principle, which the authority of others, or their own passion, has imprinted in their minds, to the necessary means for acquiring what they desire. I must first grow rich, then I will engage in such an employment, I will take such a step, I will suffer this and that, and so of the rest. But what shall I do with my substance when I have got it, or is it an advantage to me to be rich? these are points which are not enquired into.

The man of real learning, the true philosopher, goes much farther, and begins a great deal higher. He neither stops at the authority of others, nor his own prejudices. He still proceeds, till he has found out a principle of natural light, and so clear a truth, that he can no longer call it in question. But then, when he has once discovered it, he boldly deduces all the consequences that flow from it, and never swerves
from

from them; and thence it follows that he is stedfast in his doctrine and conduct, inflexible in his resolutions, patient in the execution, even in his temper, and constant in virtue.

It is plain enough of what importance it is to fortify, with early impressions, the minds of youth, by such principles, against the false judgments and false reasonings which occur so commonly in the discourse and conduct of mankind; and this is the effect of Philosophy, whose principal end, as I have already observed, is to give perfection to reason.

I am very sensible that reason is a natural gift, that it proceeds not from art, and cannot be the pure effect of labour; but art and labour may improve it, direct it, and carry it to perfection. We now find in performances of wit, in discourses from the pulpit and at the bar, in treatises relating to science, an order, exactness, proportion and solidity, which were not formerly so common. Several are of opinion, and upon good grounds, that we owe this manner of thinking and writing to the extraordinary progress which has been made for an age past in the study of Philosophy.

When I say that Philosophy is very useful towards bringing reason to perfection, I would not be understood to speak only of the rules which logic in particular lays down upon this subject. They are very useful in themselves, not only as they serve to discover the defect of certain perplexed arguments, but as they assist us in tracing the source of most part of the errors which creep into our thoughts and reasonings. The same may be said of the rules of rhetoric. It cannot be denied but that they are a very great help to eloquence; but it is principally in the application made of them to the discourses of the ancients and moderns, whose beauties and faults are explained to youth, by the conformity or opposition they bear to these precepts.

The same thing may be said of the rules of logic. Their principal usefulness consists in the application of them to the several questions we examine, and the reasonings we make upon any subject whatsoever.

As the minds of youth, when they enter upon Philosophy, are generally not much formed, they are first put upon such matters as are easy, intelligible, and within the reach of their capacity. The manner of reasoning by syllogisms, which appears to some persons long and tedious, is absolutely necessary, especially in the beginning, and the pupils will remain dumb, and in a manner stupid, if they were put upon talking otherways.

They should be made to observe, in what manner sometimes the omission of a word, the change of a term, a double meaning, an equivocal expression, render an argument faulty.

They are taught to keep close to their principles, to reduce every thing to them, never to depart from them, and to give a solution of the difficulties that are urged against them.

By this daily exercise, and continual application of rules, their mind is enlarged and improved by degrees, daily unfolds itself more and more, is accustomed to discover where the fallhood lies, acquires a facility of expression, and becomes capable of discussing the most difficult and abstruse questions. I have been astonished, when I assisted at the exercises of Philosophy, to see the sensible change made in the scholars every quarter; their reason was so much improved, that by the end of the course, they could not be known for the same persons. This is the common effect in the classes of Philosophy, when the scholars want neither capacity nor application; and the great advantages they derive from this study are not to be expressed.

The sudden change from the study of polite learning to Philosophy, that is from an agreeable country, where all is gay and smiling, and covered over with flowers, to a region usually dry, thorny, and craggy, gives sometimes a shock to youth; and it is for this reason, as I have already insinuated, that I could wish that the Latinity of their sheets was as pure and elegant as that of the philosophical works of Tully. But this very inconvenience shews how necessary the study of Philosophy

Philosophy is. Nothing is more contrary to the solidity of the mind, as well as the health of the body, than perpetual pleasures. By this means both the one and the other contract a weakness and effeminacy, which makes them incapable of taking pains. To have nothing but what is pleasing and agreeable in view, is like living constantly upon milk, and being always in the state of infancy.

Truth may present itself to us under two faces. Sometimes it shews itself under all the pomp and splendor of eloquence, and has a just claim to all its ornaments, which are proper attendants upon it. It likewise often appears in a plain dress, under a very mean outside, without any guard or attendance; and this last appearance suits best with its natural character. In the first case, a good judgment consists in separating truth from the ornaments which surround it, and may be common to it and falsehood; and in the second, in not being offended at the meanness of its outside show, which is even sometimes disagreeable, but to view it thoroughly in itself, and to place all the value upon it which it deserves.

Masters do youth this double service. Those who teach them polite learning and eloquence, inure them by times, and from their admission into the first class, to weigh reasons more than words, principally to discern truth, to strip the arguments of all the ornaments which they borrow from eloquence, in order to be more sensible of their force or weakness, and not to suffer themselves to be carried away by a delusive glow of words and figures, which are often void of sense and matter. The philosophers, on their side, chiefly endeavour to make their disciples attentive to truth, considered in itself, to lay down certain rules to guide them in discerning it, to accustom them to a great justness and exactness in all their reasonings, and to inspire them, if I may be allowed the expression, with a certain taste and notion of truth, which may direct them to discover it wherever it is to be found, and at the

same time enable them to reject what has no more than an outward appearance of it.

Another inconvenience, also very prejudicial to mankind, not only in the study of the sciences, but also in the ordinary conduct and different employments of life, is the not being able to give a just attention to such matters as are perplexed and difficult, or to pursue the chain of an argument which is somewhat long and intricate; or, lastly, to apply to such subjects as are subtle, abstracted and independent of their senses. This inconvenience is remedied by Philosophy in a wonderful manner, especially by the study of metaphysics and mathematics, where the objects being purely spiritual, raise the soul above the consideration of matter, and free it from the slavery wherein the senses strive to retain it.

The author of the art of thinking has not failed to observe the two inconveniencies I am speaking of, to shew how advantageous it is to be habituated early to the understanding of difficult truths. The passage is too beautiful not to be inserted here at full length.

There are, says he, some stomachs which can only digest light and delicate food, and there are some minds which can only apply themselves to comprehend easy truths, and such as are clothed with the ornaments of eloquence. Both the one and the other is a vicious delicacy, or indeed a real weakness. The mind should be rendered capable of discovering truth, when hid and concealed, and to respect it under whatever form it appears. If we do not get over that disgust, which it is easy for all the world to conceive against such points as seem somewhat subtle and scholastic; we insensibly straiten the mind, and render it incapable of comprehending what is not to be known but by a chain of several propositions. And thus, when a truth depends on three or four principles, which it is necessary to take a view of all at once, we are disgusted and confused, and thereby deprived of the knowledge of several useful circumstances, which is a very considerable defect. The capacity of the mind
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is extended and enlarged by use, and to this end the mathematics, and all knotty and abstracted questions in general principally conduce; for they give a certain enlargement to the mind, and exercise it in a stricter application, and closer attention to the points it knows.

It is almost incredible how serviceable this sort of study is towards giving youth a strength, exactness, and penetration of mind, which by degrees lead them to master themselves, and unravel the most abstracted and perplexed questions. I have seen a custom practised in college, always attended with good success; but then this was amongst scholars of the best capacity. Besides the sheets of their class, they were made to read, either in public or in private, certain parts of some philosophical discourses, such as the six books of F. Malebranche's enquiry after truth, the meditations of Descartes, or his principles of natural Philosophy; and after these treatises had been read with them, and explained to them, they were put upon making extracts and summaries, each in their own way, but always with a certain order and method, by first giving clearly the state of the question, laying down the principles, giving the different proofs on which they are founded, exactly reciting all the difficulties that may be brought against them, and giving the solution of them. The master then revised these extracts, and if he found any passage which required either retrenchment or addition, to be enlarged or abridged, he observed upon it, and gave his reasons for correcting it.

This method is certainly very capable of teaching the boys order, exactness, and penetration; qualities which are very necessary in every employment of life. This will enable them to support a long and laborious examination of any point, without being disgusted, either at the obscurity of the questions, or the multiplicity of the matters they are to discuss; and this will inform them how to fix upon the decisive point in the most intricate matter, never to lose sight of it, to refer all the rest to it, and set the proofs of it in so strong a light,

light, and in such order, as may fully shew the force of them.

Without speaking of a great variety of rare and curious knowledge, taught by Philosophy, can we think two years employed in acquiring the talents I have just been speaking of, (and I have known many scholars attain this advantage in that time) lost or mispent? Can any wise or reasonable parents ever repent of having their children instructed in this manner? And if, through a blind and inconsiderate haste, which grows but too common, they abridge the time designed for Philosophy, have they not cause to blame themselves for cutting off the part of their studies, (I dare venture to say it; and my known taste for a different kind of learning cannot render me suspected) which is the most important, the most necessary, and most beneficial to boys, and of which the loss can be the least concealed, and is the most irreparable.

I conclude, from what I have said, that such parents as really love their children, ought to make them pass through an entire course of Philosophy; to procure them, during that time, all the assistances necessary for their progress and improvement in this study; to engage them from time to time, to make repetitions in their presence, over which their masters must preside: and especially to declare to them, upon their first entrance on this course, it is their intention that they shall keep publicly all the acts which are usually kept in Philosophy. This expence is not great upon the footing matters now stand in the university, and it cannot be reduced to too great a simplicity. But tho' it were more considerable, it is of so great importance to their children, and makes so great a difference in their study, by the indispensable obligation it lays upon them to apply themselves seriously to it, that they certainly ought not to spare it.

ARTICLES III. AND IV.

PHILOSOPHY *adorns the mind with an INFINITY of curious KNOWLEDGE.*

It serves also to inspire a great respect for RELIGION.

I JOIN here these two objects together, because in reality they are naturally united, and the one must lead to the other, as will be seen by what I have to say upon this subject.

It is surprising that man, placed in the midst of nature, which presents him with the greatest spectacle it is possible to imagine, and surrounded on all sides with an infinity of wonders made for him, should scarce ever think either of considering these wonders which are so deserving of his attention and curiosity, or of taking a view of himself. He lives in the midst of a world, of which he is the sovereign, as a stranger, who looks with indifference upon all that passes in it, and as if it were not his concern. The universe, in all its parts declares and points out its author, but for the most part to the deaf and blind, who have neither ears to hear, nor eyes to see.

One of the greatest services that Philosophy can do us, is to awaken us from this drowsiness, and rouse us from this lethargy, which is a dishonour to humanity, and in a manner reduces us below the beasts, whose stupidity is the consequence of their nature, and not the effect of neglect or indifference. It awakens our curiosity, it excites our attention, and leads us, as it were by the hand, through all the parts of nature, to induce us to study, and search out the wonderful works of it.

It presents the universe to our eyes as a large picture, whereof every part has its use, every line its grace and beauty, but is most wonderful when considered in the whole together. By laying before us so beautiful a spectacle, it teaches to observe the order, sym-

metry and proportion, that reigns throughout the whole; and with what equality this order, both of the whole and of every part, is preserved and maintained; and thereby leads us to the invisible hand and wisdom by which the whole is disposed.

Philosophy, by thus carrying man from wonder to wonder, and conducting him, in a manner, through the whole world, does not suffer him to remain a stranger to himself, or to be ignorant of his own proper being, in which God has been pleased to draw his own image in a far more sensible and perfect manner than in the rest of the creation.

It is plain, that I am here principally speaking of that branch of Philosophy which is called *Physics*, as it is employed in the consideration of nature. I shall examine it under two views, the one of which I shall call the physics of the learned, and the other the physics of children. This last takes in only the objects themselves, as they make an impression upon the senses; whereas the former enters upon a thorough examination of nature, and endeavours to find out its causes.

The PHYSICS of the LEARNED.

The consideration of the world, and the different parts of which it is composed, has always been the study of philosophers, and nothing is certainly more worthy of our attention. It is not possible to see the heavens and stars continually rolling over our heads, without being tempted to study their motion, and observe their order and regularity. Three principal systems have divided the philosophers, of which I shall here give an abridgment.

The SYSTEMS of the WORLD.

The first system is Ptolemy's, under which I shall take in what his followers have added. This philosopher lived in the second century, under the emperors Adrian and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, about the year of Christ 138.

He placed the earth in the center of the universe. According to him the moon was nearer the earth than all the other planets. Above the moon were Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, and above all these planets was the firmament, in which he supposed all the stars were fixed as in an arched roof, that was concentrical to the earth. In consequence hereof, he supposed that the sun, with all the planets and the fixed stars, were carried every twenty-four hours from east to west, round the earth, by an heaven, which he placed above the firmament, and which having this motion, communicated it to all the inferior heavens, and consequently to the planets, which adhered to them.

Besides this motion, which was common to all the heavenly bodies, he attributed a particular movement to the sun, planets, and fixed stars, from west to east, but in such manner that every one of these bodies was to make its revolution round the earth at different times. Thus the sun took up a year in making his revolution from west to east, Saturn thirty years, &c.

Copernicus was born about the end of the fifteenth century, and judging that the appearances of the heavens could not well be explained upon Ptolemy's hypothesis, he invented another; and after he had spent above thirty years about it, he at last communicated it to the public, being much pressed to it by the reproaches and solicitations of his friends. This hypothesis was not entirely unknown to the ancients, and in some parts of it stands thus.

The sun lies in the center of the circles, which Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn describe by their proper motion from west to east. The earth, according to him, has a like motion with that of the planets, which are situated thus. He places above the sun, but at different distances, Mercury, Venus, the earth, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, and the fixed stars beyond all these planets, which are at so considerable a distance from the earth, that thirty millions of leagues are an inconsiderable length in comparison.

Instead of saying with Ptolemy, that all the heavens, and consequently all the heavenly bodies, turn round the earth in twenty-four hours from east to west, he supposes that the earth turns round its own axis in twenty-four hours, and that in consequence of this motion, all the heavenly bodies must seem to turn round the earth in twenty-four hours from east to west. In like manner, to explain the apparent annual motion of the sun from west to east, he supposes that the earth moves every year from west to east round the sun.

He supposes also that the moon moves round the earth in twenty-seven days and a half whilst the earth is moving round the sun.

As to the other planets he supposes that they move round the sun in a greater or less time, in proportion as they are more or less distant from it.

Moons or satellites have been discovered round Jupiter and Saturn, which move about those planets, whilst they are carried round the sun in the same manner as the moon moves round the earth.

The third system is that of Tycho Brahe a philosopher, born about the middle of the sixteenth century. This system, which properly speaking is but a mixture of the other two, did not meet with many followers, nor do I think it necessary to give an account of it here. That of Copernicus prevails most at present, and is founded on principles which make it very probable.

These systems are but bare conjectures, as it has not pleased God, who alone is thoroughly acquainted with his own work, to discover to us in express terms the order and disposition of it; and it is for this reason that the scripture says, that he has set the world for man to dispute about; [g] *Mundum tradidit disputationi eorum*. But this study, though it is not certain and evident in itself, does, notwithstanding, extremely satisfy the mind, by laying a system before it, which explains all the effects of nature in a sensible and rational manner, and at the same time gives us a clear

[g] Eccl. iii. 11.

and distinct idea of the infinite greatness, power, and wisdom of God.

By means of telescopes, the modern astronomers have made such discoveries in the heavens, as, though very certain, will always appear chimerical to the generality of mankind.

According to these astronomers, Saturn is four thousand times bigger than the earth, Jupiter eight thousand times, and the sun a million of times bigger.

The distance of the earth and planets from the sun is no less incredible. A cannon-ball, in going from the earth to the sun, if it always kept its first degree of velocity, would take up twenty-five years before it got thither, and, if discharged from Saturn, would not arrive there in less than two hundred and fifty years. Now, a cannon-ball flies six hundred feet in the second of a minute; supposing then that it should constantly preserve the same velocity with which it passed the first six hundred feet after its coming out of the cannon, it would move one hundred and eighty leagues in one hour, and consequently in passing from the earth to the sun, it would move thirty-nine millions, four hundred and twenty thousand leagues, which, upon this supposition, is the earth's distance from the sun; and the distance of Saturn from the sun is to be computed in proportion.

The bigness of the fixed stars, and their distance from the sun are still more inconceivable.

Every one of these fixed stars is a sun, and there is reason to believe of no less bigness than that which enlightens us. Those stars, which are nearest to us, are notwithstanding so far removed from the sun, that a cannon-ball, moved with the velocity we have mentioned, would take up above six hundred thousand years to pass over the space which lies betwixt those stars and the sun.

What is a man, a city, a kingdom, or the earth itself in its whole extent, in comparison of these vast bodies, whose immense magnitude surpasses all imagination, but an imperceptible point? What is then
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the whole world itself in comparison of him who created it by a single word, [b] *He spake and they were made?* Have not the prophets reason to tell us, that all the nations are in the sight of God, but as a drop of water, and the earth which they inhabit as a grain of dust? That the whole universe in comparison of him is but as a point? and that his power and wisdom conduct and direct all the motions of it with the same ease as a hand sustains a light weight which it plays with, rather than is burdened. Physics may very much contribute to confirm us in these noble ideas of the supreme Being.

We are instructed still more, if possible, to admire his greatness by the smallest insect. Though microscopes were but the invention of the last age, they have been carried to so high a point of perfection, as to discover to us animals so exceedingly minute, that several thousands of them would not equal a grain of sand in bigness; and though so extremely small, there are some of them, which contain others, that are no sooner born, than they swim with a surprising agility and swiftness.

The mind is lost in the divisibility of matter. The most common opinion is, that how far soever matter may be divided, or into how small parts soever it be reduced, the particles of it may still be divided *in infinitum*. We find divisions in art and nature which go infinitely farther than can be imagined. Rohault assures us, that a cube of gold of five lines and one seventh of an inch, is divided by the workman into six hundred and fifty-one thousand five hundred and ninety parts, equal to the base. We know by the observation of naturalists, that a cubic inch of matter contains a million of visible particles, that a cubic inch of water, rarefied in an æolipile, produces above thirteen thousand three hundred millions of particles, and that more than thirteen thousand particles of water may be fixed upon the point of a needle.

[b] Isa. xl. 12, 13, 17.

I cannot avoid transcribing here an admirable passage from the thoughts of M. Pascal, which relates to the matter I am treating of. It is the twenty-second chapter, intitled, *the general knowledge of man*.

The first thing which offers itself to man when he looks upon himself, is his body, that is, a certain portion of matter peculiar to him; but to comprehend what it is, he ought to compare it with all that is above him and below him, before he can come to the knowledge of its just bounds.

Let him not therefore stop at barely considering the objects that surround him, let him contemplate all nature in its full majesty, let him view that shining luminary, which is placed as an eternal lamp to give light to the world; let the earth appear to him as a point in comparison of the vast circumference which that heavenly body describes, and let him stand astonished that this vast circumference itself is but a very small point in comparison of that, which the stars make that move in the firmament; and if our views stop there let the imagination pass further. It will sooner cease to conceive, than nature to furnish matter for conception. All that we see in the world is but an imperceptible circumstance in the ample bosom of nature. No idea can come up to the extent of its spaces. We may enlarge our conceptions as much as we please, we shall bring forth nothing but atoms in comparison with the reality of things. It is an infinite sphere, whose center lies in every part, and the circumference no where; and lastly, it is one of the greatest sensible characters of God's omnipotence, that our imagination is lost in this thought.

Let man then return to himself, and consider what he is in comparison with what universally exists. Let him take a view of himself, as having strayed into this out-of-the-way district of nature, and from the judgment he will form of this small dungeon, wherein he dwells, that is this visible world, let him learn to set a just value upon the earth, upon kingdoms, cities, and himself.

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What then is man with respect to infinity? Who is able to comprehend it? But to present him with another kind of prodigy, as surprizing as the former, let him enquire into the smallest things he knows, that a fly for instance, should have parts in its little body incomparably more little, legs with joints, veins in those legs, blood in those veins, humours in that blood, drops in those humours, and vapours in those drops; and still proceeding in his divisions, let him exhaust the whole force of his conceptions, and let the last object he can think of be the subject of our present discourse. He will judge perhaps that this is the smallest portion of nature; but within this I will shew him a new abyss, I will describe to him not only the visible universe, but farther, all that he is capable of conceiving of the immensity of nature, within the circumference of this imperceptible atom [i].

Let him take a view of the infinite number of worlds, whereof every one has its firmament, its planets, its earth, in the same proportion as our visible world. In this earth, let him consider the animals, and lastly the mites, in which he will find again all that he discovered in the first; the same thing being still constantly repeated in the rest without end or repose. Let him lose himself in these wonders, which are as surprizing by their minuteness, as others by their magnitude. For who can avoid standing in admiration, that our body, which but a while ago was not to be perceived in the world, but was itself imperceptible in the bosom of the whole, should now be a colossus, a world, or rather an universe, in comparison of the last degree of smallness, to which we cannot attain?

Let him consider himself in this manner, and he will be affrighted without doubt to see himself in a manner suspended in the mass which nature has given him, between the two extremes of infinity and nothing, from which he is equally removed. He will

[i] M. Pascal means, that in this small part, which one would imagine was the least that could be, other parts may still be conceived, bearing the same proportions to one another, as the parts of the visible world would do to each other.

tremble at the view of these wonders, and in my opinion his curiosity being changed into admiration, he will be rather disposed to contemplate them in silence, than seek after them with presumption.

For in short, what is man considered in nature? a nothing in regard to infinity, and every thing in regard to nothing; a medium between nothing and every thing. He is alike removed from the two extremes, and his being is no less distant from the nothing, from whence he was taken, than from the infinity in which he is lost. His understanding holds the same rank in the order of intelligible beings, as his body in the extent of nature, and all that it can do is to perceive some appearances in the middle of things, in an eternal despair of knowing either the beginning or the end. All things have proceeded from nothing, and are carried up to infinity. Who can follow these amazing progressions? The author of these wonders comprehends them; which only he can do.

I have quoted this long passage from M. Pascal, to shew how many solid reflections the study of nature may supply; and the case is the same with all that is taught in physics.

Is it not a laudable curiosity to examine into the nature, causes and effects of motion, the weight of the air, the cause of earthquakes, lightning and thunders?

To know the origin of rivers and fountains, is not a matter of indifference. Several are of opinion, that they proceed from the sea, which spreads itself far under ground, and then arises by imperceptible channels to the surface of the earth. Others pretend, that the rain and snows are the sole cause of rivers and fountains. The quantity of water and snow which falls in a year upon a certain determinate portion of the earth's surface has been calculated for several years together, and at the same time the water that runs in a year, for example, in the Seine; and by this calculation it appears, that a third part of the water
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and snow which falls upon the earth, is more than sufficient to supply the fountains and rivers.

All mankind are witnesses of the eclipses of the sun and moon, and it is a kind of reproach to be wholly ignorant of the cause of them. We know that the eclipses of the sun happen only because the moon, which is an opaque body, being placed between the earth and sun, intercepts the light which should come from the sun to the earth; and that the eclipse of the moon is occasioned only by the earth's being placed directly between the moon and sun, which hinders the sun from illuminating the moon; and for this reason the eclipses of the sun never happen but when the moon is new; and the eclipses of the moon at no time but at the full. But it is most surprising, that they are foretold by astronomers with such exactness, that a mistake of some minutes is looked upon by them as a considerable error.

Can any thing better deserve our attention, than the flux and reflux of the sea? Philosophers have almost always thought, that the moon was the cause of it, by compressing the intermediate air, and thereby the waters corresponding to it; but the relation between the flux and reflux of the sea, and the motion of that planet was never so well understood as in the last century. The moon takes up twelve hours and twenty-four minutes in passing from the upper part of our meridian to the lower; and twenty-four hours and forty-eight minutes in returning to the upper part of our meridian again. There are also twelve hours and twenty-four minutes between the tide, which come in upon our coasts every morning, and the tide of flood in the evening, and twenty-four hours and forty-eight minutes between the morning tide of one day, and the morning tide of the next. Several other agreements of this kind have been likewise observed, which are very surprising when thoroughly considered.

There is nothing certainly more wonderful in nature, than this general and regular motion of all the waters

waters in the world, which is more sensible in the ocean, but not absolutely unknown in the Mediterranean, especially in its gulphs. Is it possible not to discern the finger of God in the bounds he has set to the sea, and in that order which he seems to have writ upon the strand; “[k] hitherto shalt thou go, and no farther, “ and here shall thy proud waves be stayed?”

Can we reasonably suffer youth to be ignorant of such wonders as these, or not instruct them in the other points treated of in Physics, and which usually take up a good part of the second year of Philosophy? When this study is neglected at this time, it is seldom afterwards applied to; but instead of neglecting it then, youth ought to be prepared for it beforehand, by being shewn it from their infancy, though in a manner suitable to their age; and this is what it remains for me to treat in the following article.

The NATURAL PHILOSOPHY of CHILDREN.

So I call a study of nature, which scarce requires any thing besides the eyes, and for this reason falls within the capacity of all sorts of persons, and even of children. It consists in attending to the objects, with which nature presents us, in considering them with care, and admiring their different beauties, but without searching out their secret causes, which properly belongs to the physics of the learned.

I say, that even children are capable of it, for they have eyes and don't want curiosity; they ask questions and love to be informed; and here we need only awaken and keep up in them the desire of learning and knowing, which is natural to all mankind. Besides, this study, if it is to be called a study, instead of being painful and tedious, is pleasant and agreeable; it may be used as a recreation, and should usually be made a diversion: it is inconceivable how many things children are capable of, if all the opportuni-

[k] Job xxxviii. 11.

ties of instructing them were laid hold of, with which they themselves supply us.

A garden, a country, a palace, are all so many books which lie open to them; but they must have been taught and accustomed to read in them. Nothing is more common amongst us, than the use of bread and linen. How seldom do children know how either of them are prepared, through how many operations and hands the corn and the flax must pass, before they are turned into bread and linen? The same may be said of cloth, which bears no resemblance to the wool whereof it is formed, any more than paper to the rags, which are picked up in the streets; and why should not children be instructed in these wonderful works of nature and art, which they every day make use of without reflecting upon them?

'Tis very agreeable to read in Tully's treatise of old age, the elegant description which he gives of the growth of corn. [1] It is admirable how the seed fermented and softened by the warmth and moisture of the earth, which kindly retains it in her bosom, sends forth at first a verdant point, which fed and nourished from the root, raises itself by degrees, and erects an hollow stalk, strengthened with knots; how the ear inclosed in a kind of case, insensibly grows in it, and at last shoots forth in admirable form, fortified with bearded spikes, which serve it as a guard against the injuries of the small birds. But to view this wonder itself with our own eyes, to follow it attentively thro' all its different changes, and pursue it till it comes to perfection, is quite another spectacle.

A careful master will find in this manner, where-withal to enrich the mind of his disciple with a great

[1] Me quidem non fructus modo, sed etiam ipsius terræ vis ac natura delectat. Quæ cum gremio mollito ac subacto semen sparsum excepit . . . tepefactum vapore & compressu suo diffundit, & elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem: quæ nixa fibris stirpium sensim ado-

lescit, culmoque erecta geniculato, vaginis jam quasi pubescens includitur, è quibus cum emerferit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam, & contra avium minorum molus munitur vallo aristarum. De Senect. n. 51.

number of useful and agreeable ideas, and by a proper mixture of short reflections, will at the same time take care to form his heart, and lead him by nature to religion. I shall give some examples, which will shew how useful this sort of exercise may be, better than any thing I can say upon the subject. They are not mine, as will soon be perceived; I shall borrow most of them from an excellent manuscript upon Genesis, which is in the hands of several persons. These examples will serve to shew, in what manner we ought to study nature in every thing presented to our eyes, and trace it backwards up to the Creator. I shall confine myself to the subject of plants and animals.

I. PLANTS, FLOWERS, FRUITS, *and* TREES.

[*m*] The firmament, in which the sun, the moon and stars shine with so much splendor, is the first preacher, which declared the glory of God, nor is any thing wanting besides this book, written in characters of light, to render all mankind inexcusable: but the divine Wisdom is no less admirable in the smallest of its works, by which, it has in a manner vouchsafed to become more accessible to us, and seems to invite us to a nearer consideration of it, without fear of being dazzled by its radiance.

PLANTS.

The most contemptible in appearance has wherewithal to astonish the sublimest understandings, which notwithstanding can see only the grosser organs of them, without entering into all the secrets of their life, nourishment and increase. Not a leaf in them but is disposed with attention; order and symmetry are visible throughout the whole; and that with so prodigious a variety of fissures, ornaments and beauties, that no one perfectly resembles the other.

[*m*] Psal. xix.

What discoveries are made in the smallest seeds by the help of microscopes? How great virtue and efficacy has God implanted in them by a single word, by which he seems to have given plants a kind of immortality. [n] *Let the earth bring forth grass, and herb yielding seed.*

Can any thing be more worth our admiration, than the general colour wherewith it has pleased God to beautify every plant? Had all the fields been clothed in white or red, who could have borne the splendor or rigour of their drefs? If he had blackened them with darker colours, who could have been delighted with so sad and mournful a spectacle? An agreeable verdure holds the mean between these two extremes, and bears such relation to the structure of the eye, that it refreshes instead of tiring it, and supports and nourishes it instead of exhausting its force. But what at first we should judge to be one colour, is an astonishing variety of shades. It is every where green, but no where the same. No plant is coloured like another, and this surprizing variety, which no art can imitate, is farther diversified in every plant, which in its first shooting forth, in its growth and maturity, puts on a different verdure.

The same may be said of the figure, smell, taste, and uses of plants, both for nourishment and medicine. I shall make here but one more reflection.

If God had not given hay when dried and kept for a long season the power of feeding horses, oxen, and other animals of service, how would the labourer or man of wealth have satisfied the hunger of animals of so vast bulk, and which are only useful whilst they have strength? Should we undertake to feed a man in this manner, or because the herb might be too dry for his chewing, should we give him broths or infusions of a great bundle of hay and straw, would this be able to keep him alive? This very dry herb suffices likeways to make other animals give twice a day a quantity of milk, which may supply the place of all other food

[n] Gen. i. 11.

to a whole family. When we consider this wonder, which passes every day before our eyes without any reflection, can we avoid admiring the wisdom and goodness of God? *He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man* [o].

FLOWERS.

I transport myself from hence in thought to a field covered with flowers, or a garden well cultivated. How beautifully enamelled! What colours; what wealth, and at the same time how great an harmony and fragrance in their mixture and in the shades with which they are blended? How fine a picture, and by how great a master? How lavish in the profusion of ornaments? From what source could the beauties we look upon arise? What is in itself the principle of so much splendor and ornament so richly diversified?

But let us pass from this general view to the consideration of some flowers in particular, and let us cull by chance the first that shall fall in our way, without putting ourselves to the trouble of making a choice.

It no sooner opens, but it has all its freshness and lustre. Has art invented such lively, and at the same time, such delicate hues? Is any stuff so fine, or woven with such exquisite uniformity? [p] Is the purple of Solomon equal to the leaves in my hand? How coarse in comparison? How rough? How gross in the workmanship, and how different in the colour?

But though this flower were less beautiful in every part than it is, can we imagine a more agreeable symmetry in the whole, a more regular disposition in its leaves, or a greater exactness in its proportions?

One would believe, if we were only to examine the wisdom of God, and if I may be allowed the expression, his complacency in the composition of so perfect a flower, that it was to last for ever; but before evening it shall fade, and the next day be withered by the sun, and the day after perish. What should we then

[o] Psal. civ. 14.

[p] Matt. vi. 29.

think of the immense source of beauties, which so plentifully bestows them upon an herb that is to last but a few hours? What will he do when he shall undertake to adorn the mind, he who diffuses such splendor upon the grass designed for the food of animals? And how great is the blindness of the world, who reckon upon beauty, youth, authority and human glory as solid benefits, without remembering that they are as the transient blossom, which to-morrow shall be no more? [q] *All flesh is grass, and all the glory thereof as the flower of the field.*

F R U I T S.

Hitherto we have considered the earth as a field or a garden of herbs; let us now consider it as a rich orchard abounding with all kinds of fruit, which succeed one another according to the seasons.

I consider one of these trees extending its branches, bowing down to the earth, under the weight of excellent fruit, whose colour and smell invite the taste, and in surprising plenty. This tree, by the pomp it displays before my eyes, seems to cry out, Learn of me how great the goodness and magnificence of God is, who has formed me for you. It is neither for him nor for me, that I thus abound in riches. He stands in need of nothing, and I can make no use of what is given me. Bless him, and unload me; give thanks to him; and as he has made me the minister of your entertainment, do you become the minister of my gratitude.

Such invitations as these I seem to hear from every quarter; and as I advance, I still discover new subjects of praise and admiration. Here the fruit lies concealed within; and there the kernel is covered with a delicate pulp, all shining without in the most lively colours. This fruit arises from a flower, as almost all fruits do; but that other, which is so delicious, is preceded by no flower, but springs out of the very rind of the fig-tree. The one begins the summer,

[q] Isa. xl. 6.

and

and the other ends it. If one is not speedily gathered, it falls and withers; and if time is not allowed to the other, it will never come to maturity. The one keeps long, and the other presently corrupts; one refreshes, and another strengthens; but all I see raises in me a spirit of wonder and transport, and I cannot avoid crying out with the prophet, [r] *The eyes of all wait upon thee, O Lord, and thou givest them their meat in due season; thou openest thy hand and fillest all things living with plenteousness.*

T R E E S.

We have already treated of these, when we spoke of fruits; but they deserve some particular reflections.

Amongst the fruitful trees there are some which bear their fruits in two seasons of the year, and others join together both different seasons and years too, by bearing at once both flowers and ripe fruit, in order to shew the unbounded power of the Creator, who, by diversifying the laws of nature, lets us see that he is the master of them, and can alike dispose of all seasons, and all things at his pleasure.

I observe that they are the shrub-trees, or those of a moderate height, which bear the most exquisite fruits. The higher they rise the poorer they appear, and the less agreeable are their fruits. I understand this lesson, and the feeble stem of the vine, whose grapes I admire, tells me in its language, that the most wonderful fruits are often nearest the earth.

The other trees, which bear only leaves, or fruits that are bitter and very small, are notwithstanding very useful; and providence has made up the defect in such a manner, that upon some occasions the barren are to be preferred to the more fruitful, which are hardly of any use, either for building or navigation, or other indispenfable wants.

If we had not seen such high and large trees as are in certain forests, we could not believe that the drops of rain which fall from heaven were capable of supplying them with nourishment. For not only a very

[r] Psal. cxliv. 15, 16.

plentiful sap is necessary to them, but one that abounds in spirits and salts of every kind, to give the root, the trunk and branches, that force and vigour which we admire in them. It is very remarkable, that the more these trees are neglected, the more beautiful they grow, and that were men to apply themselves to cultivate them like the small trees of their gardens, they would only do them a prejudice. Thou hereby, O Lord, givest a proof, that it is thou only that hast formed them, and teachest man that his cares and industry are useless to thee; and that if thou requirest them to be used about certain little trees, it is only to employ him, and put him in mind of his own weakness, by having only weak things like himself committed to his care.

Lastly, amongst the trees I observe some which always preserve their verdure, and in them I imagine I discern a figure of immortality, as the others, which are stripped in winter to be clothed again in the spring, seem to present me with an image of the resurrection.

II. ANIMALS.

In the description of animals I shall observe the order which God followed in their creation.

FISH.

What an abundance of fish do the waters produce of every size? When I view these animals, I seem to discern nothing beside a head and a tail. They have neither feet nor arms. Their very head cannot freely be moved; and were I to consider only their figure, I should think them deprived of all that was necessary for the preservation of their life; but with these few outward organs they are more nimble, dextrous and artificial, than if they had several hands and feet; and the use they make of their tail and fins carries them along like arrows, and seems to make them fly.

As the fish devour one another, how can these watery inhabitants subsist? God has provided for it by
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multiplying them in so prodigious a manner, that their fruitfulness infinitely surpasses their mutual desire of eating one another; and what is destroyed is always far inferior to their increase.

I am only in pain how the little ones should escape the bigger, which look upon them as their prey, and are continually in pursuit of them. But this weak race are swifter in their course than the others. They creep into places where the low water will not admit of the larger fish, and it seems as if God had given them a foresight in proportion to their weakness and dangers.

Whence comes it, that the fish live in the midst of water, so loaded with salt, that we cannot bear a drop of it in our mouths, and enjoy there perfect vigour and health; and how do they preserve, in the midst of salt, a flesh that has not the least taste of it?

Why do the best, and such as are most fit for the use of man, draw near the coasts, to offer themselves in a manner to him, whilst a great many others, which are useless to him, affect a remoteness from him?

Why do those, who keep themselves in unknown places, whilst they multiply and acquire a certain bulk, come in shoals at a particular time to invite the fishermen, and throw themselves, in a manner, into their nets and boats?

Why do several of them, and of the best kinds, enter the mouths of rivers, and run up even to their springs, to communicate the advantages of the sea to such countries as lie at a distance from it? And what hand conducts them with so much care and goodness towards man, but thine, O Lord, though so visible a providence seldom occasions their acknowledgment?

This providence is every where to be discerned, and the innumerable shells which are spread upon the shore, hide different kinds of fish, that with a very small appearance of life are sure to open their shells at certain regular times to take in fresh water, and retain therein, by speedily joining them together, the imprudent prey which falls into that snare.

BIRDS.

We see a surprising imitation of reason in several animals, but it no where appears in a more sensible manner than in the industry of birds in building their nests.

In the first place, what master has taught them that they have need of them? Who has taken care to inform them to prepare them in time, and not to suffer themselves to be prevented by necessity? Who has told how they should build them? What mathematician has given them their figure? What architect has taught them to chuse a firm place, and to build upon a solid foundation? What tender mother has advised them to cover the bottom with a soft and delicate substance, such as down and cotton? And when these matters fail, who has suggested to them that ingenious charity, which leads them to pluck off so many feathers from their own breasts with their beaks, as is requisite for the preparing a convenient cradle for their young?

In the second place, what wisdom has pointed out to every distinct kind a peculiar manner of building their nests, so as to observe the same precautions, though in a thousand different ways? Who has commanded the swallow, the most subtle of birds, to draw near to man and make choice of his house for the building of his nest, within his view, without fear of his knowing it, and seeming rather to invite him to a consideration of his labour? Neither does he build like other birds with little bits of sticks and stubble, but employs cement and mortar, and in so solid a manner, that it requires some pains to demolish its work; and yet in all this it makes use of no other instrument but its beak. Reduce, if it is possible, the ablest architect to the small bulk of this swallow, leave him all his knowledge and only a beak, and see if he will have the same skill and the like success.

Thirdly, who has made all the birds comprehend that they must hatch their eggs by sitting upon them? That this necessity was indispensable? That the father
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and mother could not leave them at the same time; and that if one went abroad to seek for food, the other must wait till it returns? Who has fixed in the calendar the express number of days this painful diligence is to last? Who has advertised them to assist the young, that are already formed, in coming out of the egg by first breaking the shell? And who has so exactly instructed them in the very moment before which they never come?

Lastly, who has given lessons to all the birds upon the care they ought to take of their young, till such time as they are grown up, and in a condition to provide for themselves? Who has made them distinguish such things as agree well with one species, but are prejudicial to another? And amongst such as are proper to the parents, and unfit for the young, who has made them distinguish such as are salutary? We know the tenderness of mothers, and the carefulness of nurses amongst mankind, but I question whether it ever came up to what we see in these little creatures.

Who has taught several among the birds that marvellous industry of retaining food or water in their gullet, without swallowing either the one or the other, and preserving them for their young, to whom this first preparation serves instead of milk?

Is it for the birds, O Lord, that thou hast joined together so many miracles, which they have no knowledge of? Is it for men, who give no attention to them? Is it for the curious, who are satisfied with admiring them, without raising their thoughts to thee? Or is it not rather visible, that thy design has been to call us to thyself by such a spectacle; to make us sensible of thy providence and infinite wisdom; and to fill us with confidence in thy bounty, who watchest with so much care and tenderness over the birds, [s] though two of them are sold but for a farthing?

But let us set bounds to our observations upon the industry of birds, for the subject is infinite, and hearken for a moment to the concert of their music, the first

praise which God received from nature, and the first song of thanksgiving which was offered to him before man was formed. All their sounds are different, but all harmonious, and all together compose a choir which men have but sorry imitated. One voice however, more strong and melodious is distinguished among the rest, and I find upon enquiry, from whence it comes, that it is a very small bird, which is the organ of it. This leads me to consider all the rest of the singing tribe, and they also are all small; the great ones being either wholly ignorant of music, or having a disagreeable voice. Thus I every where find, that what seems weak and small has the best destination, and the most gratitude.

Some of these little birds are extremely beautiful, nor can any thing be more rich or variegated than their feathers; but it must be owned, that all ornament must give place to the finery of the peacock, upon which God has plentifully bestowed all the riches which set off the rest, and lavished upon it with gold and azure all the shades of every other colour. This bird seems sensible of its advantage, and looks as if designed to display all its beauties to our eyes, when it expands that splendid circumference which sets them all to view.

But this most pompous bird of all has a most disagreeable cry, and is a proof, that with a very shining outside there may be but a sorry substance within, little gratitude and a great deal of vanity.

In examining the feathers of the rest, I find one thing very singular in those of the swans and other river fowl, for they are proof against the water, and continue always dry, and yet our eyes do not discover either the artifice or difference of them.

I look upon the feet of the same birds, and observe webs there, which distinctly mark their destination. But I am much astonished to see these birds so sure, that they run no hazard by throwing themselves into the water, whereas others, to whom God has not given the like feathers or feet, are never so rash as to expose them-

themselves to it. Who has told the former that they run no danger, and who keeps back the others from following their example? It is not unusual to set duck eggs under a hen, which in this case is deceived by her affection, and takes a foreign brood for her natural offspring, that run to the water as soon as they come out of the shell, nor can their pretended mother prevent them by her repeated calls. She stands upon the brink in astonishment at their rashness, and still more at the success of it. She finds herself violently tempted to follow them, and warmly expresses her impatience, but nothing is capable of carrying her to an indiscretion which God has prohibited. The spectators are surpris'd at it, more or less in proportion to their understanding; for it is from the want of light and understanding, that such prodigies excite so little admiration. But it is rare that the spectators learn from this example, that it is necessary to be destined by providence to discharge the functions of a dangerous state, and to receive from it all that is requisite for our security; and that it is a fatal rashness for others to venture upon it, who have neither the same vocation nor the same talents.

I should never have done, should I undertake to consider many miracles of a like nature with those I have related. I shall content myself with one observation more, which takes in several others, and relates to birds of passage.

They have all their allotted times, which they do not exceed; but this time is not the same for every species; some wait for the winter, others the spring; some the summer, and others the autumn. There is amongst every sort a public and general rule of government, which guides and retains every single bird in its duty. Before the general edict, there is none thinks of departing. After its publication, there is no one tarries behind. A kind of council fixes the day, and grants a certain time to prepare for it, after which they all take their flight; and so exact is their discipline, that the next day there is not a straggler or deserter

deserter to be found. Many people know no other bird but the swallow that acts thus, but it is certain that many other species do the same. Now I ask, though we had but the single instance of the swallow, what news have they received from the countries whither they go in great companies, to be assured that they shall find all things there prepared for their reception? I ask, why they do not keep like other birds to the country where they have brought up their young, which have been so kindly treated in it? By what disposition to travel does this new brood, which knows no other than its native country, conspire all at once to quit it? In what language is the ordinance published, which forbids all, both old and new subjects of the republic, to tarry beyond a certain day? And lastly, by what signs do the principal magistrates know, that they should run an extreme hazard in exposing themselves to be prevented by a rigorous season? What other answer can be given to these questions than that of the prophet, [*t*] *O Lord, how manifold are thy works, in wisdom hast thou made them all!*

LAND ANIMALS.

I am obliged to abridge this subject, to put an end to this small treatise, which has insensibly grown very long.

The single instance of the dog, shews us how capable God is of giving matter all the outward appearances of understanding, fidelity, friendship, and gratitude, without the principle of them. As this example is known to all the world, I shall not dwell upon it.

The actions of the bee are no less admirable. Instead of contenting itself with sucking the honey, which is better preserved in the cups of flowers than any where else, and feeding upon it day by day, it lays up a provision for the whole year, and principally for the winter. It loads the little hooks which adorn its legs with all the wax and gum that it can carry, and

in sucking up the honey with the trunk fixed at the extremity of its head, it avoids the daubing of its wings, of which it stands in need to fly from place to place, and to carry it home.

If care is not taken to prepare a hive for it, it makes one itself in the hollow of some tree or rock; there its first care is to form the comb, which it composes of small equal cells, that they may be the better joined, and leave no interval or space between. Then it pours out the honey pure and unmixed into these small reservoirs, and how plentifully soever its magazines are filled, it takes no rest, till the time of labour and harvest is over. In this republic there is no idleness, no avarice or self-love, but all is in common. What is necessary is granted to all, a superfluity to none, and it is for the public good that their substance is preserved. New colonies, which would be a burthen to the state, are sent abroad. They know how to work, and are obliged to do so by being dismissed.

Amongst the best governed nations have we the copy of so perfect a model? Can such surprising wisdom be attributed to chance or a cause without a will? Or can we think these wonders explained by saying, that instinct, nature, and I know not what, is the principle from whence they proceed? And is it not under these images, on one side so perfect, and on the other so remote from matter, that God has taken a pleasure to manifest what he is, and to teach man what he should be?

Let us pass from the bee to the ant, which resembles it in many respects, except that a bee enriches man, and the ant strives all he can to impoverish him by stealing from him.

This little animal is informed, that the winter is long, and that the ripe corn is not a great while exposed in the field. Thus the ant never sleeps during harvest. It draws along with the little instruments which are fixed to its head grains of corn which are thrice as heavy as itself, and goes backward with them

as well as it can. Sometimes it finds a friend by the way, which lends its assistance, but never waits for it.

The repository, where all is public, and no one thinks of making a separate provision for itself, this repository is made up of several chambers, which communicate with each other by galleries, and which are all dug so deep, that neither the winter rains or snows can penetrate so far. The subterraneous caverns of citadels are inventions by far more modern and less perfect, and those who have endeavoured to destroy the habitations of such ants, as have had leisure to perfect them, have scarce ever succeeded: the branches of them are extended so far, that they do not feel all the injury that is offered them at first.

When their granaries are full, and the winter comes on, they begin to secure the grain, by [u] biting off the two ends of it, and thereby hindering it from growing. Thus their first food is no other than a care for futurity, and what they are determined to rather by prudence than necessity.

Hence we see what an incomprehensible fund of industry God has placed in this little animal. Thus has he given it a kind of prophetic understanding, to oblige us to recur to him, to whom alone it belongs to work such prodigies, who cannot, in my opinion, more sensibly shew us that he is the source of wisdom, than by joining together so many circumstances of it in so small a part of matter, which has no more than the appearance of it.

Can we sufficiently admire the industry of certain animals, who spin with such art and delicacy, that all appears to be the effect of thought and a mathematical scheme? Who has taught the spider, an animal in other respects so contemptible, to form such fine threads so equal and so artfully suspended? Who has taught it to begin with fixing them to certain points, to join

[u] Pliney the naturalist makes the same observation upon the industry of the ants, that they lay up corn for the winter, and prevent it from growing, by biting off the

end. Lib. xi. c. 30. Yet this fact is now questioned by some persons, who absolutely deny that the ants lay up any corn.

them

them all in one common center, to draw them first in a right line, and then to strengthen them by circles exactly parallel? Who has told it, that these threads should be a snare to catch other animals that have wings, and that it could not come at them but by stratagem? Who has appointed him his place in the center, where all the lines meet, and where it is necessarily informed by the lightest motion, that some prey has fallen into his nets? Lastly, who has told him, that his first care then should be to embarrass the wings of that imprudent prey, by new threads, for fear it should still have left some liberty of disengaging and defending itself.

All the world is a witness of the labours of the silk-worm. But have the most skilful artists hitherto been able to imitate it? Have they found out the secret of drawing so fine a thread, so strong, so even, so bright and uniform? Have they any materials of greater value than this thread for making the richest stuffs? Do they know how this worm converts the juice of the leaf into golden threads? Can they give a reason why a liquid matter, before it has taken the air, should grow strong, and lengthen itself *in infinitum*, as soon as it comes into it? Can any of them explain how this worm is taught to form itself a retreat under the numberless turnings and windings of silk, which have flowed from itself, and how in this rich grave it finds a kind of resurrection, which gives it the wings its first birth had refused it?

Every crawling worm becomes a kind of fly, gnat or butterfly; and first every fly has crawled in its original, and been a kind of worm, caterpillar or insect, before it had wings; and the middle state between these two extremes of elevation and meanness, is the time when the animal becomes a cod or bean, which is done a great number of ways, but always in a manner uniform to every species.

I shall conclude this treatise with some observations upon a small animal, which deserves our utmost admiration. Its name is *formicalio*. It is of an ugly figure,

gure, and looks as if it was but half finished; it is of a cruel disposition, for it lives only upon the blood of its prey, and its sole occupation is to lay traps for it. Its artifice is best seen by having such an animal in one's closet.

It is put into an earthen vessel full of very fine sand, in which it presently hides itself. When it is there, it forms in the sand the shape of a cone reversed, with an exact and geometrical proportion, and takes up its residence in the point of the cone, which is the center of it, but still keeping itself covered. If any ant, or fly, with its wings taken off, is placed at the entrance of the cone, this little animal, which one would not judge capable of the least effort, throws sand forcibly with its head upon the prey it has got an intelligence of, in order to stun it and drag it down to the bottom, where it lies concealed. Then he comes out from the place of his retreat, and after he has quenched his thirst, he throws away the carcase, which might render his cruelty suspected.

If one would have the pleasure of seeing him labour a second time, it is but filling up the cone by stirring the vessel, and it is surprising to see with what diligence the little animal makes a new figure as large and regular as the former.

How much reasoning is here required, if this workmanship was founded upon reasoning? Can a mathematician think more curiously, and be better acquainted with the nature of the cone, of the sand, of the motions and the conveyance of their sound from the center to every part of the circumference? It is certain that this beast must reason, or some one for it. But the wonder is not, either that it should reason, or a foreign principle reason for it, but that this principle should cause all this to be executed by organs, which move of themselves, and seem to act only by an inward principle.

I must not omit that the *formicalio*, of which I have just spoken, is transformed into a great and beautiful fly from the little and ugly thing it was at first, and is

no longer of the same sanguine humour, when it has cast off its first skin.

The USEFULNESS of these PHYSICAL OBSERVATIONS.

It is not necessary for me to observe how capable these physical observations, and a great many others of the like nature, are to adorn and enrich the mind of a young man, to make him attentive to the effects of nature, which are constantly before our eyes, and present themselves to us almost every moment without our reflecting upon them; to teach him a thousand curious points relating to sciences, arts and professions, such as chemistry, anatomy, botany, painting, navigation, &c. to give him a taste for gardening, planting, and walking, which is by no means a matter of indifference; to enable him to make an agreeable figure in conversation, and not to be under a necessity either of holding his tongue, or talking only of trifles.

I call this science the physics of children, because in reality we may begin to teach it to them from their infancy, but still with a view to their weakness, and laying nothing before them beyond their capacity, either as to facts, or to the reflections that are joined to them. It is incredible how this small exercise, regularly continued from the age of six or seven years, to that of twelve or fifteen, but still under the name and notion of a diversion and not a study, would fill the mind of the boys with useful and agreeable knowledge, and prepare them for that study of physics, which is proper only to be learned.

But some one will say, where shall we find masters capable of giving a child these instructions, which the best among them are often very ignorant of, and which require a large extent of knowledge? The matter is not so difficult as they may be apt to imagine. [x] Tully said jestingly, in an oration, wherein he un-

[x] Ita que, si mihi, homini vehementer occupato, stomachum morbo esse profitebor. Pro Muren. ii. 28.

dertook to lessen the study of the law, that if they vexed him, as full of business as he was, he would become a lawyer in three days. I might almost say the same thing, not of the physics of the learned, which is a very profound science, but of that which I am here speaking of. It requires no more than to run over the books in which these kind of observations are to be found, such as for instance are the memoirs of the academy of sciences, where we meet with abundance of very curious remarks upon this subject. I have seen boys, who have been publicly examined in the fourth book of Virgil's Georgics, make a wonderful use of what is said in these memoirs, upon the little but admirable republic of the bees. A master that is curious and studious, will apply to persons of skill, to know what books he should consult upon each subject. These books he either borrows or seeks for in the public libraries; he reads them over, and makes extracts from them, and thereby enables himself to teach his scholars many things that are curious; and he has seven or eight years time to make this small collection. To succeed in it there is nothing wanting but inclination.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

PHILOSOPHY *serves to inspire a great respect for* RELIGION.

ALL that I have hitherto said of physics, very early shews, that one of the great effects, and the most essential fruit of Philosophy, is to raise man to the knowledge of the greatness, power, wisdom and goodness of God; to render him attentive to his providence, to teach him to ascend up to him, by the consideration of the wonderful works of nature, to make him sensible of his benefits, and point out to him subjects of praise and thanksgiving.

We learn from God himself both in the Old and New Testament, that this is the proper use we ought to

to make of the creatures, who all teach us our duty. [y] He sends the sluggard in the scriptures to the ant, to learn industry; [z] the ungrateful to the ox and ass, who make a grateful return for their master's care; [a] the inconsiderate to the stork and the swallow, who know their appointed times. [b] Jesus Christ lays down the consideration of the lilies of the valley, and the birds of the air, as an instruction to all mankind, absolutely to rely upon the cares of a providence, which is at the same time watchful over all, and full in goodness and almighty. We should therefore not answer the intentions of divine Wisdom, and should fail in the most essential part of a master's duty, if we did not observe to youth the footsteps of the Deity in all his creatures, as he has been pleased to draw himself, and point out our duty in them.

In the account the scripture gives us of the creation of the world, it is often said [c] that God approved, and if I may venture to say it, admired his own works, to teach us how great an admiration they ought to raise in us, how much we ought to study them, and what reflections they deserve; and to reproach us at the same time with our stupidity, in not employing our thoughts about them, and our ingratitude in not returning thanks for them, whilst we continue ignorant and weak, though we live in the midst of the most astonishing prodigies, and are ourselves one of the most incomprehensible.

It is not natural Philosophy alone, which assists us in obtaining the knowledge of God; the little I have said upon the principles of morality, drawn from Paganism itself, is sufficient to shew us how proper that branch of Philosophy is to inspire us with an high veneration for religion.

Can any thing be more likely to imprint it deeply in the minds of youth, and to lay such solid foundations as are capable of withstanding the torrent of in-

[y] Prov. vi. 6.

[z] Isa. i. 3.

[a] Jerem. viii. 7.

[b] Matt. vi. 26, 30.

[c] And God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good. Gen. i. 31.

credulity and libertinism, than the famous questions in metaphysics, concerning the existence of a God, and the immortality of the soul?

But the greatest and most important service that Philosophy can do man, is to dispose him to receive whatever is taught by Divine Revelation with docility and respect. It particularly takes care to make him comprehend, that every thing must be silent before God, reason as well as sense, as nothing is more reasonable than to give ear to him when he speaks, [d] *Ipsi, de se, Deo credendum est*; that it must not therefore seem strange to reason, that it is made to submit to authority in such sciences, as treating of subjects superior to reason, must be guided by another light, which can be only that of divine authority; that as in the very order of nature, there are a thousand things which human understanding cannot comprehend, tho' beheld with human eyes, there is still greater reason to respect the veils, which it has pleased God to throw over the mysteries of religion; that lastly, God would cease to be what he is, if he was not incomprehensible, and that his wonderful works would no longer deserve that name, if human understanding could attain to them.

These are the lessons which Philosophy gives to youth, not restless, bold and vain Philosophy, such as [e] St. Paul advises the faithful to beware of, and which by explaining what it believes, often annihilates what it ought to believe; but a wise and solid Philosophy, founded upon the actual principles and purest lights of natural reason.

[d] Hilar. lib. iv. de Trinit.

[e] Beware lest any man spoil you through Philosophy and vain

deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. Col. ii. 8.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

Of the GOVERNMENT of the CLASSES and COLLEGES.

The INTRODUCTION.

THIS introduction shall contain two articles. In the first I shall shew the importance of the good education of youth; in the second I shall enquire whether public instruction is preferable to private.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

The IMPORTANCE of the good EDUCATION of YOUTH.

THE education of youth has been always considered by the greatest philosophers, and the most famous lawgivers, as the most certain source of the tranquillity and happiness both of private families, and of states and empires. For what else, in short, is a republic or kingdom, but a large body, whose health and strength depend upon those of private families, which are the members and parts of it, and none of which can fail in the discharge of their function, but the whole body must be sensible of it? Now what is it but good education, which enables all the citizens, and great men, and princes above the rest, to perform their different functions in a deserving manner? Is it not evident that youth are as the nursery of the state? That it is renewed and perpetuated by them? That from among them all, the fathers of families, all magistrates and ministers, in a word, all persons placed in authority and power, are taken? And is it not certain, that the good education of those, who are one day to fill those places, will have an influence over the whole body of the state, and become,

in a manner, the spirit and general character of the whole nation?

The laws indeed are the foundation of empires, and by preserving a regularity and good order in them, maintain them in peace and tranquillity. But whence have the laws themselves that force and vigour, but from good education, which trains up men in subjection to them, without which they are but a feeble barrier against the passions of mankind?

[f] *Quid leges sine moribus vane proficiunt?*

“For what can laws, when manners are corrupt?”

[g] Plutarch makes a judicious reflection on this subject, which well deserves to be considered: it is in speaking of Lycurgus. “This wise lawgiver, [b] “says he, did not think it convenient to set down his “laws in writing, as judging that the strongest and “most effectual means of making cities happy, and “people virtuous, was the impression that was made “in the manners of the citizens, and rendered familiar and easy to them, by custom and habit. For “the principles which education has fixed in their “minds, continue firm and unshaken, as being founded upon an inward conviction, and even upon the “will, which is always a much stronger and more “lasting tie than that of force; insomuch that this “education becomes the rule of youth, and serves “them instead of a lawgiver.”

Here, in my opinion, we have the justest notion that can be given of the difference there is between the laws and education.

The law, when it stands alone, is a severe and imperious mistress, *ανάγκη*, which lays a man under restraint in what he holds most dear, and whereof he is most jealous, I mean his liberty; which torments and

[f] Horat. Od. xxv. lib. ii.

[g] In vit. Lycurg.

[b] “ὄφελος ἔδει τῶν ὀφελιματάων λόγων, καὶ συνδεδοξασμένων ὑπὸ πάντων

τῶν πολιτευομένων, εἰ μὴ ἔσονται εἰθισμένοι καὶ πεπαιδευμένοι ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ. Arist. lib. v. Polit. cap. ix.

contradicts him in every thing, is [*i*] deaf to his remonstrances and desires, never submits to any relaxation, [*k*] speaks always in a threatening tone, and presents him only with correction. Thus it is not surprising that men should shake off this yoke, as soon as ever they can with impunity, and that giving ear no longer to its offensive directions, they should abandon themselves to their natural inclinations, which the law had only restrained, without changing or destroying them.

But the case is far otherways with education. Its government is gentle and engaging, an enemy to violence and constraint, which delights to act only by motives of persuasion, which endeavours to make its instructions relished, by speaking always with reason and truth, and tends only to make virtue more easy, by making it more amiable. Its lectures, which begin almost as soon as a child is born, grow up and gather strength with it, in time take deep root, soon pass from the memory and understanding to the heart, are daily imprinted in his manners, by practice and habit become a second nature in him, which it is scarce possible to change, and do the office of a present legislator all the rest of his life, putting him in mind of his duty upon every occasion, and engaging him to the practice of it. Ἡ παιδείουσι νομοθέτε διαθέσει ἀπεργάζεσθαι περὶ ἑκάστων αὐτῶν. “ Education performs the business “ of a legislator among such.”

We must not wonder, after this, that the ancients have recommended the education of youth with so much care, and looked upon it as the surest means of making an empire permanent and flourishing. [*l*] It was a capital maxim with them, that children are more the property of the republic than of their parents; and that thus their education should not be left to their fancies, but be intrusted to the care of the republic; that for this reason children ought to be brought

[*i*] Leges, rem surdam, inexorabilem esse . . . nihil laxamenti, nec venie habere, si modum excefferis. Liv. lib. ii. n. 3. verba minantia fixo ære legebantur. . . . Ovid. lib. ii. Metam. 'Tis a beautiful definition of the *laxus* Verba minantia.

[*k*] Poena metuſque aberant, nec [*l*] Arist. Pol. lib. viii. c. 1.

up, not in private, and in their fathers houses, but in public, by common masters, and under the same discipline; that they may be early inspired with a love for their country, respect for its laws, and a taste for the principles and maxims of the state wherein they are to live. For every kind of government has its peculiar genius. The spirit and character of a republic is very different from that of a monarchy. Now this spirit and character is only to be imbibed by education.

It is in consequence of the principles I have laid down, that Lycurgus, Plato, Aristotle, and, in a word, all that have left us any rules of government have declared, that the principal and most essential duty of a magistrate, a minister, a lawgiver, and a prince, is to watch over the good education, first of their own children, who often succeed to their functions, and then of the citizens in general, who form the body of the republic; and they observe, that all the misfortunes of states arise only from the negligence of this twofold duty.

[*m*] Plato quotes an illustrious example of it in the person of the famous Cyrus, the most accomplished prince we read of in ancient history. He wanted none of the talents which were requisite to make a great man, excepting that we are here speaking of. Being wholly taken up with his conquests, he intrusted the education of his children with the [*n*] women. These young princes were therefore brought up, not after the rough and severe discipline of the Persians, which had so well succeeded in Cyrus their father, but after the manner of the Medes; that is, in luxury, softness and pleasures. No body ventured to contradict them in any thing. Their ears were open only to praise and flattery; every thing bent their knee, and bowed down before them. And it was thought essential to their grandeur to set an infinite distance between them and the rest of mankind, as if they had been of a dif-

[*m*] Plat. lib. iii. de leg.

[*n*] The wife of Cyrus was daughter to the king of Media.

ferent species from them. [o] Such an education, so remote from all reproof and correction, had, says Plato, the success which was to be expected from it. The two princes, presently after the death of Cyrus, took up arms against each other, as not being able to bear either a superior or an equal; and Cambyses, grown absolute master, by the death of his brother, ran furiously into all sorts of excess, and brought the Persian empire to the brink of ruin. Cyrus left him a vast extent of provinces, immense revenues, and innumerable armies; but all this turned to his ruin for want of another benefit far more valuable, which he neglected to leave him, I mean a good education.

This judicious remark of Plato concerning Cyrus, entirely escaped me in reading the history of him by Xenophon. Nor did I reflect, that this historian is absolutely silent upon the education of this prince's children; whereas he largely describes the excellent manner in which the Persian youth were brought up, and Cyrus himself among the rest. This is the greatest fault a prince can be guilty of.

Philip king of Macedon behaved in a very different manner. [p] Upon the birth of his son, when engaged in the midst of his conquests, and at the time of his greatest exploits, he wrote Aristotle the following letter: "I give you notice that I have a son born: but I am not so much obliged to the gods for his birth, as for the happiness that he is come into the world, whilst there is an Aristotle living. For I hope, that being brought up under your direction, and by your care, he will not prove unworthy of his father's glory, nor of the empire which I shall leave him." This was talking and thinking like a great prince, who was thoroughly acquainted with the importance of a good education. Alexander had the same sentiments. An historian observes that [q] he

[o] Ὅθεν ἐγένοντο οὐκ ἦν εὐκός αὐ-
τὸς γενέσθαι τροφῆ ἀνεπιπλήκτω τρα-
φέντας.

[p] Aul. Gel. lib. ix. cap. 3.

[q] Ἀριστοτέλη ἐχ' ἤτιον ἀγαπῶν
(ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν) τοῦ πατρὸς ὡς δι'
ἐκείνου μὲν ζῶν, διὰ τῆτον δὲ καλῶς ζῶν.

Plut. in. vit. Alex.

loved Aristotle no less than his own father, *because, he said, he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well.*

If it is a great fault in a prince not to take care of the education of his own children, it is no less blameable to neglect that of the citizens in general. Plutarch very judiciously observes, in the parallel he draws between Lycurgus and Numa, that it was a like negligence which rendered all the good designs and great institutions of the latter useless. The passage is very remarkable. "All the labour of Numa, says he, who took pains only to maintain the peace and tranquillity of Rome, vanished with him; and he was no sooner dead than the temple of Janus, which he had constantly kept shut, as if he had really confined the dæmon of war in it, was immediately opened again, and all Italy filled with blood and slaughter. Thus the most beautiful and best of his institutions was but of short duration, as it wanted the sole tie capable of maintaining it, which was the education of youth."

It was the opposite conduct which so long preserved the laws of Lycurgus in full force. For, as the same Plutarch observes, "the religion of an oath, which he required of the Lacedæmonians, would have been but a weak support after his death, if by education he had not imprinted the laws in their manners. By education he made them imbibe the love of his form of government almost with their milk, by making it, in a manner, familiar and natural to them. Thus we see the principal of his institutions subsisted above five hundred years, like a good and a strong dye, which had penetrated into the very substance of the soul."

All these great men of antiquity were therefore persuaded, as Plutarch observes of Lycurgus in particular, that the most essential duty of a lawgiver, and in consequence of a prince, was to establish good rules for the education of youth, and to see that they were exactly observed. It is surprising to consider how far they

they carried their attention and vigilance upon this point. They recommended precautions to be used in the choice of such persons as were to take care of children from their very birth, and it is plain that Quintilian has taken what he has said upon this subject from Plato and Aristotle, especially in what relates to nurses. [r] He requires with those wise philosophers, that in the choice that is made of them, care should not only be taken that they had no bad modes of speaking, but also that a special regard should be had to their manners and disposition, and the reason he gives for it is admirable: “ For what is learnt, says he, at that age, is easily imprinted in the mind, and leaves deep marks behind it, which are not easily to be effaced. As in the case of a new vessel, which long preserves the tincture of the first liquor poured into it; and like wool, which can never recover its first whiteness, after it has been once dyed; and the misfortune is, that bad habits last longer than good ones.”

[s] It is for the same reason, that these philosophers look upon it as one of the most essential duties of those who are entrusted with the education of children, to remove from them as far as possible the slaves and domestics, whose discourses and examples may be prejudicial to them.

To this they add a piece of advice, which will condemn a great many christian fathers and masters. They require that boys should not only be prevented from reading any comedies, or seeing any theatrical show, before they arrive at a certain age, but that all pictures, sculptures, or tapestry, which may lay any indecent and dangerous image before the eyes of children should be absolutely banished their cities. They desire that the magistrates should carefully watch over

[r] Et morum quidem in his haud dubie prior ratio est: rectè tamen etiam loquantur. . . Naturâ enim tenacissimi sumus eorum quæ rudibus annis percepimus: ut sapor quo poya imbuas durat, nec lanarum

colores, quibus simplex ille candor mutatus est, elui possunt. Et hæc ipsa magis pertinaciter hærent, quæ deteriora sunt. Quint. lib. i. cap. 1.

[s] Arist. Polit. lib. vii. cap. 17.

the execution of this ordinance; and that they should oblige the workmen, even such as were most industrious, who refuse to submit to it, to carry their fatal skill to some other place. [t] They were persuaded, that from such objects as these, that were adapted to flatter the passions and foment vice, there arose a kind of contagious and pestilential air, that was at length insensibly capable of infecting the masters themselves, who breathe it every moment without fear and precaution; and that these objects were like so many poisoned flowers, which exhale a deadly odour, the more to be feared, as it was the less suspected, and even appeared agreeable. These wise philosophers require on the other hand, that every thing in a city should teach and inspire virtue; inscriptions, pictures, statues, plays, and conversations; and that from every thing that is presented to the senses, and should strike the eyes and ears, there should be formed a kind of salutary air and breath, which should imperceptibly insinuate itself into the souls of children, and, assisted by the instruction of the master, should incline them from their tenderest years to the love of probity and a regard for the honest and the decent. There is a beauty and delicacy in the original text, of which no other language is capable; and though this passage be somewhat long, I have thought proper to quote a great part of it, to give some idea of Plato's style.

I shall now return to my subject, and conclude this first article, with desiring the reader to consider how the Pagans themselves always looked upon the care of the education of children, as the most essential duty of parents, magistrates and princes, because it is of the last importance during the rest of their lives, to have good principles instilled into them from the beginning. In short, while their minds are yet tender and flexible, they may be turned and managed as we please; whereas age and long habit will make faults almost incorrigible. [u] *Frangas enim citius quam corrigas, quæ in prævum induruerunt.*

[t] Plat. lib. iii. de Rep.

[u] Quintil. lib. i. cap. 3.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Whether a PRIVATE or PUBLIC EDUCATION ought to be preferred.

DURING the whole time I have been engaged in the education of youth, being thoroughly sensible of the dangers which occur both in private houses and great schools, I have never presumed to give advice upon this subject, and have always contented myself with applying as carefully as I could to the instruction of the youth, which divine providence committed to my care. I think I ought still to observe the same neutrality, and leave it to the prudence of parents to decide a question, which certainly admits of great difficulties on both sides.

[x] Quintilian has discoursed upon this point with great prolixity and eloquence. The passage is one of the most beautiful in his work, and deserves to be read in the original. I shall here give an extract of it.

He begins with answering two objections, which are usually made against public schools.

The first relates to purity of morals, which they pretend is here exposed to the greatest dangers. Was this the case, he thinks we should not hesitate a moment; [y] the care of living well being infinitely preferable to that of speaking well. But, he says, the danger is equal on both sides; that the whole depends upon the natural disposition of the children, and the care that is taken of their education; that usually the evil springs from the parents themselves, by the bad examples they set their children. They every day, says he, hear and see such things as they ought to be ignorant of during their whole lives. [z] All this passes

[x] Quintil. lib. i. cap. 1.

[y] Potior mihi ratio vivendi honeste, quam vel optime dicendi videretur.

[z] Fit ex his consuetudo, deinde

natura. Discunt hæc miseri, antequam sciant vitia esse. Inde soluti ac fluentes, non accipiunt è scholis mala ista, sed in scholas afferunt.

into habit, and soon after into nature. The poor children find themselves vicious before they know what vice is. Thus breathing nothing but luxury and pleasure, they do not derive their irregularity from the schools, but bring it thither.

The second objection concerns the advancement in their studies, which must be greater in a private house, where the master has but one scholar to instruct. Quintilian does not allow it for several reasons, which he lays down; but he adds, that this inconvenience, though it were real, is abundantly made good by the great advantages which follow upon a public education.

[a] First, a public education emboldens a young man, gives him courage, early accustoms him not to be afraid of appearing in public, and cures him of a certain pusillanimity, which naturally attends a private and retired life; whereas in secret he usually grows languid and dejected, he rusts in a manner, or else falls into an opposite extreme, becomes conceited, setting a greater value upon himself than upon others, from having no person to compare himself with.

Second and third, In a public school there are acquaintances formed, which often last as long as life; and there is a certain knowledge of the world to be acquired, which can be learnt only in society. Quintilian does not insist much upon these two advantages, and seems to set no great value on them.

Fourth, The great advantage of schools is emulation. A child there improves both by what is said to himself and what is said to others. He will every day see his master approve one thing, and correct another; blame the idleness of this boy, and commend the diligence of that; and will be the better for it all. The love of glory will serve him as an incentive to take

[a] Ante omnia futurus orator, cui in maxima celebritate & in mediis reip. luce vivendum est, affuescat jam à tenero non reformidare homines, neque illa solitaria & velut umbratili vita pallefcere. Excitanda mens & attolenda semper

est, quæ in hujusmodi secretis aut languescit, & quendam velut in opaco situm ducit; aut contra tumescit inani persuasione. Necessè est enim sibi nimium tribuat, qui se nemini comparat.

pains. He will be ashamed to give place to his equals, and will take pains to excel the most forward. A good scholar will use his utmost endeavours to be the first in his form, and carry the prize. [b] This gives ardour to young minds; and a noble emulation well managed, without any mixture of malice, envy and pride, is one of the best means to lead them to the exercise of the greatest virtues and the most arduous undertakings.

Fifth, Another advantage to be found in schools is, that a young man meets with such models among his companions as are within his reach, such as he flatters himself he may be able to come up to, and does not despair of surpassing one day. Whereas, if he was alone, it would be presumption in him to compare himself with his master.

Sixth, and lastly, A master who has a numerous auditory, exerts himself quite otherwise than he, who having but one scholar, can speak only coldly to him, and in the way of conversation. Now it is incredible how useful this fire and vivacity of a master, who, in explaining the beautiful passages of an author, grows warm and transported, is, not only to make the boys attentive, but to inspire them with the same taste and sentiments, as he feels in addressing himself to them.

Quintilian does not fail to observe, that the opinion which he maintains is confirmed by universal practice, and the authority of the most esteemed authors, and most famous legislators.

I might add, that this conduct has been observed with no less regularity since the time of Quintilian, and even amongst Christians. Ecclesiastical history supplies us with abundance of examples. That of St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen is known to all the world. I shall relate it particularly at the close of this volume, and shall now only observe, that the families of these two illustrious friends were the most christian that were then in the church. They thought,

[b] Accendunt omnia hæc animos: & licet ipsa vitium sit ambitio, frequenter tamen causa virtutum est.

however,

however, they might commit the dearest treasure they had in the world to the public schools; and God blessed their pious intentions with a success which far exceeded their expectations. Shall we venture to charge this conduct with imprudence and presumption?

On the other side, may we venture to condemn the religious apprehension of christian parents, who, upon seeing the dangers which occur in colleges, (and it must be owned too that they are great) and being less solicitous about their children's improvement in the sciences, than to preserve to them the precious and inestimable treasure of their innocence, determine to bring them up under their own inspection, in a family, where they may hear nothing but discreet conversation, where they may see nothing but good examples, and from whence whatever may be capable of corrupting the purity of their morals is carefully removed as much as possible? There are now certainly some such houses, but the number of them is very few.

Besides the two usual methods of bringing up youth, the boarding them out at public schools, or instructing them in private, there is a third, which holds the mean between both, and seems to unite them together; and this is, to send children to school to improve by the emulation of the classes, and keeping them at home the rest of the time. By this means, perhaps, they avoid a part of the dangers, as they are also deprived of one part of the advantages of the college; amongst which we ought certainly to reckon the order, regularity, and discipline, which by the sound of a clock points out all the exercises of the day in an uniform manner; and the simplicity and frugality of their way of living, which are very different from the indulgence of their fathers houses, and serve only to render them too nice and tender. [c] This observation was made by an illustrious magistrate in times past, in a passage which I have quoted in the first volume of this work. "My father, says this magistrate, said he had two views in the education of the college; the one

[c] Henry de Mesmes, tom. i. p. 75.

“ was the gay and innocent conversation of the youths;
 “ the other was the school discipline, to make us for-
 “ get the endearments of our home, and as it were
 “ to cleanse us in fresh water. I think those eighteen
 “ months I spent at college were of great service to
 “ me—I learnt the frugal life of the scholars, and how
 “ to portion out my time.”

Another advantage of colleges, (supposing them to be such as they should be) and the greatest of all, is, that the boys are there thoroughly taught their religion. They learn there to take the knowledge of it from its source, to know the true spirit and real greatness of it, and to fortify themselves by solid principles against the dangers which faith and piety too frequently meet with in the world. It is not impossible, but certainly it is very rare to find this advantage in private houses.

Now what must we conclude from all these principles, and all these facts? There is no college which cannot produce a great number of examples of youth who have had an excellent education there, and been improved both in the sciences and in piety; nor is there any one, which has not seen with grief, a very great number miscarry; and the case is the same in private houses.

The conclusion which, in my opinion, we should draw from hence is, that as the dangers are very great to youth on all sides, it is the duty of parents to examine well before God what course they ought to take; equitably to weigh the advantages and inconveniencies which occur on both sides; to be determined in so important a deliberation, only by the motives of religion; and above all to make such a choice of masters and schools, in case they follow that course, as may, if not entirely dissipate, at least diminish their just apprehensions.

The PLAN and DIVISION of this TREATISE.

To enter usefully into the particulars of what concerns the interior government of the classes and colleges,

leges, it is necessary to consider separately the duty of the different persons who are employed in the education of youth, and have any relation to it. But as there are some general directions, which almost belong to all alike, I will begin this treatise with them, that I may avoid the repetitions, which would be otherways unavoidable.

PART THE FIRST.

General INSTRUCTIONS upon the EDUCATION of YOUTH.

I SHALL begin with desiring the reader, when I talk of instructions, rules, precepts, and duties, which are terms that I cannot avoid employing in the subject I treat of, to do me so much justice as to think that I do not pretend to prescribe laws to any one, or to set up for a master or censurer of my brethren. My only design is to assist, if I can, such young persons as are entrusted with the education of children, who, for want of experience, are subject to commit a great many faults, as I own I myself have formerly done; and I shall think myself very happy, if I can contribute to make them avoid them, by laying my reflections before them, or rather those of the ablest masters in point of education. For I shall here scarce say any thing of my own, especially in this first part, which is the most important, and should serve as the basis and foundation to all the rest. Athens and Rome shall still lend me their assistance. I shall likewise make use of two modern authors, and often without quoting them. These are M. de Fenelon archbishop of Cambray, and Mr. Locke, whose writings upon this subject are justly very much esteemed. The last has some particular sentiments, which I would not always adopt. Besides, I question whether he was well skilled in the Greek tongue, and in the study of the Belles Lettres, at least he seems not to set the value upon them they deserve. But both of them may be of

of very great use with relation to morals and conduct, not only to young masters, but to persons of greater experience. I have taken the liberty of making use of the labours of others, as I have thought fit, and I am inclined to think that the public will not be displeas'd at it, being content to have good things laid before them, without being concern'd from whence they are taken. I shall reduce to twelve or thirteen articles the general instructions which relate to the education of youth.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

What END we should propose to ourselves in EDUCATION.

[d] **T**O succeed in the education of youth, the first step in my opinion, is, to lay down the end we should propose, to enquire by what means it is to be obtained, and to chuse out an able and experienced guide, who is able to conduct us safely to it. Though it be generally a very wise and judicious rule, to avoid all singularity, and to follow the received customs, yet I question whether in the point we now treat of, this principle does not admit of some exception, and whether we ought not to apprehend the dangers and inconveniencies of blindly following the footsteps of those who have gone before us, so as to consult custom more than reason, and the governing our actions rather by what others do, than by what they should do; from whence it often happens that an error once established is handed down from age to age, and becomes almost a certain law, from a notion that we ought to

[d] Decernatur primum & quod tendamus, & qua; non sine periculo aliquo cui explorata sint ea, in qua; procedimus. . . Hic tritissima qua;que via & celeberrima maximo decipit. Nihil ergo magis praestandum, quam ne, pecorum ritu, sequamur antecedentium gregem, pergentes, non qua eundem est, sed qua itur

. . . non ad rationem, sed ad similitudinem vivimus. . . Ita, dum unusquisque mavult credere, quam judicare, versat nos & praecipitat traditus per manus error. . . Non tam bene cum rebus humanis agitur, ut meliora pluribus placeant: argumentum pessimi turba est. Senec. lib. de vit. beat. cap. i. & ii.

act like the rest of mankind, and follow the example of the greater number. But human nature is not so happy as to have the greatest number always make the best choice, and we too frequently observe the contrary.

If we consult our reason ever so little, it is easy to discern, that the end which masters should have in view, is not barely to teach their scholars Greek and Latin, to learn them to make exercises and verses, to charge their memory with facts and historical dates, to draw up syllogisms in form, or to trace lines and figures upon paper. [e] These branches of learning I own are useful and valueable, but as means and not as the end; when they conduct us to other things, and not when we stop at them; when they serve us as preparatives and instruments for better knowledge, without which the rest would be useless. Youth would have cause to complain, if they were condemned to spend eight or ten of the best years of their life in learning, at a great expence, and with incredible pains, one or two languages, and some other matters of a like nature, which perhaps they would seldom have occasion to use. The end of masters, in the long course of their studies, is to habituate their scholars to the serious application of mind, to make them love and value the sciences, and to cultivate in them such a taste as shall make them thirst after them when they are gone from school; to point out the method of attaining them, and make them thoroughly sensible of their use and value; and by that means to dispose them for the different employments to which it shall please God to call them. Besides this, the end of masters should be to improve their hearts and understandings, to protect their innocence, to inspire them with principles of honour and probity, to train them

[e] Liberalia studia hæcenus utilia sunt, si præparent ingenium, non detinent. . . Rudimentum sunt nostra, non opera. . . Non discere debemus ista, sed didicisse. . . Quid ex his artibus metum demit, cupidita-

tem eximit, libidinem frænat? . . . Nihil apud illas invenies quod vetet timere, vetet cupere: quæ quisquis ignorat, alia frustra scit. Senec. Epist. 38.

up to good habits, to correct and subdue in them by gentle means the ill inclinations they shall be observed to have, [f] such as pride, insolence, an high opinion of themselves, and a saucy vanity continually employed in lessening others, a blind self-love, solely attentive to its own advantage, a spirit of raillery, which is pleased with offending and insulting others, an insolence and sloth, which renders all the good qualities of the mind useles.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

To study the CHARACTER of CHILDREN, in order to be able to manage them well.

EDUCATION, properly speaking, is the art of managing and forming the mind. Of all sciences it is the most difficult, the most intricate, and at the same time the most important, but yet not sufficiently studied. To judge of it by common experience, one would say, that of all animals man is the most untractable. It is the judicious reflection which Xenophon makes in his beautiful preface to the Cyropaedia. After he has observed, that we never see flocks of sheep or oxen rebel against their leaders, whereas nothing is more common amongst men; it seems, says he, a natural conclusion from hence, that it is more difficult to command over men than over beasts. But casting his eyes upon Cyrus, who governed so many provinces in peace, and was equally beloved by the people he had conquered, and his natural subjects, [g] he concludes, that the fault must arise, not from those who are unwilling to obey, but from the superiors, who know not how to govern.

[f] In primis insolentiam & nimiam æstimationem sui, tumoremque elatum supra cæteros & amorem rerum suarum cœcum & improvidum, dicacitatem & superbiam contumeliosam gaudentem delidiam dissolutionemque fœgnis animi indormi-

entis sibi. Senec. lib. de vit. beat. cap. i.

[g] Οὐτε τῶν ἀδυνάτων, ἔτε τῶν χαλεπῶν ἔργων ἐπὶ ἀιθρόπων ἄρχων, ἢ τις ἐπισταμίης, τῶρο πρῶτον.

The same may be said in some measure of those who are intrusted with the education of children. [b] It must be owned that the mind of man, even in his infancy, bears the yoke with impatience, and naturally inclines to what is forbidden. [i] But what we must conclude from hence is, that for this very reason he requires more precaution and address, and that he yields more willingly to mildness than violence, *sequitur facilius, quam ducitur*. We sometimes see a high-mettled horse caper and gnaw the bit, and refuse to obey the spur; it is because he who is upon him, has a hard and heavy hand, knows not how to guide him, and checks the bridle when he ought not. Give this horse, who has a very tender mouth, an understanding and skilful rider, and he will check all his fallies, and with a light hand govern him with pleasure, *generosi atque nobiles equi melius facili fræno reguntur*.

[k] To compass this end, the master's first care is thoroughly to study and search into the genius and character of the children, for by this he must regulate his conduct. [l] There are some who are lazy and remiss, unless they are continually called upon, and others cannot bear to be imperiously treated; some will be restrained by fear, and others on the contrary discouraged. We can gain nothing out of some, but by meer labour and application; and others only will study by fits and starts; to endeavour to bring them all to a level, and make them submit to one and the same rule, is to attempt to force nature. The prudence of the master will consist in keeping a medium, equally removed from the two extremes; for here the ill so closely borders upon the good, that it is easy

[b] Natura contumax est humanus animus, & in contrarium atque arduum nitens, sequiturque facilius quam ducitur. Senec. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 24.

[i] Nullum animal morosius est, nullum majore arte tractandum, quam homo; nulli magis arden-

dum. Ibid. cap. 17.

[k] Ibid. cap. 24.

[l] Sunt quidam, nisi institeris remissi: quidam imperia indignantur: quosdam continet metus, quosdam debet aliter: alios continuatio extundit, in aliis plus impetus facit. Quint. lib. i. cap. 3.

to mistake the one for the other, [m] and it is this which renders the management of youth so difficult. Too much liberty makes way for licentiousness; and too much constraint makes them stupid; commendation excites and encourages, but it also inspires vanity and presumption. We must therefore keep a just temper, and hold an even hand between these two inconveniencies, after the example of Isocrates in the case of Ephorus and Theopompus, who were of a very different character. [n] This great master, who was as successful in his instructions as his writings, (as appears from his scholars and his books) making use of a bridle to give a check to the vivacity of the one, and a spur to awaken the sluggishness of the other, did not aim at reducing them both to the same standard. His end in taking away from the one, and adding to the other, was to carry each of them to that perfection of which their natural capacity would admit.

This model we must follow in the education of children. They carry within them the principles, and in a manner the seeds of all virtues and vices; and the principal point is thoroughly to study at first their genius and character, to become acquainted with their humour, their disposition and talents; and above all, to discover their passions and prevailing inclinations, not with a view or expectation of entirely changing their temper, of making him gay, for instance, who is naturally grave, or him serious who is of a lively

[m] Difficile regimen est . . . & diligenti observatione res indiget. Utrumque enim, & quod extollendum, & quod deprimendum, similibus alitur: facile autem etiam attendentem similia decipiunt. Crescit licentiâ spiritus, servitute comminuitur: assurgit, si laudatur; & in spem sui bonam adducitur; sed eadem istam insolentiam generant. Sic itaque inter utrumque regendus est, ut modo frænis utamur, modo stimulis. Senec. de Ira, lib. ii. cap. 21.

Isocrates, quem non magis libri bene dixisse, quam discipuli bene docuisse testantur, dicebat se calcari in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo frænis uti solere. Alterum enim exultantem verborum audacia reprimebat, alterum cunctantem & quasi verecundantem incitabat. Neque eos similes effecit inter se sed tantum alteri affinxit, de altero limavit, ut id confirmaret in utroque, quod utriusque natura pateretur. Quint. lib. ii. c. 8. Cic. lib. iii. de Orat. n. 35.

[n] Clarissimus ille præceptor

and cheerful disposition. It is with certain characters, as with personal defects, they may be somewhat redressed, but not absolutely cured. Now the way of growing acquainted in this manner with children, is to give them great liberty to discover their inclinations whilst young, to let them follow their natural bent, in order to discern it the better; to comply with their little infirmities, to encourage them to let us see them; to observe them whilst they think least of it, especially at their [o] play, when they shew their tempers most; for children are naturally plain, and without reserve; but as soon as they think themselves taken notice of, they throw themselves under a restraint, and keep upon their guard.

[p] It is of great moment also to distinguish the nature of the faults which prevail in youth. In general, we may hope that those, wherein age, bad education, ignorance, being seduced, and ill example have any share, are not without remedy; and, on the other hand, we may believe, that such as are naturally rooted in the mind, and in the corruption of the heart, will be very difficult to be got over, such as double dealing and hypocrisy, flattery, an inclination to tell stories, to sow divisions, to envy or detract, a disposition to scoff, and especially at the advice given them, and at things sacred, a natural opposition to reason, and, what is a consequence of it, a readiness to take things in a wrong sense.

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

To assume an immediate AUTHORITY over the CHILDREN,

THIS maxim is of the utmost moment during their whole education, and for all persons who are charged with it. By authority, I mean a certain air and ascendant, which imprints respect and procures obedience. It is neither age nor stature, the tone of the

[o] *Mores se inter ludendum i. cap. 3. simplicius detegunt. Quint. lib. [p] Lettres de pietè, tom. i.*

voice, nor threatening, by which this authority is to be obtained; but an even, firm, moderate disposition of mind, which is always master of itself, is guided only by reason, and never acts by fancy or passion.

It is this qualification and talent which keeps all in order, establishes an exact discipline, sees that commands are observed, saves the trouble of reprimands, and prevents almost all punishments. Now it is from the very first entrance upon their government, that parents and masters should assume this ascendant. If they do not seize upon this favourable moment, and possess themselves early of this authority, they will have all the pains in the world to do it afterwards, and the child will domineer at last. [q] *Animum*, and we may likewise say, *Puerum rege, qui nisi paret, imperat*. This is literally true, and scarce to be believed, if a constant experience did not every day confirm it. There is deep rooted in the heart of man a love of independency, which discloses itself from our childhood, and even at the breast. [r] What mean those cries, those tears, the threatening gesture of the eyes, sparkling with rage in an infant, when resolved to gain his point with all his force, or inflamed with jealousy against one another? “I have seen, says [s] “St. Augustine, a child burning with jealousy. He “could not yet talk, but with a pale countenance “could cast a furious look at another child, who was “sucking with him at the same breast.” *Vidi ego & expertus sum zelantem parvulum. Nondum loquebatur, & intuebatur pallidus amaro aspectu collactaneum suum*.

Here we have the time and moment pointed out for subduing this bad inclination in a child, by accustoming him from the cradle to controul his desires, not to pursue his own fancies, but, in a word, to submit and obey. If we never gave children what they

[q] Horat. Sat. ii. lib. 1.

[r] Flendo petere, etiam quod noxiè daretur: indignari acriter... non ad nutum voluntatis obtemperantibus; feriendo nocere niti, quantum potest, quia non obeditur

imperii, quibus perniciose obedi-
retur. Ita imbecillitas membrorum
infantium innocens est, non ani-
mus infantium. St. Aug. Conf.
lib. i. cap. 7.

[s] Ibid.

cried for, they would learn to go without it, nor would there be so much bawling and uneasiness before they were brought to temper, and consequently they would not be so troublesome to themselves or others, as they are for want of being brought up in this manner from their infancy.

When I speak thus, I do not mean absolutely that no indulgence should be shown to children, I am very far from such a disposition. I say only we must not give them what they cry for, and if they redouble their importunity to obtain it, we must let them know, that they are expressly refused it for that very reason; and this must be held as an indisputable maxim, that after they have once been refused any thing, we must resolve never to grant it to their crying or importuning, unless we have a mind to teach them to become impatient and peevish, by rewarding them for their peevishness and impatience.

We see with some parents that the children never ask for any thing at table, whatever is set before them, but take all that is given them with pleasure and thankfulness; in other houses they ask for every thing they see, and must be served before all the company. Now whence arises this remarkable difference, but from the different education they have had? The younger children are, the less their irregular desires should be satisfied. The less reason they have, the more necessary it is for them to submit to absolute power, and the direction of those in whose hands they are. When once they have taken this turn, and custom has subdued their will, they are cured for the rest of their lives, and easily learn to obey.

[t] *Adeo in teneris consuescere multum est.*

What I have said of children in their childhood, may be applied to them at any other age. The first care of a scholar who is put under a new master, is to study and sound him. There is nothing he does not attempt, he spares no industry or artifice to get the bet-

[t] Geor. lib. ii. v. 272.

ter of him if he can. When he sees all his pains and cunning is to no purpose, and that the master calmly and quietly opposes them with a gentle and reasonable resolution, which always ends in making himself obeyed, he then yields, and cheerfully submits; and this kind of little war, or rather skirmish, where on both sides they have tried each other's forces, is happily concluded with a peace and a good understanding, which make them easy all the rest of the time they are to live together.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

To make ones self BELOVED and FEARED.

THE respect, upon which the authority I have spoke of is founded, includes two things, fear and love, which lend each other a mutual assistance, and are the two great springs and hinges of all government in general, and of the conduct of children in particular. As they are of an age wherein reason, instead of having the superiority, scarce begins to shew itself, it is requisite that fear should sometimes be called in to its assistance, and take its place; but if it comes alone, and the allurements of pleasure does not follow close at its heels, it is not long [*u*] regarded, and its instructions produce but a slight effect, which the hope of impunity soon removes. Hence it comes to pass, that in point of education the greatest skill lies in knowing how to blend discreetly together a force, which shall keep children within due bounds, without discouragement, and a mildness which shall gain upon them without indulging them too much. [*x*] *Sit rigor, sed non exasperans; sit amor, sed non emolliens.* On one hand the master's mildness removes whatever is hard and austere from his office of command, and blunts

[*u*] Timor, non diuturnus magister officii. Cic. Philip. ii. n. 90. Imbecillis est pudoris magister timor, qui si quando paululum aber-

raverit, statim spe impunitatis exultat. Id in Hortens.

[*x*] S. Greg. Pap.

the point of it. *Hebetat aciem imperii*, as Seneca beautifully expresses it. On the other hand, his prudent severity fixes and restrains the lightness and inconstancy of an age, which as yet admits but of little reflection, and is incapable of governing itself. It is therefore this happy mixture of mildness and severity, of love and fear, which establishes the master's authority, which is the soul of government, and inspires the scholars with respect, which is the firmest band of obedience and submission; in such sort however, that kindness and love prevail, and are most frequent on both sides.

But some will say, though this manner of governing children by kindness and gentleness is easy perhaps to a private tutor, is it practicable in the case of a principal of a college, a regent of a class, or a master, who has a great many scholars in one common chamber? and how is it possible in all these places to keep up an exact discipline, without which no good is to be expected, and at the same time to gain the love of the scholars? I own that nothing is more difficult in this circumstance than to keep up a just medium betwixt too great severity and an excessive indulgence; but the thing is not impossible, since we see it practised by persons who have the uncommon talent of making themselves feared, and still more beloved. The whole depends upon the behaviour of the masters. If they are such as they should be, their success will answer their desires. Quintilian has pointed out to us the qualities of a good master, and how he may gain the affection of his scholars. The passage is very beautiful, and contains admirable advice. I shall give it almost as it stands.

As it is a general principle that love is to be procured only by love, *si vis amari ama*. The first thing [y] Quintilian requires is, "That a master should
" above all things assume a fatherly affection for his
" scholars; and that he should look upon himself as

[y] Sumat ante omnia parentis succedere se in eorum locum, à quibus erga discipulos suos animam, ac tuis tibi liberi traduntur, exiitimet.

“ in the place of those who committed them to him ;
 “ whence he must consequently borrow the gentle-
 “ nefs, patience, and sentiments of kindness and ten-
 “ derness, natural to them.

[z] “ That he be not vicious himself, nor allow of
 “ vice in others ; that he be severe without rough-
 “ nefs, and gentle without indulgence, lest he should
 “ be hated for the one, and despised for the other.

[a] “ That he be not easily carried away with anger
 “ and passion ; but at the same time does not shut
 “ his eyes to such faults as deserve to be corrected.

[b] “ That in his manner of teaching he be plain,
 “ patient, and exact, and rely more upon good order
 “ and method, and his own assiduity, than excessive
 “ pains in his pupils ; that he take pleasure in answer-
 “ ing all the questions they ask him, and that he be
 “ even beforehand with them in asking questions of
 “ them, if they do not ask him.

[c] “ That he does not refuse, upon proper occa-
 “ sions, to give them the praises they deserve ; but
 “ withal that he be not too lavish in bestowing them.
 “ For as the one discourages, the other inspires a dan-
 “ gerous security.

[d] “ If at any time he is obliged to reprimand
 “ them, that he be neither severe nor shocking. For
 “ what gives many an aversion to study is, their mas-
 “ ters rebuke them with as gloomy an air as if they
 “ were the objects of their hatred.

[e] “ That he speak often to them of virtue, and
 “ always with high encomiums ; that he lay it con-
 “ stantly

[z] Ipse nec habeat vitia, nec fe-
 rat. Non austeritas ejus tritit, non
 dissoluta sit comitas: ne inde odi-
 um, hinc contemptus oriatur.

[a] Minime iracundus, nec tam-
 en eorum, quæ emendanda erunt,
 dissimulatur.

[b] Simplex in docendo, patiens
 laboris, assiduus potius quam immo-
 dicus. Interrogantibus libenter re-
 spondeat: non interrogantes per-
 contetur ultro.

[c] In laudandis discipulorum
 dictionibus nec malignus, nec effu-
 sus: quia res altera tædium laboris
 altera securitatem parit.

[d] In emendendo, quæ corri-
 genda erunt, non acerbus, minime-
 que contumeliosus. Nam id quidem
 multos à proposito studendi fugat,
 quod quidem sic objurgant, quasi
 oderint.

[e] Plurimus ei de honesto ac bono
 sit sermo. Nam quo sæpius monu-
 erit,

stantly before them under an advantageous and agreeable form, as the most excellent of all blessings, and most worthy a reasonable man, and most honourable to him, as a quality absolutely necessary to procure him the affection and esteem of all mankind, and as the only means of being truly happy. The more frequently he puts them in mind of their duty, the less he will be obliged to punish them. —Let him every day say something to them which they may carry away with them, and be the better for. Though what they read may furnish them with abundance of good examples, what he says to them by word of mouth has a very different force, and produces a quite different effect, especially if it comes from a master, whom children that are well brought up both love and honour. For it cannot be imagined, how easily we are led to copy after those, of whom we have a favourable opinion.”

These are the qualifications which Quintilian requires in a master of rhetoric; (and they equally concern all such as are intrusted with the instruction of youth) to the end, says he, that as in this class [*f*] there are usually a great number of scholars, [*g*] the wisdom of the master may preserve those, who are very young, from being corrupted, and his gravity lay a restraint upon the licentiousness of such as a more advanced age renders more difficult to be governed. For it is not enough that he be a man of probity himself, unless he also knows how to keep his scholars in order by an exact discipline. We need make no doubt

erit, hoc rarius castigabit. . . . Ipse aliquid, imo multa quotidie dicat, quæ secum audita referant. Licet enim satis exemplorum ad imitandum ex lectione suppetit, tamen viva illa, ut dicitur, vox alit plenus, præcipueque præceptoris, quem discipuli, si modo recte sunt instituti, & amant, & verentur. Vix autem dici potest, quanto libentius imitemur eos, quibus favemus. *This passage may be applied to the case of manners.*

[*f*] *They were several years upon the study of rhetoric; whence the scholars in the same class might be of different ages.*

[*g*] Major adhibenda tum cura est, ut & teneriores annos ab injuria sanctitas docentis custodiat, & ferociore à licentia gravitas deterreat. Neque vero satis est summam præstare abstinentiam, nisi disciplinæ severitate convenientium, quoque ad se mores astrinxerit.

but

but a master of this character will make himself both beloved and feared. But a great many think of taking a shorter and surer road, which is that of correction and reproof. It must be owned, that it seems more easy and is less troublesome to masters, than that of gentleness and insinuation, but at the same time far less successful. For we scarce ever arrive by correction at the only true end of education, which is to convince the mind, and inspire a sincere love of virtue; which I proceed to treat in the following articles.

ARTICLE THE FIFTH.

Of CORRECTION.

AS this article is of the utmost importance in education, I shall dwell somewhat longer upon it than the rest, and divide it into two parts. In the first, I shall point out the inconveniencies and dangers of the use of the rod: in the second, I shall lay down the rules we ought to follow in this kind of Correction.

I. *The INCONVENIENCIES and DANGERS of CORRECTION.*

The most common and shortest way of correcting children is by the rod, which is almost the only remedy that is known or made use of by those who are intrusted with the education of youth. But this remedy becomes often a more dangerous evil than those they would cure, if employed out of season, or beyond measure. For besides that the Corrections of the rod and the lash, we are now speaking of, have something indecent, mean and servile in them, they have nothing in themselves to remedy any fault committed, nor is it likely that such a Correction may become useful to a child, if the shame of suffering for having done ill has not a greater power over his mind, than the punishment itself. Besides, these Corrections give an incurable aversion to the things we should endeavour to
 3 make

make them love. They do not change the humour, nor work any reformation in the natural disposition, but only restrain it for a time, and serve to make the passions break out with more violence, when they are at liberty. They often stupify the mind, and harden it in evil. [b] For a child, that has so little honour as to be insensible to reproof, will accustom himself to blows like a slave, and grow obstinate against punishment.

Must we therefore conclude, that we ought never to make use of this sort of Correction? That is not my meaning. For I am far from condemning in general the use of a rod, after what has been said of it in several places of scripture, and especially in the book of Proverbs. [i] *He that spareth his rod hateth his son, but he that loveth him, chasteneth him betimes.*—[k] *Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child, but the rod of Correction shall drive it far from him.* The Holy Scripture, by these words, and others of a like nature, may perhaps design punishment in general, and condemn the mistaken tenderness and blind indulgence of parents, who shut their eyes upon the vices of their children, and thereby render them incorrigible. But supposing that the word *rod* is to be taken literally, it is very probable that this Correction is advised for such dispositions, as are rude, gross, indocile, untractable, and insensible to reproof and honour. For can we imagine, that the scripture, which abounds in charity and gentleness, and is so full of compassion for the weaknesses of a more advanced age, that the scriptures should advise to treat children with severity, when faults are frequently rather the effects of levity than wickedness?

I therefore conclude, that the punishments we are here speaking of may be used, but ought to be employed very seldom, and for faults of consequence. These Corrections are like the violent remedies, which

[b] Si cui tam est mens illiberabilis, ut objurgatione non corrigatur: is etiam ad plagas, ut pessima quæque mancipia durabitur. Quintil.

lib. i. c. 3.

[i] Prov. xiii. 24.

[k] Prov. xxii. 15.

are used in violent diseases; they purge, but alter the constitution, and wear out the organs. A mind conducted by fear is always the weaker for it. [l] Whoever therefore has the direction of others, if he would heal, should first use gentle remonstrances, try what he can do by persuasion, make honesty and justice grateful if possible, and inspire an hatred for vice, and a passion for virtue. If this first attempt does not succeed, he may pass to stronger methods and sharper reproaches; and lastly, when all this has been employed to no purpose, he may then proceed to Corrections, but by degrees, still leaving the hopes of pardon in view, and reserving the greatest for extreme faults and those he despairs of.

Let us compare a man of this wisdom and moderation, with a master that is haughty, passionate and violent, such as Orbilius was, whom his scholar Horace styles [m] *Plagosus*; or with a person intrusted by Cicero with the education of his children, who was passionate to a degree of madness. [n] This was a slave who had been made free, that Tully highly valued in other respects, and in whom he reposed an entire confidence. *Dionysius quidem mihi in amoribus est. Pueri autem aiunt eum FURENTER IRASCI. Sed homo nec doctior, nec sanctior fieri potest.* “I love Dionysius dearly. “The boys indeed tell me that he is violently passionate, but a more learned or a more pious man cannot exist.” For my own part I do not here discern either good understanding or prudence in Tully. Prejudiced in favour of this freedman, he does not seem to have any regard to the charge against him,

[l] *Seneca, after reporting at large the behaviour of a discreet physician towards his patient, makes an application of it to governors thus: Ita legum præsidem civitatisque rectorem decet, quamdiu potest verbis, & his mollioribus, ingenia curare: ut faciendâ suadeat, cupiditatemque honesti & æqui conciliet animis, faciatque vitiorum odium, pretium virtutum: transeat deinde ad tristio-*

rem orationem, qua moneat adhuc & exprobrat: novissime ad pœnas, & has adhuc leves & revocabiles decurrat: ultima supplicia sceleribus ultimis ponat, ut nemo pereat, nisi quem perire etiam pereuntis interfit. De Ira, lib. i. cap. 5.

[m] *A lash.* One that is given to blows and whipping. Ep. i. l. 2.

[n] *Ad Att. Ep. i. lib. 6.*

as if such fault could be covered by learning, or subsist with the quality of a man of very great probity, *sed homo nec doctior, nec sanctior fieri potest.* He was afterwards undeceived, when that cowardly and perfidious slave had betrayed him.

[o] Which of the two masters, says Seneca, shall we most esteem? He who strives to correct his scholars by prudent advice and motives of honour, or another who shall lash them to pieces for not repeating their lesson as they ought, and faults of a like nature? If we undertook to manage a horse, could it be done by beating him in this violent manner? Or would it not be a certain way of making him apt to start and fling, and to be unruly and restive? An able groom can break him better by caressing him with a gentle hand; and why must men be treated with more cruelty than beasts?

II. RULES *to be observed in* CORRECTION.

I. It is certain, that if children are early accustomed to submission and obedience by the steady behaviour of parents and masters, and that care is taken never to depart from this steadiness, till such time as fear and respect are grown familiar to them, and there appears not the least shadow of constraint in their submission and obedience; this happy habit contracted from their most tender years, will almost spare the necessity of any future punishments. What usually obliges us to have recourse to that extremity, is the blind indulgence given to children at first, which makes their faults almost incorrigible, because neglected in their birth.

[o] Uter præceptor liberalibus studiis dignior, qui excarnificabit discipulos, si memoria illis non constiterit, aut si parum agilis in legendo oculus hæserit: an qui monitionibus & verecundia emendare ac docere malit? Numquidnam æquum est, gravius homini & du-

rius imperari, quam imperatur animalibus mutis? Atqui equum non crebris verberibus exteret domandi peritus magister. Fiet enim formidolosus & contumax, nisi eum tactu blandiente permulseris. Senec. de Clem. lib. i. c. 16.

2. Nothing is of greater consequence than rightly to discern what faults deserve to be punished, and what should be pardoned. In the number of the latter, I place all such, as happen through inadvertency or ignorance, and which cannot pass for the effects of malice and a bad intention, as only those which arise from the will can make us culpable. [p] An officer of Augustus, as he was one day walking out with him, was so frightened at the sight of a wild boar, that made directly towards them, that he saved himself by exposing the emperor to danger. The fault was considerable, but as it was not designed, Augustus was satisfied with turning it into a jest. *Rem non minimi periculi, qui tamen fraus aberat, in jocum vertit.*

I place in the same rank all the faults of levity and childhood, which will be infallibly corrected by time and age.

Neither do I think we ought to use the Correction of a rod for such failures as children may commit in learning to read, write or dance; or even in learning the languages, Latin, Greek, &c. except in certain cases which I shall mention. Other punishments should be contrived for such faults, as do not seem to proceed from any ill disposition of the heart, or an inclination to shake off the yoke of authority.

3. It is a great merit in masters to be able to find out different kinds and degrees of punishments to correct their scholars. It depends upon them to fix an idea of shame and disgrace upon a thousand things which are indifferent of themselves, and only become Corrections by the idea affixed to them. I know a school of poor children, where one of the greatest and most sensible punishments that is inflicted upon such as offend, is to make them sit upon a separate bench with their hats on, when any considerable person comes into the school. It is a torment to them to remain in that state of humiliation, whilst the rest are standing and uncovered. A thousand things of the like nature

[p] Sueton. in. vit. Aug. cap. 67.

may be invented; and I mention this instance only to shew, that the whole depends upon the industry of the master. There are children of quality, which have been kept in as much awe through an apprehension of going without shoes, as others of being whipt.

4. The only vice in my opinion, which deserves a severe treatment, is obstinacy in mischief; but then this obstinacy must be voluntary, certain and strongly marked. We must not give this name to faults of levity and inconstancy, into which children, who are naturally forgetful and heedless, may frequently fall, without giving room to imagine, that they arise from badness of disposition. I suppose that a child has told a lie. If it was through a violent fear, the fault is much the less, and deserves only to be gently reprimanded. If it is voluntary, deliberate and obstinately persisted in, it is then a fault indeed, and certainly deserves to be punished. Yet I do not think that for the first time we should make use of the Correction of the rod, which is the last extremity children should be exposed to. [7] Will a father of good understanding, says Seneca, disinheret his son for his first fault, how considerable soever it may be? No, doubtless. He will first use his utmost endeavours to reclaim him, and to correct, if possible, his bad disposition: nor will he proceed to such an extremity, till the case is grown desperate, and his patience quite worn out. A master must follow the like conduct in proportion.

5. I would say the same of indocility and disobedience when obstinately persisted in, and attended with an air of contempt and rebellion.

6. There is another sort of obstinacy which relates to study, and may be called an obstinate sloth, which usually occasions masters a great deal of trouble; when children will learn nothing unless they are compelled

[7] Nunquid aliquis sanus filium ex prima offensa exhereditat? Nisi magnæ & multæ injuriæ patientiam evicerint, nisi plus est quod timeat quam quod damnat, non accedit ad decretorium filium. Multa attemptat, quibus dubiam indolem, & pejore loco jam positam revocet. Simul deplorata est ultima experitur. Senec. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 14.

to it by force. There is nothing, I own, more perplexing or difficult to manage than such dispositions, especially when insensibility and indifference are joined to sloth, as is very common. In this case a master stands in need of all his prudence and industry to render study, if not amiable to his scholar, at least supportable, by mixing force with mildness, threatenings with promises, and punishments with reward. And when all has been employed to no purpose, we may then come to Correction, but not make it too common and habitual; for then the remedy is worse than the disease.

7. When it is judged necessary to use Correction, the time and manner of using it should be considered. [r] Diseases of the soul require to be treated at least with as much skilfulness and address, as those of the body. Nothing is more dangerous than a remedy misapplied and ill-timed. A wise physician waits till the patient is able to bear it, and with that view watches the favourable moments for administering it.

The first rule therefore is never to punish a child the moment he commits a fault, for fear of exasperating him, and causing him to commit new ones by urging him to extremes, but to allow him time for recollection, to reflect upon what he has done, and grow sensible that he has been to blame, and at the same time that his punishment is both just and necessary, and thus put him in a condition to be the better for it.

The master again must never punish with passion or in anger, especially if the fault personally regards himself, such as want of respect, or any abusive word. [s] He must call to mind what Socrates said excellently well to a slave, that had misbehaved towards him. *I would treat thee as thou deservest, were I not in a passion.* [t] It were to be wished, that all persons who have au-

[r] Ut corporum, ita animorum, molliter vitia tractanda sunt. Senec. de Benef. lib. vii. c. 30.

[s] Ad coercionem errantium, irato castigatore non est opus. . . . Inde est quod Socrates servo ait: Cæderem te, nisi irascerer. Senec.

lib. i. de Ira, cap. 15.

[t] Prohibenda maximè est ira in puniendo . . . optandumque ut hi, qui præsent aliis, legum similes sint, quæ ad puniendum æquitate ducuntur, non iracundia. Cic. de Offic. lib. i. n. 89.

thority over others were like the laws, which punish without anger or emotion, and out of the sole motive of justice and the public good. If the master discovers himself to be ever so little moved by a change of countenance, or alteration of the tone of his voice, the scholar soon perceives it, and discovers that this flame breaks out, not from a zeal for duty, but the heat of passion. And this suffices to render the punishment entirely fruitless; because children, young as they are, know that reason only has a right to correct them.

As punishment should seldom be administered, all possible care is required to make it beneficial. Let a child see, for instance, that you have done all you could to avoid coming to this extreme; seem to be concerned that you are under a necessity of exercising it against your inclination; talk before him with other persons how unhappy they are, who are so void of reason and honour as to stand in need of being corrected; withdraw your usual marks of friendship, till you perceive it necessary to console him; make this chastisement public or private, according as you shall judge it most useful for the child, either to be exposed to shame, or made sensible that it is spared him; reserve this public shame as a last remedy; make use sometimes of a reasonable person to talk with him, and tell him what is not yet proper for you to tell him yourself; one who may cure him of his false shame, dispose him to submit, and to whom the child in the heat of his passion may open his heart more freely, than he durst do before you; but be very careful that you never demand any other submissions than such as are reasonable and necessary. Endeavour to bring him to a self-conviction, and that it only remains for you to mitigate the punishment which he has consented to. These general rules must be applied by every master, according as his particular occasions require.

But if the child that is to be punished is neither to be moved by a sense of honour or shame, care must be taken that in the first Correction he may feel a sharp

sharp and lasting impression, that fear at least, for want of a more noble motive, may keep him to his duty.

I have no need to take notice, that a box on the ear, blows, or other treatments of the like sort, are absolutely not to be allowed masters. They should never punish but in order to correct, and passion will not correct at all. Let any one ask himself, whether he can coolly, and without emotion, give a boy a box on the ear; and sure [u] anger, which is in itself a vice, is a very improper remedy for curing the vices of others.

ARTICLE THE SIXTH.

Of REPROOFS.

THIS matter is of no less importance than that of punishments, as the use of them is more frequent, and the consequences may be as dangerous.

To make Reproofs useful, there are in my opinion three things principally to be considered, the subject, the time, and the manner of making them.

I. *The SUBJECT of a REPRIMAND.*

It is a very common mistake to use Reprimand for the slightest faults, and such as are almost unavoidable in children, which takes away all their force, and frustrates all their advantage. For they accustom themselves to them, are no longer affected with them, and even make a jest of them. I do not forget what I have already quoted from Quintilian, that the surest way for a master to avoid punishing children often, is frequently to admonish them, *quo sæpius monuerit, hoc rarius castigabit.* But I make a great difference between admonitions and Reprimands. The first favours

[u] Cùm ira delictum animi sit, cando. Senec. lib. i. de Ira, c. 15. non oportet peccata corrigere pec-

less of the authority of a master than the affection of a friend. They are always attended with an air and tone of gentleness, which gives them a more agreeable reception; and for this reason they may more frequently be used. But as Reprimands always shock self-love, and often assume an air and language of severity, they should be reserved for more considerable faults, and consequently be more seldom used.

II. *The TIME of REPRIMANDING.*

The master's prudence consists in carefully studying and watching for the favourable moment, when the mind of the child shall be most disposed to improve by correction. This is what Virgil so elegantly calls, [x] *Molles aditus, mollissima fandi tempora*; and wherein he places the address of a negotiation, *quis rebus dexter modus*.

Do not therefore reprimand a child, says M. de Fenelon in his first emotion, or your own. If you do it in yours, he will find that you have been governed by humour and inclination, and not by reason and friendship, and you will inevitably lose your authority. If you chide him immediately, his mind is not at liberty enough to own his fault, to conquer his passion, and perceive the importance of your advice. You likewise expose the child to losing the respect he owes you. Shew him always that you are master of yourself; and nothing will let him see it better than your patience. Watch a favourable opportunity for several days to time a correction well, if necessary.

What would any one say, says [y] M. Nicole, speaking of the duty of brotherly correction, what would they say of a surgeon, who, in treating an imposthume, should surprize the patient, by giving him a blow with his fist upon the part affected, and that before the imposthume was sufficiently ripened, by preparatory re-

[x] *Æn.* lib. iv. ver. 393, 425.

[y] *Evang.* du Mardi de la troisième Sem. de Car.

medies, to be lanced, or the sick person disposed for so painful an operation? We should doubtless say he was a very imprudent and unskilful man. It is easy to apply this comparison to the subject I am treating of.

III. *The MANNER of REPRIMANDING.*

The same M. Nicole, in the same passage, shews how difficult it is to give corrections and reprimands. The cause of this difficulty is, because they set before men what they care not for seeing, and attack self-love in the dearest and most sensible part, where it never gives way without great reluctance and opposition. We love ourselves as we are, and would have reason for doing so. Thus we are careful to justify ourselves in our faults by various deceitful colours; and it must not seem strange, that men should be displeas'd with being contradicted and condemn'd, as it is an attack at the same time upon the reason which is deceived, and the heart which is corrupted.

This is properly the foundation of the care and caution which is required in correction and reprimand. We must leave nothing for a child to discern in us, that may hinder the effect of it. [z] We must avoid raising his ill-will by the severity of our expressions, his anger by exaggerations, or his pride by expressions of contempt.

We must not heap upon him such a multitude of reproofs, as may deprive him of the hope of being able to correct the faults he is reproach'd with. It might be adviseable likewise not to tell a child his fault, without adding some means of amending it. For correction, when it is sharp, is apt to occasion chagrin and discouragement.

We must avoid giving him any occasion to think that we are prejudic'd; lest he should thence take occasion to defend the faults laid to his charge, and to attribute our admonitions to our prejudice.

[z] Omnis animadversio & castigatio contumeliâ vacare debet. Cic. lib. i. de Offic. n. 88.

Neither must there be any room left for him to believe, that they are occasioned by any interest or particular passion, or indeed by any other motive than that of his good.

[a] We are sometimes obliged, says Tully, to raise our voice a little in correction, and to use somewhat sharper expressions, but this should be very seldom; as physicians make use of certain remedies only in extremities. We should besides be careful to avoid all anger and severity in these reproaches, for they can be of no service; and the child should see, that whatever sharpness we express in our reproofs, it is with regret, and only for his good.

We may conclude that reprimands have had all the success that can be expected from them, when they bring a boy to a sincere confession of his faults, to desire that he may be told of them, and to receive the instructions that are given him with docility. [b] He has already made a great progress, who is desirous of doing it. It is a certain mark of a solid change, to have our eyes open to the imperfections, which before were unknown to us; as it is a reason to hope well of a sick person, when he begins to be sensible of his ailment.

[c] There are some children of so happy and so tractable a temper, that it suffices to shew them what they must do, and without standing in need of long instructions from a master, they shall seize upon what is good and honest at the first signal, and give themselves up entirely to it. *Rapacia virtutis ingenia.* [d] One would think they had in them some sparks of every virtue, which, in order to unfold themselves, and catch fire, require only a slight blast, a meer hint. [e]

[a] *Offic. lib. i. n. 136, 137.*

[b] *Magna pars est profectus, velle proficere. Senec. epist. 71.*

[c] *Felix ingenium illis fuit, & salutaria in transitu rapuit. . . In ea quæ tradi solent, perveniunt sine longo magisterio; & honesta complexi sunt, cum primum audierunt. Senec. epist. 95.*

[d] *Omnium honestarum rerum femina animi gerunt, quæ admonitione excitantur; non aliter quàm scintilla flatu levi adjuta, ignem suum explicat. Ibid. 94.*

[e] *Huc illuc frænis leniter motis flectendus est paucis animus sui rector optimus. Senec. lib. v. de Benef. cap. 25.*

These characters are exceeding rare, and seldom want any guides.

[*f*] There are others who have indeed a pretty good capacity, but seem at first of a slow apprehension, either from want of taking due pains, or because they have been brought up in too tender a manner, and educated in an entire ignorance of their duty, have contracted a great number of ill habits which are like a rust difficult to be rubbed off. A master is absolutely necessary to boys of this character, and seldom fails of conquering these faults, when he strives to do it with mildness and patience.

ARTICLE THE SEVENTH.

To REASON with CHILDREN; to PROMPT them by the SENSE of HONOUR; to make use of PRAISES, REWARDS, and CARESSES.

I HAVE already insinuated these methods, which should be the most common, and are always the most effectual.

I call reasoning with the boys, the acting always without passion and humour, and giving them the reason of our behaviour toward them. It is requisite, says M. de Fenelon, to pursue all possible means to make the things you require of them agreeable to the children. Have you any thing displeasing to propose to them? Let them know, that the pain will soon be followed by pleasure; shew them always the usefulness of what you teach them; let them see its advantage in regard to the commerce of the world, and the duties of particular stations. This, tell them, is to enable you to do well what you are one day to do; it is to form your judgment, it is to accustom you to reason well upon all the affairs of life. It is requisite

[*f*] Inest interim animis voluntas bona, sed torpet, modo delictis ac fitu, modo officii insipientia. Senec. lib. v. de Benef. cap. 25.

Illis aut hebetibus & obtusis, aut mala consuetudine obsessis, diu rubigo animorum effricanda est. Ibid. epist. 95.

to shew them a solid and agreeable end, which may support them in their labour, and never pretend to oblige them to the performance by a dry absolute authority.

If the case requires punishment or chiding, it will be proper to appeal to themselves as judges, to make them thoroughly sensible of the necessity of using them in that manner, and to demand of them whether they think it possible to act otherways. I have been sometimes surpris'd in conjunctures, where the just but grievous severity of their correction, or public reprimand, might have provok'd and exasperated the scholars, to see the impression the account I gave them of my conduct has made upon them, and how they have blamed themselves, and allowed that I could not treat them otherways. For I owe the justice to most part of the boys I have brought up, to own here, that I have almost always found them reasonable, though not exempt from faults. Children are capable of hearing reason sooner than is imagin'd, and they love to be treated like reasonable creatures from their infancy. We should keep up in them this good opinion and sense of honour, upon which they pique themselves, and make use of it as much as possible, as an universal means to bring them to the end we propose.

They are likewise very much affected with praise. It is our duty to make an advantage of this weakness, and to endeavour to improve it into a virtue in them. We should run a risque of discouraging them, were we never to praise them when they do well; and though we have reason to apprehend that commendations may inflame their vanity, we must strive to use them for their encouragement, without making them conceited. For of all the motives that affect a reasonable soul, there are none more powerful than honour and shame; and when we have once brought children to be sensible of it, we have gain'd every thing. They find a pleasure in being commended and esteem'd, especially by their parents, and those upon whom they depend. If therefore we care for them, and commend them when they

they do well ; if we look coldly and contemptibly upon them when they do ill, and religiously observe this kind of behaviour towards them ; this different treatment will have a much greater effect upon their minds than either threats or punishments.

But to make this practice useful, there are two things to be observed. First, when the parents or masters are displeas'd with a child, and look coldly upon him, it is requisite that all those who are about him should treat him in the same manner, and that he never finds any consolation in the caresses of governesses or servants ; for then he is forced to submit, and naturally conceives an aversion for the faults which draw upon him a general contempt. In the second place, when parents or masters have shewn themselves displeas'd, they must be careful, contrary to the common custom, not to resume immediately the same chearfulness of countenance, or shew the same fondness to the child as usual ; for he will learn not to mind it, when he knows that chiding is a storm of little or no duration, which he need only suffer to pass by. They must not therefore be restored to favour without difficulty, and their pardon be deferred till their application to do better has proved the sincerity of their repentance.

Rewards for the children are not to be neglected, and though they are not, any more than praises, the principal motive upon which they should act, yet both of them may become useful to virtue, and be a powerful incentive to it. Is it not an advantage for them to know, that the doing well will in every respect be their advantage, and that it is as well their interest as duty to execute faithfully what is required of them, either in point of study or behaviour ?

But there is a choice to be made of rewards, and it is a certain rule in this point, though not always sufficiently considered, that we ought never to propose under this notion either ornaments and fine clothes, or delicacies in eating, or any other things of that kind ; and the reason of it is very evident, because in promising them such things by way of reward, we teach
them

them to look upon them as good and desirable in themselves, and thereby infill into them a value for what they ought to despise; and the same may be said of money, the desire of which is so much the more dangerous, as it is more general, and apt to increase with age; except as it may be employed in good uses, it may also be looked upon as an instrument of virtue, and a means of doing good; under which notion they should be taught to consider it. I have seen a great many scholars, who of themselves have divided their money into three parts, one of which was designed for the poor, another to buy books, and the third for their diversions.

Children may be rewarded by innocent plays intermixed with some industry; by walking abroad, where the conversation may be advantageous; by little presents which may be a kind of prizes, such as pictures or prints; by books neatly bound; by the sight of such things as are curious and uncommon in arts and trades; as for instance, the manner of making tapestry at the Gobelins, of melting of glass, painting, and a thousand other things of that kind. The industry of parents and masters consists in the invention of such rewards, in varying them, and making them desired and expected; keeping always a certain order, and beginning constantly with the most simple, in order to make them last as long as possible. But in general they must exactly perform what they have promised, and make it an indispensable point of honour and duty never to disappoint the children.

ARTICLE THE EIGHTH.

To accustom CHILDREN to a strict observance of TRUTH.

ONE of the vices we must carefully correct in children is lying, for which we cannot excite in them too great an aversion and horror. It must always be presented to them as mean, base and shameful; as a vice which entirely dishonours a man, disgraces

graces him, and places him in the most contemptible light, and is not to be suffered even in slaves. I have elsewhere spoke of the manner of punishing children that are subject to this fault.

Diffimulation, cunning and bad excuses, come very near it, and infallibly lead to it. A child should be told that he should rather be pardoned for twenty faults, than a bare diffimulation of the truth, for hiding one only by bad excuses. When he frankly confesses what he has done, fail not to commend his integrity, and pardon what he has done amiss without ever reproaching him with it, or speaking to him of it afterwards. If this confession becomes frequent, and grows into a habit only to evade punishment, the master must have less regard to it, because it would then be no more than a trick, and not proceed from simplicity and sincerity.

Every thing that the children see or hear from their parents or masters, must conduce to make them in love with truth, and give them a contempt for all double dealing. Thus they must never make use of any false pretences to appease them, or to persuade them to do as they would have them, or either promise or threaten any thing without their being sensible that the performance will soon follow. For by this means they will be taught deceit, to which they have already but too much inclination.

To prevent it, they must be accustomed not to stand in need of it, and be taught to tell ingenuously what pleases them, or what makes them uneasy. They must be told that tricking always proceeds from a bad disposition, for no body uses it but with a view to dissimulation; as not being such a one as he ought to be, or from desiring such things as are not to be permitted; or if they are, from taking dishonest means to come at them. Let the children be made to observe how ridiculous such arts are, as they see practised by others, which have generally a bad success, and serve only to make them contemptible. Make them ashamed of themselves when you catch them in any diffimulation.

tion. Take from them from time to time what they are fond of, if they have endeavoured to obtain it by any deceit, and tell them they shall have it, when they ask for it plainly and without artifice.

It is upon this point especially they should be made sensible of their honour. Make them comprehend the difference there is between a child that loves truth and sincerity, upon whose word one may rely, in whom one may fully confide, and who is looked upon as incapable, not only of lying and fraud, but of the least dissimulation; and another child, who is always suspected and distrusted, and [g] never believed, even though he speak truth. [b] We should carefully set before them what Cornelius Nepos observes of Epaminondas, (and Plutarch says the same of Aristides,) that he was so fond of truth that he never told a lie, not even in jest. *Adeo veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.*

ARTICLE THE NINTH.

*To accustom the BOYS to be POLITE, CLEANLY,
and PUNCTUAL.*

GOOD breeding is one of the qualities which parents most desire in their children, and it usually affects them more than any other. The value they set upon it arises from their conversation with the world, where they find that almost every thing is judged by its outside. In short, the want of politeness takes off very much from the most solid merit, and makes virtue itself seem less estimable and lovely. A rough diamond can never serve as an ornament; it must be polished before it can be shewn to advantage. We cannot therefore take care too early to make children civil and well bred.

In talking thus, I do not mean that we should exercise children, or bring them up by rule and method

[g] Mendaci homini, ne verum Cic. lib. ii de Divin. n. 146.
quidem dicenti, credere solemus. [b] Cornel. Nep. in Epaminon.

to all the formal ceremonies which are fashionable in the world. Such narrow little discipline serves only to give them false notions, and fill them with a foolish vanity. Besides, this methodical civility, which consists only in forms of insipid compliments, and the affectation of doing every thing by rule and measure, is often more offensive than a natural rusticity. We must not therefore teize and wrangle much with them about such faults as they may commit in this point. An address not over graceful, a bow ill made, a hat clumsily taken off, and a compliment ill-turned, may deserve some little notice to be taken of them in an easy and gentle manner, but do not deserve sharp chiding, or the being made ashamed before company, and much less to be punished with severity. The commerce with the world will soon correct these petty defects.

But the point is, to go to the principle and root of the evil, and to conquer certain dispositions in the boys, which are directly opposite to the rules of society and conversation, such as a savage and clownish rudeness, which makes them heedless of what may please or displease those about them; self-love, attentive only to its own convenience and advantage; a haughtiness and pride, which tempt us to look upon every thing as our due, without our being under any obligation to others; a spirit of contradiction and railery, which blames every thing, and takes pleasure only in giving pain. These are the faults against which we must declare open war. Such boys as have been accustomed to be complaisant towards their companions, to oblige them to submit to them upon occasion, to say nothing that may offend them, and not be easily offended themselves at the discourse of others; boys of this character, when they come abroad into the world, will soon learn the rules of civility and good breeding.

It is also to be wished, that children should be accustomed to neatness, order, and exactness; that they take care of their dress, especially on Sundays and ho-

lidays, and such days as they go abroad; that every thing should be set in order in their chambers and upon their tables, and every book put in its place when they have done with it; that they should be ready to discharge their different duty precisely at the time appointed. This exactness is of great importance at all times, and in every station of life.

All this is to be wished for, but must not in my opinion be exacted with severity, nor under pain of correction. For we must always distinguish the faults, which arise from the levity of their age, from such as flow from indocility and perverseness. I beg the reader's pardon, if sometimes I take the liberty to quote my own practice, whilst engaged in the education of youth. I think I do not do it out of vanity, but only the better to shew the usefulness of the advice which I give. I brought the boys to be very civil to such strangers as entered into the quadrangle during their recreation, and almost scrupulously exact in repairing to every exercise at the first sound of the clock, but not by menaces or corrections. I used to commend them publicly for their civility to strangers, who complimented me upon it, and for the readiness with which they quitted their play, because they knew it would please me. I sometimes added, that though some of them were wanting in their little duties, I judged it must be through inadvertency, which was not surprising in the heat of play. I desired them to be more careful for the future, and to follow the example of the greatest part of their companions; and I succeeded better by these civilities, than I could have done by all the chiding and menaces in the world.

ARTICLE THE TENTH.

To make STUDY agreeable.

THIS is one of the most important points in education, and at the same time one of the most difficult; for amongst a great number of masters, who in other respects are very deserving, there are very

few to be found, who are happy enough to make their scholars fond of study.

The success in this point depends very much on the first impressions, [i] and it should be the great care of masters, who teach children their letters, to do it in such a manner, that a child, who is not yet capable of being fond of his book, should not take an aversion to it, and the dislike continue when he grows up. For this reason, says Quintilian, his study must be made a diversion to him. The master must proceed by asking him little questions. He must be encouraged by commendation, and allowed to set some value upon himself, and be pleased with having learned any thing. Sometimes what he refuses to learn must be taught another, in order to raise his jealousy. We must enter into little disputes with him; and let him think that he has often the better. We must intice him likewise by little rewards, which children of that age are very fond of.

But the great secret, says [k] Quintilian farther, to make children love their books, is to make them fond of their master. In this case they willingly give ear to him, become docile, strive to please him, and take a pleasure in his lessons. They readily receive his advice and correction, are much affected with his commendation, and strive to merit his friendship by a proper discharge of their duty. There is implanted in children, as in all mankind, a natural spirit of curiosity, or desire of knowledge and information, of which a good use may be made towards rendering their study agreeable. As every thing is new to them, they are continually asking questions, and enquiring the name and use of every thing they see. And they should be answered without expressing any pain or uneasiness. Their curiosity should be commended and satisfied by

[i] Id imprimis cavere oportebit, ne studia qui amare nondum potest, oderit; & amaritudinem semel præceptam, etiam ultra rudes annos resorridet. Quintil. lib. i. cap. 1.

[k] Discipulos id unum moneo, ut præceptores suos non minus quam ipsa studia ament . . . multum hæc pietas confert studio. Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 9.

clear and exprefs answers, without any thing in them deceitful or illufory ; for they will foon find it out and take offence at it.

In every art and fcience the firft elements and principles have fomething dry and difgufting in them. For which reafon it is of great fervice to abridge and facilitate the rudiments of the languages which are taught to children, and to take off from the bitternefs of them as agreeably as we can.

Pueris dant cruftula blandi

Doctores, elementa velint ut difcere prima.

For the fame reafon I think the method of beginning with the explication of authors preferable to that of making exercifes, becaufe the latter is more painful and tedious, and occafions the children more anger and correction.

When they are privately brought up, a careful and fkilful mafter omits nothing that may make ftudy agreeable to them. He takes their time, ftudies their taite, confults their humour, mingles diversion with labour, feems to leave the choice to them, does not make their ftudy regular, excites to it fometimes by refufing it, and by the ceffation, or rather interruption of it. In a word, he puts on a thoufand fhaps, and invents a thoufand artifices to compafs what he aims at.

This way in college is not practicable. In a common chamber and a numerous clafs difcipline and good order require an uniform rule, and that all fhould follow it exactly ; and herein lies the great difficulty of managing them. A mafter muft have a good capacity, a great deal of fkill to guide and direct the reins of fo many different characters, of which fome are brisk and impetuous, others flow and phlegmatic, fome want the spur, and others the bridle ; to manage I fay, all thefe difpofitions at the fame time, and yet fo as to make them all move by concert, and lead all to the fame point, notwithstanding this difference of genius ; it muft be owned, that in the bufinefs of education

education it is in this circumstance the greatest ability and prudence are required.

This is only to be attained by great gentleness, reason, moderation, coolness and patience. This great principle must be always in view, that study depends upon the will, which admits of no constraint. [1] *Studium discendi voluntate, quæ cogi non potest constat.* We may confine the body, make a scholar sit at his desk against his inclination, double his labour by way of punishment, force him to finish a task imposed on him, and for that end deprive him of his play and recreation; but can labouring thus upon force be properly called study? And what will follow upon it, but the hatred of both books, learning, and masters too very often as long as they live? The will therefore must be gained; and this can only be by mildness, affectionate behaviour and persuasion, and above all by the allurements of pleasure.

As we are born slothful, enemies to labour, and still more to constraint, it is not surprising, that as all the pleasure lies on one side, and all the trouble on the other; all the trouble in study, and all the pleasure in diversion; a child should bear the one with impatience, and passionately pursue the other. The skill of the master lies in making study agreeable, and teaching his scholar to find a pleasure in it. To which end play and recreation may very much contribute. And this we shall treat of in the following article.

ARTICLE THE ELEVENTH.

To grant the boys REST and RECREATION.

A GREAT many reasons oblige us to grant rest and recreation to children; first, the care of their health, which should go before that of knowledge. Now nothing is more prejudicial to it than too long and constant an application, that insensibly wears and weakens the organs, which in that age are very tender,

[1] Quint. lib. i. cap. 3.

and incapable of taking great pains. And this gives me an opportunity of advising and intreating parents, not to push their children too much upon study in their early years, but to deny themselves the pleasure of seeing them make a figure before their time. [172] For besides, that these ripe fruits seldom come to maturity, and their early progress resembles those seeds that are cast upon the surface of the earth, which spring up immediately, but take no root; nothing is more pernicious to the health of children than these untimely efforts, though the ill effect be not immediately perceived.

If they are prejudicial to the body, they are no less dangerous to the mind, [173] which exhausts itself, and grows dull by a continual application, and like the earth, stands in need of a stated alternative of labour and rest, in order to preserve its force and vigour.

Besides, as we have already observed, the boys, after they have refreshed themselves a while, return to their studies with more chearfulness and a better heart; and this little relaxation animates them with fresh courage; whereas constraint shocks and disheartens them.

I add with Quintilian, and the boys will doubtless agree to it, that a moderate inclination for play should not displease in them, as it is often a mark of vivacity. In short, can we expect much ardor for study in a child, who, at an age that is naturally brisk and gay, is always heavy, pensive, and indifferent even to its play?

[174] But in this, as in every thing else, we must use discretion, and observe a medium, which consists in not refusing them diversion, lest they should grow out

[172] Quintil. lib. i. cap. 3.

[173] Ea quoque, quæ sensu carent, ut servare vim suam possint, alterna quiete retenduntur. Ibid.

Ut fertilibus agris non est impetandum; citò enim exhauriet illos nunquam intermissa fecunditas: ita animorum impetus assiduus labor

frangit. . . . Nascitur ex assiduitate laborum animorum hebetatio quædam & langor. Senec. de tran. an. cap. 15.

[174] Modus tamen sit remissionibus, ne aut odium studiorum faciant negatæ, aut otii consuetudinem nimix. Ibid.

of love with study; and in not granting too much, lest they should contract an habit of idleness.

The choice in this point requires some care; not that we need be under any concern about procuring them pleasures; they invent enough of themselves. It suffices to leave them to themselves, and observe them without constraint, in order to keep them in temper, when they grow too warm.

The diversions they love best, and which are likewise most suitable to them, are such as are attended with some bodily motion. They are satisfied, provided they often change place. A ball, a kite, a top, are an high delight to them, as also walking and running.

There are plays of ingenuity, wherein instruction is mixed with diversion, which may sometimes find a place, when the body is less disposed for motion, or the time and season oblige them to be confined within doors.

As play is designed for a recreation, I question whether we ought commonly to allow the children such as require almost as much application as study. James the first king of Great-Britain, in the instructions he left his son how to govern well, amongst other advice concerning play, forbids him chess, because it is rather a study than a recreation.

Plays of hazard, such as cards and dice, which are now become so fashionable, deserve still more to be forbid the boys. It is a shame to our age, that rational persons cannot pass a few hours together without cards in their hands. It will be well for the scholars, if they carry from college and long retain an ignorance and contempt for all diversions of this nature.

It is a principle in education which cannot be too much inculcated into parents and masters, to inspire children in general with a taste for such things as are simple. They should neither feed upon delicate dishes, nor be entertained with elegant diversions. The temper of the soul is corrupted as well as the taste, by the pursuit of lively and poignant pleasures; and as the use of ragoos make the common food that is

plainly dressed, seem tasteless and insipid; so great emotions of the soul make the ordinary diversions of youth tedious and insipid.

We see parents, says M. de Fenelon, that are other-ways persons of good sentiments, carry their children themselves to the public shews, and pretend, by thus mixing poison with healthful food, to give them a good education; and would look upon it as cruel and austere to deny them this medley of good and evil. He must be very little acquainted with human nature, who does not see that this sort of diversion cannot fail of creating a disgust in the boys for the serious and busy life, for which however they are intended, and of making them consider plain and innocent pleasures as insipid and insupportable.

ARTICLE THE TWELFTH.

To train up the boys to VIRTUE by DISCOURSE and EXAMPLE.

WHAT I have said shews that this is the indispensable duty of masters. As it is often requisite to fortify the children before-hand against the discourses and examples of their parents, as well as against the false prejudices and false principles advanced in common conversation, and authorised by an almost general practice; [*p*] they should be to them that guardian and monitor which Seneca so often speaks of, to preserve or deliver them from popular errors, and to inspire them with such principles as are conformable to right and sound reason. It is requisite therefore that they have a perfect sense of themselves, and think and talk always with wisdom and truth. [*q*] For nothing can be said before children without effect,

[*p*] Non licet ire recta via: trahunt in pravum parentes, trahunt servi . . . Sit ergo aliquis custos, & aurem subinde pervellat, abigatque rumores, & reclamat populis lau-

dantibus. . . . Itaque monitionibus crebris, opiniones, quæ nos circumsonant, compeſcamus. Senec. ep. 94.

[*q*] Nulla ad aures puerorum vox impunè perfertur. Nocent, qui optant;

effect, and they regulate their fears and desires by the discourses they hear.

It is for this reason that Quintilian, as we have already observed, advises masters to speak often to their disciples of honesty and justice. And Seneca tells us the wonderful effects which the lively exhortations of his master produced upon him. The passage is perfectly beautiful: [r] “It is scarce to be imagined, says he, how great an impression such discourses are capable of making. For the tender minds of youth are easily inclined to the side of virtue. As they are tractable and not much infected by corruption, they easily resign themselves to truth, provided an understanding advocate pleads its cause before them and speaks in its favour. For my own part, when I heard Attalus inveigh against vice, error and irregularity, I pitied mankind, and thought nothing great and valuable, but a man that was capable of thinking as he did. When he undertook to set off the advantages of poverty, and to prove that whatever is more than necessary, can be looked upon only as a useless charge and an inconvenient burthen, he made me wish to go poor out of his school. When he exclaimed against pleasure, commended chastity of body, temperance of diet, and purity of mind, I found myself inclined to renounce the most lawful and allowable pleasures.”

There is still another shorter and surer way of conducting the boys to virtue, and this is by example. For the language of action is far stronger and more persuasive than that of words. [s] *Longum iter est per præcepta, breve & efficax per exempla.* It is a great happiness for boys to have masters, whose lives are a continual instruction to them, whose actions never contradict their lessons, who do what they advise, and

optant; nocent, qui execrantur. Nam & horum imprecatio salios nobis metus inferit, & illorum amor malè docet bene optando. Senec. ep. 94.

[r] Verisimile non est quantum proficiat talis oratio. . . . Facillimè

enim tenera conciliantur ingenia ad honesti rectique amorem. Adhuc docilibus leviterque corruptis injicit manum veritas, si advocatum idoneum nacta est. Ibid. ep. 108.

[s] Ibid. ep. 6. 52.

shun what they blame, and who are still more admired when seen than when they are heard.

Something seems still to be wanting to what I have said in this chapter concerning the different duties of a master; and yet parents would certainly conceive themselves very happy, if they found such for their children; however I desire the reader to observe, that all I have hitherto said has been extracted solely from Paganism; that Lycurgus, Plato, Tully, Seneca, and Quintilian have lent me their thoughts, and supplied the rules, which I have laid down; that what I have borrowed from other authors is neither out of their sphere, nor above the maxims and notions of the Heathens. Something therefore is still wanting to the duties of a master, and this remains to be treated under the last article.

ARTICLE THE THIRTEENTH.

PIETY, RELIGION, and ZEAL for the childrens
SALVATION.

[*t*] **S**T. Augustine says, that though Tully's treatise, intitled Hortensius, was very agreeable to him, and the reading of it had paved the way to his conversion, by inspiring him with an eager desire after wisdom, there was notwithstanding still something wanting, because he did not find the name of Christ in it; and that whatever did not bear that sacred name, however well conceived, however elegantly wrote, and however true it might be, did not entirely charm him. I think likewise that my reader should not be wholly satisfied, but still find something wanting in what I have written concerning the duty of masters, as they

[*t*] Ille liber mutavit affectum meum, & vota mea ac desideria fecit alia. . . . Immortalitatem sapientiæ concupiscebam æstu cordis incredibili: & surgere jam cœperam, ut ad te redirem. . . . Fortiter excitabar sermone illo & accendebam, &

ardebam: & hoc solum me in tanta flagrantia refrangebam, quod nomen Christi non erat ibi. . . . Quicquid sine hoc nomine fuisset, quamvis literatum & expolitum & veridicum, non me totum rapiebat. Conf. lib. iii. cap. 4.

do not find in it the name of Christ, and discover no footsteps of Christianity in the precepts, which relate to the education of Christian children.

I have designedly done this to shew how blameable we should be, if we contented ourselves with what we have a right to demand from heathen masters; or if we should not go even so far as they. In short, Christianity is the soul and sum of all the duties I have hitherto spoke of. It is Christianity which animates them, which exalts and ennobles them, which brings them to perfection, and gives them a merit, whereof God alone is the principle and motive, and of which God alone can be the just reward.

What then is a Christian master, who is entrusted with the education of youth? He is a man, into whose hands Christ has committed a number of children, whom he has redeemed with his blood, and for whom he has laid down his life, in whom he dwells, as in his house and temple; whom he considers as his members, as his brethren and co-heirs, of whom he will make so many kings and priests, who shall reign and serve God with him and by him to all eternity. And for what end has he committed them to his care? Is it barely to make them poets, orators, and men of learning? Who dare presume to say, or even to think so? He has committed them to their care, in order to preserve in them the precious and inestimable deposit of innocence, which he has imprinted in their souls by baptism, in order to make them true Christians. This is the true end and design of the education of children, to which all the rest are but the means. Now how great and noble an addition does the office of a master receive from so honourable a commission? But what care, what attention and vigilance, and above all, how great a dependance upon Christ does it require?

In this last circumstance lies all the merit, and at the same time all the consolation of masters. They have need, in the government of children, of capacity, prudence,

dence, patience, mildness, resolution and authority. How great a consolation is it to a master to be fully persuaded, that Christ gives all these qualifications, and grants them to the humble and persevering petitioner, and that he may say to him with the Prophet, *Thou, O Lord, art my patience and my strength, thou art my light and my council, thou subduest the little people under me whom thou hast committed to my care? Leave me not to myself one moment, but grant me, for the direction of others and my own salvation, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of council and strength, the spirit of knowledge and piety, and above all the spirit of the fear of the Lord.*

When a master has received this spirit, his work is done. This spirit is a master within, which dictates to him and teaches him all that is requisite, and upon every occasion points out to him his duty, and makes him practise it. One great mark of his having received it, is, that he finds in himself a great zeal for the salvation of the children; that he is affected with their dangers, and touched with their faults; that he frequently reflects upon the value of the innocence, which they have received in baptism; how difficult it is to recover it when once it is lost; what account must he give to Christ, who has placed him as a centinel to guard it, if the enemy carries off so precious a treasure, whilst he is asleep. A good master must apply to himself those words, which God was continually repeating in the ears of Moses, the conductor of his people, [u] “Carry them in thy bosom, as a nurse beareth the sucking child.” He must experience somewhat of the tenderness and concern of [x] St. Paul for the Galatians, “for whom he felt the pains of childbirth, till Christ was formed in them.”

I cannot avoid applying here to the masters some of the instructions, which are given in a [y] letter to a superior upon her obligations, nor too earnestly ex-

[u] Num. xi. 12.

[x] Gal. iv. 19.

[y] *Lettres de morale & de pieté,*
chez la Veuve Esienne, tom. 1.

hort them to read that letter with care, which suits so well with their circumstances.

1. The first means of preserving the talent, which has been committed to your care, and to increase it, is to labour with fresh zeal to procure your own sanctification. You are God's instrument towards these children; you must therefore be strictly united to him. You are the channel, and therefore you should be filled. It is your part to draw down blessings upon others; you must not therefore turn them aside from falling upon your own head.

2. The second means is not to expect fruit if you do not labour in the name of Christ, that is, as he himself laboured in the sanctification of men. [z] He began with being the example of all the virtues he has required from them. His humility and gentleness were astonishing. He gave his life and blood for his sheep. See here the example of shepherds and discern your own. Never take your eyes from this divine model. Bring forth thus, thus train up your disciples, who are now become your children. Think less of chiding them, than of obtaining their love; and think only of gaining their love, in order to plant the love of Christ in their hearts, and after that, if possible, to blot you out of their minds.

3. The third means is to expect nothing from your own care, your own prudence, your own light and labour, but only from the grace of God. He rarely blesses those, who are not humble. We speak in vain to the ears, if he speaks not to the heart. We water and plant in vain, unless he gives the increase.

We think to do wonders by multiplying words. We think to soften the hardness of the heart by sharp reproaches, by humiliations and corrections. This may be useful sometimes, but it must be the grace of God that makes it so; and when we rely too much upon these outward means, we lay a secret obstacle in

[z] He began to do and teach. Acts i. 1. Mighty in word and in deed. Luke xxiv. 29.

OF THE DUTIES OF THE PRINCIPAL.

the way of grace, which is justly refused to human presumption and an haughty confidence.

4. If your discourse and cares have the blessing of God, do not attribute the success of them to yourself. Do not give ear to the secret voice of your heart, which applauds you for it. Hearken not to the commendations of men, who mislead you. If your labour seems ineffectual, be not discouraged, nor despair, either of yourself or others; but still persist in your duty: The moments, which God has reserved to himself, are known only to him. He will give you in the morning the reward of your labour in the night. It has seemed unprofitable, but not through your fault; the care was recommended to you, and not the success:

PART THE SECOND.

Particular DUTIES relating to the EDUCATION of YOUTH.

THE different duties I have to examine in this second part, relate to the principal of the college, the regents, the parents, the preceptors and scholars.

C H A P. I.

Of the DUTIES of the PRINCIPAL.

THE principal of a college is as the soul of it, which puts every thing in motion, and presides over all. To him belongs the care of establishing good order, of maintaining discipline, of watching in general over studies and manners. It is easy to comprehend how serviceable such an office is to the public, and at the same time how difficult to discharge. It were to be wished, one would think, that he who is placed at the head of the professors should be the principal in every respect; that he might in every thing serve as an adviser and pattern; that he should be a perfect
master

master of every branch of learning youth are taught, grammar, the belles lettres, rhetoric and philosophy, that he might be capable of judging of the ability of the masters, and progress of the scholars. But the want of some of these points of knowledge may be supplied by other qualifications, which are still more essential, and necessary. A house is happy, when it pleases God to set over it a man, who has the spirit of government, an amicable and sociable disposition, a solid judgment, an humble and prudent docility, and a perfect disinterestedness; one who enters upon his station only out of religious views, and not through any carnal motives. The success is then infallible. For we may truly say, without fear of being mistaken, as experience has proved, that it is the merit of the principal which contributes most to the reputation of a college.

There are four or five things especially, which are the object of the principal's pains and care; diet, study, discipline, education and religion. I shall explain every one of these parts in particular, and with as much brevity as I can.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

Of the DIET of the STUDENTS.

A PRINCIPAL in a college is like a father in a family. He must therefore have the attention and tenderness of a father, and employ his first cares upon the health of the children, which is the basis and foundation of all the rest. This depends very much upon their diet, which joined to motion and exercise, serves to make the children grow, to strengthen them, to give them a good constitution, and enable them to support the fatigues of the different stations to which providence shall one day call them. To this end the diet must be plain, but good, solid and regular.

The means of having the food such as it should be, to me an essential principle in point of œconomy, is

to provide the best in every kind, the best bread, the best meat, the best oil, the best butter, &c. and I have known by experience, that the expence would not be the greater, especially if care be taken to pay regularly for them, in which case we are sure to be always well served.

One obstacle to the rule I here lay down, would be an earnest desire in the principal to heap up wealth. But I should not suspect any body of a disposition so remote from the character of a man of learning and honour, who knows better than any other, [a] that it would be a disgrace to his office to exercise it out of any mean views of interest, and to set a price upon his care in the education of youth. It is very fit that the pains a man takes in this way, which are the most irksome and troublesome part of the government of a college, should meet with a temporal reward. A principal, in order to do things as he ought, and behave with generosity, should have wherewithal to live at his ease, but the way of attaining it, as several have experienced, is to spare nothing for the good entertainment of the students.

[b] It is not enough, that the principal himself be of a disinterested and generous disposition; he must inspire the same sentiments into those, who under his name and in his stead are entrusted with the œconomy, and set a strict watch over their conduct, for which he is answerable to the public. A sure sign, that he sincerely desires to discharge his duty in this point is, the allowing the masters a full liberty of complaining to him upon this article, as well as all the rest, to call upon them publicly to do it, to declare that it will be a pleasure to him to have them behave in that manner, to receive their remonstrances so as to convince them

[a] Quis ignorat quón id longe sit honestissimum, ac liberalibus disciplinis, & illo quem exigimus animo dignissimum, non vendere operam, nec elevare tanti beneficii auctoritatem? Quint. lib. xii. cap. 7.

[b] His in rebus jam te usus ipse profecto erudivit, nequaquam satis

esse ipsum hæc habere virtutes, sed circumspiciendum diligenter, ut in hac custodia, provinciæ non te unum sed omnes ministros imperii tui sociis & civibus, & reipublicæ præstare videare. Cic. epist. 1. lib. i. ad Quint. frat.

of it, and especially to make that use of their information which justice and prudence may require from him. To spare the masters a trouble that such a step must naturally cause, he may appoint some person in the college as the vice-principal, or any other to whom they can more freely and readily express themselves; and this he may be sure is the only way of keeping people from talking.

The masters, on their side, must shew a great deal of moderation upon this article, and never complain at table of the meat served up, that they may not accustom their scholars to too great a delicacy in eating and drinking, nor authorise, by their example, a spirit of murmuring and complaining, which is of no use but to sow division and foment dissatisfaction in a college. They must remember, that how careful and well disposed soever a principal is, it is impossible but in a large household some small faults and negligences must escape, which the prudence and charity of the masters should overlook and conceal.

To good diet should be joined neatness, which exalts its value, and is a kind of seasoning to it. The linen should be white, the dishes clean, the halls where they eat regularly swept every day after dinner, and every thing constantly ranged in its place. [c] The statutes of the university descend to very minute particulars upon this article, and shew how important they hold it to be careful in this point. A principal therefore cannot consider it as unworthy of his care, and must be able to say of himself what we read in Horace.

[d] *Hæc ego procurare & idoneus imperor, & non
Invitus: ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa
Corrugat nares; ne non & cantbarus, & lanæ
Ostendat tibi te.*

“ However welcome, be it still my pride,
“ That elegance should over all preside;
“ That all the entertainment should be right,
“ The napkins clean, the cups and dishes bright.”

[c] Stat. 13. Append.

[d] Epist. 5. lib. 1.

The same poet, in another passage, observes, that as this neatness requires no expence, but only a little care and exactness, negligence in this point is unpardonable.

[e] *Vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scobe, quantus
Consistit sumptus? neglectis flagitium ingens.*

“ In rubbers or in saw-dust, what’s the cost ?

“ And yet without them decency is lost.”

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Of the STUDIES.

AS the choice of the regents depends solely upon the principal, we may say for this reason, that the success of the studies depends upon him. This choice is one of the most considerable parts of his office, and has the greatest consequences, either with reference to the public, or to the person of the principal himself.

How great an advantage is it to youth ; how great an honour to the university, when a principal prefers such regents, as are distinguished by their learning, as are famed abroad by their compositions or public actions ; and to these shining qualities add others no less necessary, the talent of teaching and governing, authority, probity and piety ? But how great a burden does he lay upon himself, if, through human views, he nominates such regents, as are incapable of discharging their functions ? All the good which a better choice had produced will be objected to him, and all the ill which shall follow upon an imprudent and rash nomination laid to his charge.

To avoid this misfortune, he must endeavour to cast his eyes upon such as God designs for employments, that is, to whom he has given qualifications necessary to discharge them ; otherways it is to despise his gifts, and reject what he has chosen. The university, in allowing the principals the privilege of electing regents,

[e] Sat. 4. lib. ii.

enjoins them to be fully assured of their capacity, and still more of their probity, that they may be in a condition to instruct youth in learning, and to form their manners. [f] *Gymnastarchæ ad docendam & regendam juventutem pædagogos & magistros probatæ vitæ & doctrine recipiant & admittant . . . quorum mores imprimis spectandi, ut pueri ab his & literas simul discant, & bonis moribus imbuantur.*

Neither flesh, nor blood, nor country, must be consulted in such a choice, nor any thing but the public advantage. Were it allowable to compare great things with small, one would exhort the principal to call to mind a beautiful expression of a Roman emperor, and imitate his conduct. I mean Galba, when he adopted Piso. Augustus, says he to him, sought for a successor in his own family, but I have sought for one in the whole empire. [g] *Augustus in domo successorem quaesivit, ego in republica.* [h] We should look upon him as our nearest relation and best friend, who has the most merit, according to the beautiful expression of Pliny. Solicitation, and the recommendation of great men, should have no place here, and it is upon these occasions that he must shew an inflexible resolution, by representing to himself how great an injustice and breach of trust he should be guilty of, if he sacrificed the essential interest of so many families, that have actually confided to him what they hold most dear, to his complaisance for a private person.

We know how many excellent members Mr. Gobinet brought into the college du Plessis. He took pains to go in quest of them himself, and paid regard only to merit, and never to recommendation alone. The famous M. Lenglet having read a copy of verses, which he found by chance upon M. Gobinet's table, told him that the author, whom he did not know, might become an excellent poet, if to his natural ge-

[f] Stat. Facult. Art.

[g] Tacit. Hist. lib. i. c. p. 15.

[h] An tu summæ potestatis hæredem tantum intra domum tuam quaeras? Non per totam civitatem

circumferas oculos, & hunc tibi proximum, hunc conjunctissimum existimes, quem optimum invenieris? Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

nus he added the study of Virgil. This was enough for that worthy principal, after he had enquired into the other qualifications of the young man, to make him a regent. It was M. Herfan, who has done so much honour to the university.

It might be of great service to a principal to train up himself good subjects in his college, and prepare them early for the regency. When they are thus seen to grow up under his eyes, he must be far better acquainted with them both as to their capacity, and what is still more essential, their morals and disposition. I shall resume this matter, and speak more fully to it at the conclusion of this article.

It is not sufficient to have made a good choice, he must keep up to it through all the rest of his conduct. The great skill of a principal lies in gaining the affection of the regents, in making himself valued and beloved by them, and acquiring their confidence, which can only be obtained by a civil and obliging treatment, remote from all haughtiness and pride. For he must remember, that the prevailing character in men of letters, is the love of liberty, I mean an honest liberty directed by reason.

Besides what depends upon the regents, the principal may contribute very much of himself to the advancement of study, by raising an emulation in the classes, from the frequent visits he shall make them, to take an account of their progress, to encourage the good scholars by commendation, to distribute rewards and prizes amongst them from time to time, to excite the weak and indifferent to take pains, and universally to confirm the authority and good views of the regents.

The distribution of prizes, which is solemnly made at the end of the year, is one of the most effectual means to excite and keep up the emulation I am speaking of. The care of this belongs to the principal, and of all the expences he is at, this is the best employed. It were to be wished, as I have already observed, that his revenue might admit of wherewithal to do it with-

out inconvenience to himself; and I admire the generosity of those, who having no pensioners, or but very few, do notwithstanding distribute prizes at the end of the year, as though they were very rich.

That this distribution of prizes may produce its full effect, it must be made with great equity, without favour or affection. It depends upon the principal, whether he will give prizes or no; but when they are once proposed, he is no longer at liberty. They are due, and of right belong to merit, and cannot, under any pretence whatsoever, be refused without manifest injustice. Here places are regulated not by birth or riches, but by knowledge and understanding. The plebeian is upon a level with the prince, and usually very much above him; nor does any thing more contribute to make learning flourish in a college, than the reputation of an exact and strict justice in the distribution of places and prizes.

I return, according to my promise, to the choice of regents. The surest way of succeeding in it, as I have known several principals practise it with success, is to make choice of certain poor scholars in the classes, who are observed to have genius and good inclinations, to bring them up at their own expence, to have a particular eye over their conduct and studies; and when they have finished them, to commit some few scholars to their care, in order to prepare them for the office by instructing them; to oblige them from time to time to compose in verse and prose, and thereby enable them to enter into the regency when occasion offers.

This expence is not very great, and may be attended with good consequences. The great advantage a principal may expect from it, is to draw down the blessing of God upon his college, and this he has great need of. For it must be owned, that generally speaking there is a kind of curse upon the rich and riches, which he must endeavour to avert, by mingling some poor scholars among the children of the rich, that may draw upon him the care and protection of him, who

declares himself throughout the whole Scripture, the Protector and Father of the poor.

I question whether a man of learning and probity can have a more refined satisfaction, than that of having contributed by his care and liberality to the producing of young men, who afterwards become able professors, and by their extraordinary talents do honour to the university. This satisfaction, in my opinion, is far improved, when it proceeds from a grateful disposition, and these services are done by way of acknowledgment, and paid as a kind of debt, in return for such as have been received in a like situation. For we must not be ashamed to own, that the most excellent members often spring from the bosom of poverty, as Horace observes, speaking of the greatest men in the Roman republic.

[i] *Hunc, & incomptis Curivm capillis*
Utilem bello tulit, & Camillum
Sæva paupertas.

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

Of the DISCIPLINE of the COLLEGE.

IT is the business of principals, by their place and title, to keep a watchful eye over the general discipline of the colleges. [k] It belongs to them to examine the scholars, in order to place them in the classes, for which they are fit. [l] It is their duty to take an account every week how they have behaved; it is theirs to agree with the professors, what authors are to be explained in the classes. [m] They are obliged to see the statutes of the university exactly observed, and the regulations of the faculties of arts relating to the discipline of colleges and classes, such, for instance, as that of fixing holidays, and the times of entering into and quitting the classes, which was lately revived and

[i] Fabricium. Hor. Od. 12. lib. 1. [l] Stat. 17.

[k] Stat. 13. Facult. Art.

[m] Stat. 24.

authorised by parliament; and it is for this reason the [n] university enjoins them to read over these statutes and regulations twice a year in the presence of all the masters and scholars.

This last ordinance is very judicious, but not observed with sufficient exactness. To make the execution of it more easy, such statutes and regulations as have been judged most essential to discipline, have been separately printed and read over by some professors every year in their classes. Several others might be added to them, which have since been made, and it might be proper to reprint.

I shall begin this article with the principal's duty towards the scholars of the house. What I shall afterwards say, likewise belongs in some measure, and is common to them with the rest of the scholars; but there is a peculiar care due to them from the principal. The house is properly theirs, and the colleges originally were founded for them. This the principal should always have in mind, and never forget the pious motives of the founders, who have dedicated part of their substance to so sacred an use. They were for the most part high and mighty lords in their time, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, chancellors, princes, and sometimes crowned heads. Their memory should be as dear and precious to a principal, as their persons would be, if they were actually in place and credit. In respect and gratitude to these illustrious founders, who are always living for him, he must behave to the scholars of the house with the affection and tenderness of a father, procure them all the temporal and spiritual assistance in his power, take the utmost pains to enable them to fill the places worthily, to which Divine Providence shall call them, and especially hinder the children of the rich from expressing a contempt for them, and to this end must himself shew them great value and consideration. I have never observed that the pensioners have been offended, that upon certain occasions the scholars of

[n] Stat. 76.

the house were set before them, and by way of honour preferred to the first places; but then these should not value themselves too much upon it, nor forget that it is from their poverty that they are scholars of the house, and therefore they should behave with respect, obedience, and docility, and above all with humility; for nothing is more insupportable than poverty and pride: [o] *My soul hateth . . . a poor man that is proud.* Upon these conditions we cannot express too great friendship for the scholars of the house. When a principal has been one of them himself, as very frequently happens, he is the more inclined to favour them, and is apt to apply to himself this verse in Virgil.

[p] *Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.*

Or rather he applies to himself the command, which God so often in Scripture gives the Israelites, of taking care of the strangers, because they had been strangers themselves. [q] *Love ye therefore strangers, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.*

One of the things which contribute most to establish the reputation of a college, is an exact and uniform discipline. There are many parents indeed, which almost blindly determine upon the choice of a college, but there are many also who behave otherways, and who look upon the giving their children a Christian education, as the first and most essential part of their duty, and therefore devote all their care and application to that. Now what determines such parents in favour of a college, is the knowledge they have of the good discipline observed in it.

The whole care of a principal is faithfully to discharge his duty without being uneasy about the success. A little honour suffices to induce him never to make an interest for any pensioner. This would be to disparage and disgrace his profession, and confound it with the employment of hirelings and mechanics, who would many of them blush at such a proceeding. It should be looked upon as an advantage to be admitted

[o] Eccl. xxv. 4.

[p] Æn. lib. i. ver. 634.

[q] Deut. x. 9.

into his college, and it is one indeed to be placed in a house, where the youth are carefully brought up, and no sensible parent will ever think otherways. It would likewise in my opinion be prudent not blindly to receive all the scholars that should be offered, but first to be informed of their manners and characters, especially when they are somewhat grown up, and come from some other college or boarding-house.

But the most important point of discipline is never to suffer any scholar to remain in college that is capable of being prejudicial to others, either by corrupting the purity of their morals, or by inspiring them with a spirit of discontent and rebellion. In these two cases we may without scruple affirm the rule I am speaking of should be inviolably observed. To be convinced of it, we need only change the object, and ask one's self, whether one would leave a child that was sick of a contagious distemper with the rest. Is the infection of the morals then less dangerous, or attended with less fatal consequences? Can a principal, who has a just sense of religion, support this terrible, but true reflection, that God will one day demand of him an account of all the souls that should be lost in college, from his having declined to send away the corrupters, through views of interest, or too great complaisance, or even good nature? [*r*] *Sanguinem ejus de manu tua requiram*: his blood will I require at thy hand.

When I speak thus, I do not mean that every considerable fault, nor even every immoral action, is a reason for dismissing a scholar. The disease as such is not a reason for sending the sick person out of the infirmary, but only when it is known to be contagious, and capable of infecting others. Thus we must bear with a scholar for some time, but when we see that instructions, chiding, and punishments are ineffectual, and there is cause to apprehend that the evil may spread, the removal of him then becomes absolutely necessary.

[*r*] Ezek. iii. 28.

I own there is no circumstance, which requires more prudence and discretion in the principal, than this I am speaking of. Nothing but the Spirit of God can keep him in a just medium, and inspire him with wisdom to behave so as not to offend through too great gentleness or too much severity. Nor can he in such a conjuncture implore too much his assistance and instruction.

Another means of preserving discipline and good order in a college, is firmly and discreetly to support and establish the authority of the lower masters, to stand stedfastly by them upon occasion, and never to blame them in the presence of the scholars, but to reserve what we have to say to them for their private ear, if it is judged necessary, and there to give them proper advice. To this end the principal should often see them, always receive them with humanity and civility, inform himself by them of the behaviour of the scholars, hear their complaints and opinions, and leave them entire liberty in order to gain their confidence. It is this union, this agreement and good understanding, which is the soul of government. The principal then hears all that passes, and all is managed by his directions. The masters, who are his arms, his ears and his eyes, receive all their motions from him, and he treats them also with the same tenderness, as the apple of his eye, and as so many parts of himself.

The vice-principal, upon whom the care of the discipline in general turns, and who almost universally holds the place, and supplies the absence of the principal, should in every thing follow his instructions. Vigilance, attention, and exactness, form his essential character. Nothing should escape him. During his recreations, whilst he is walking and talking with others, his eyes and his mind must be in another place. He must observe all that passes, and almost without seeming to do it; every motion, every conversation, every particular correspondence, and draw an advantage from them all. And the same may be said of all the other masters, who are equally obliged to be attentive,

tentive, and can more easily be so, as they have a smaller number of scholars to observe. There are some masters, who think in this point they may in conscience rely upon the person who is entrusted with the public discipline; but this is a mistake. For every master must answer for his scholars, and is obliged to watch over them at all times, when he is at liberty to do so.

We cannot too much recommend the doing every thing exactly in the time and moment appointed for it. There is little trouble in it, except in the beginning. When the custom is once established, the scholars observe it almost naturally, and without any difficulty. It is a pleasure to see a great number of boys disappear at once, as soon as the clock strikes, and leave the court empty; and it is a bad omen of the discipline of a college, when instead of a speedy departure they seem doubtful whether they shall go or no, and loiter one after another. And the same observation will hold good as to every thing else; their going into their classes, the refectory and the church. To establish this order, the principal and vice-principal must set the example, and be there always first.

This disposition to exactness is of great weight in all the employments of life. It is a qualification absolutely necessary to all that are in authority. To this end it is requisite to descend to very minute particulars; to attend to every thing almost without seeming to do so; to foresee at a distance, and prepare for whatever is to be done; not to be satisfied with giving orders, but to be regularly informed whether they are executed, and how; to see that the slightest injunctions are observed, in order to prevent by that means the breaking of such as are more essential. There are some masters who despise exactness in little things, because they look upon them as trifles; but they do not consider, that though every one of these rules may appear, perhaps of very little moment in particular, yet joined all together they form what is called discipline and good order in a college, and that
neg-

negligence in some usually induces the ruin of the rest. I could here willingly apply the observation of Livy upon the point of religion. These ceremonies, [s] says he, seem now to us small and contemptible; but it was by not despising them, that our ancestors raised the republic to that height of grandeur to which it has now attained. *Parva sunt hæc, sed parva ista non contemnendo majores nostri maximam hanc rem fecerunt.*

Not that I think good order in a college should be made to consist in the great number of rules. The multiplicity of laws is not always the sign of a good government. [t] *Ut antehac flagitiis, ita tunc legibus laborabatur,* says Tacitus. They are rather for the masters who know the necessity and advantages of them, than for the scholars who are apt to rise up at the bare name of laws. The example of the former, and an habit of practising these rules contracted by the other, is a living law, preferable to all that are written. It were to be wished we could say of a college, what the same [u] Tacitus says of the Germans, that good morals there have more force than good laws in other places. *Plus ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonæ leges.*

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

Of EDUCATION.

BY this word I here understand the particular care that is taken in forming the manners and characters of youth, wherein I suppose a great part of education to consist.

This care relates either to the body or the mind: and it is the principal's business to see that both are improved.

We may refer all that concerns the body to neatness and gracefulness.

With reference to neatness, I cannot do better than quote the express terms of the statute and injunction

[s] Liv. lib. vi. n. 41.

[t] Tacit. Annual. lib. iii. c. 25.

[u] De mor. Ger. cap. 19.

of the university upon this subject, [x] “ The masters
 “ must take care that their scholars have no nastiness
 “ nor any thing dirty or gross in their dress ; that they
 “ do not express a remarkable negligence in their ha-
 “ bit ; that their clothes be not torn, their hair un-
 “ combed, or their hands unwashed. For it is re-
 “ quisite not only to give them a good taste for learn-
 “ ing and the sciences, but also to teach them a civil
 “ and courteous manner of behaviour, which are so
 “ necessary for society and the commerce of life. On
 “ the other hand, the boys must not be allowed to
 “ be too gaudy and trim in their apparel, nor must
 “ they affect to have their hair trimmed up and
 “ curled with too much care and art.” This injunc-
 tion is very judicious, as it commands us to avoid the
 two extremes, which are alike vicious. We must not
 therefore suffer any affectation of finery in the scholars,
 and much less those airs of *petit maitres*, by which they
 sometimes strive to distinguish themselves.

Gracefulness with reference to the boys consists in
 a good address, in having a countenance settled and
 modest, in walking with an easy and natural air, in
 keeping themselves upright, in making a handsome
 bow, in not falling into indecent postures, nor indulg-
 ing a certain air of negligence. For this end dancing-
 masters are useful to a certain degree, and Quintilian
 approves of our making some use of them. [y] *Ne
 illos quidem reprehendendos putem, qui paulum etiam pale-
 stricis vacaverint.* But he was far from allowing, that
 such persons should be employed in this office, as were
 infamous and scandalous by their very profession. *Hos
 abesse ab eo, quem instituimus, quam longissimè velim.* He
 confines this study to a narrow compass, and admits
 only of the few necessary circumstances we have de-
 scribed above. *Ut recta sint brachia, ne indocte rusti-*

[x] Provideant pædagogi & ma-
 gistri, ut sui discipuli abhorreant à
 cultu immundo, luculento, & agref-
 ti ; ne sint insigniter negligentes in
 vestitu : ne discincti, implexi, lloti :
 ut non solum in literatura, sed eti-
 am in communi vitæ usu civilem

humanitatem politioemque urba-
 nitatem ediscant. Sed hi, neque
 lasciviant immodestius, neque tor-
 tos arte & studio capillos cinci-
 nosve ferant. Stat. 14. Append.

[y] Quintil. lib. i. cap. 11.

cæque manus, ne status indecorus, ne qua in proferendis pedibus inscitia, ne caput oculique ab alia corporis inclinatione dissideant. “ That they should carry their arms becomingly; that their hands should be taught to avoid an air of rusticity; that neither their gesture nor gait should be slovenly, nor their eyes or their heads turned ungracefully awry.”

I have elsewhere spoke of politeness, which partly belongs to the body, and partly to the mind. For what is essential in this qualification lies in not being too fond of one's self, nor doing every thing for one's own sake; in avoiding to do or say any thing to offend others; in seeking opportunities of doing them a pleasure; and in preferring their convenience and inclinations to our own. This the masters should principally take care of; and when the boys are exercised in the practice of these maxims, they easily grow polite, and upon going abroad into the world will learn in three months all they want to know in this respect.

But the great and capital application of a principal, and in proportion of all the other masters, is to work upon the genius and humour of the boys, and in this respect do them an infinite service. But herein he cannot make any great progress by public instructions, but may by private conversations, in which the boys may open themselves to him, speak to him with liberty, and tell him their grievances; and here they may be taught to know themselves, not to be displeas'd when they are told their faults, to discover them first and sincerely own them, to enquire after proper methods of amendment, to desire the master's directions upon this head, and to come and give an account to him from time to time of the benefit they have found by them.

Suppose, for instance, that the scholar is naturally addicted to pride and vanity, he talks often of himself, and always with self-esteem and complacency, he boasts upon every occasion of the nobility of his family, the high places of his parents, their wealth and the magnificence of their equipage, furniture and table,

and expresse a contempt for every one besides. This fault is not uncommon among boys, and is sometimes found even in those whose parents have nothing to recommend them but the wealth they have heaped up.

If a principal takes a due care of his college, he cannot avoid being acquainted with his boy's disposition. When he makes him a visit, after some preliminary discourse, which may sometimes last the longer, in order to pave the way for something better and more serious, the conversation must be made to turn upon what relates to this young man. If upon the questions that are put to him, he owns his prevailing fault, and ingenuously confesses it, we should seem to be well satisfied with him, to commend his sincerity, and let him know that a fault acknowledged and confessed, is already half amended. If he does not allow of it, which may happen either designedly or not, we must endeavour insensibly to let him into it by urging particular facts, though without reproach or bitterness, by the opinion of his masters, and even the testimony of his companions; and sometimes he must be allowed time to reflect more maturely upon it. When at last he begins to own his fault, we must endeavour to shew him the deformity and ridicule of it; how our own self-love, rightly considered, must give us an aversion for it; as instead of the esteem we propose to ourselves in such foolish boasting, we gain only contempt and hatred. We must lay before him the example of some one of his companions of great worth and merit that is humble and modest, and esteemed and beloved by all the world. After having thus pointed out to him his disease, we must next proceed to provide a remedy, by enjoining him to talk no more of himself or his family, of his parents, or their wealth and dignity; not to set himself above others in his own opinion, to despise no body, and to speak advantageously of his companions. About a fortnight after he may be called for again, and after being informed by the masters of every thing relating to him, we gather it all from his own mouth, as though we had

had

had heard nothing of the matter, and upon finding that he has made any progress or alteration, he is to be commended, encouraged and exhorted to grow better and better.

I suppose, for a second example, that a boy has been untractable and disrespectful towards his master, that he has refused to obey him, has even added some insolent expression, and persists in his obstinacy. The master, instead of punishing him immediately as he deserves, is prudently contented to let him know he is displeas'd, and remits the punishment to another time. In the mean while the scholar does not recollect himself, nor acknowledge his fault. The principal upon information sends for him, makes him repeat the matter as it pass'd, and examines whether he speaks true; he makes him both witness and judge in his own cause; he asks him if a scholar ought not to submit to his master; if he ought not to answer him with respect, even though he thought he was not to blame; how much more must he be in the wrong, if the master had reason entirely on his side? Could a college subsist if such an example was to be allowed? Is it in a master's or principal's power to leave him unpunish'd? or could he reasonably expect it from them? and thus by degrees a boy may be brought to condemn himself, to own he has deserv'd to be punish'd, to make satisfaction to his master, and to submit to whatever he shall think fit. But the master, then contented with the submission, is pleas'd to forgive the punishment. By such discreet management the fault of the scholar becomes beneficial to him, and concludes with making him love and respect his masters more than ever; whereas an immediate correction had created in him perhaps an aversion for them for ever.

Upon these occasions there is a certain address required in a master, which consists in knowing how to gain upon the mind, to touch gently upon what is amiss, not to go too far, and to lead them by different questions to the point we should bring them to: this was the wonderful art of Socrates, as may be seen in

all the dialogues, wherein Plato introduces him as a speaker. We find also an admirable instance of it in the [z] *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, another disciple of Socrates, which may serve as a model to masters for the kind of conversation I am here speaking of. The king of Armenia rebelling against Aftyages king of Media, Cyrus marched speedily against him and took him prisoner, and causing him to be brought before him with his wives and children, he began with requiring him above all things to answer according to the truth. Then the king of Armenia, led from proposition to proposition, owned with trembling that he had unjustly broken the treaty, and deserved to lose his kingdom and his life. But Cyrus, contrary to all expectation, having restored him to his dominions, made a friend of him, whose fidelity and gratitude afterwards became inviolable. The passage is very long, but very beautiful, and deserves to be read with care.

But to return to the principal, he may do infinite service by these familiar conversations, wherein the scholars may open themselves to him, and talk to him as to a good friend. One may sometimes employ the hours of recreation in this sort of conversation. When the scholars love and value their principal, they make no difficulty of disclosing themselves to him; but it must be done in such manner, that by his inviolable secrecy, he may never give them cause to repent of it. He should principally apply himself to such as are grown up, as they are better able to profit by his instructions, and stand most in need of them. The two years of philosophy, after which it is usual to chuse the kind of life they design to follow, seem naturally designed to examine their vocation. It is the most important action of life, upon which their temporal happiness and eternal salvation often depend, and is almost constantly left to an age incapable of conducting itself, and but little disposed to take advice.

Before I conclude this article, I must add, that principals are capable, and perhaps obliged too, to do

[z] *Cyrop.* lib. iii.

a part of the same services to the scholars, that live out of the college, as they do to the pensioners: For all the youth of the college are committed to their care. When a regent perceives that a scholar begins to be irregular, he may inform the principal of it, who may send for him into his chamber, and give him such instructions as are necessary to reclaim him.

ARTICLE THE FIFTH.

Of RELIGION.

I HAVE no need to prove, that this article is the most momentous of all, and that the negligence of the masters upon this point would be very criminal, as it would be attended with very bad consequences. We may reduce what we have to say upon this matter to three points, Instructions, the Use of the Sacraments, and the Practice of certain Exercises of Piety.

I. INSTRUCTIONS.

It is easy to comprehend that such boys as leave the college without sufficient instruction in religion, run the risque of being ignorant of it all the rest of their lives; and it is but too plain, that this ignorance is the fatal source of the disorders and irreligion, which almost universally prevail in the world.

The remedy for so great an evil is to make the best advantage of the time, whilst the boys are yet tractable, and naturally inclined to hearken to all the truths of religion. It should be laid down as a principle of christian education, which concerns all masters in general, principals, regents and preceptors, that children are committed to their care by Christ himself, to see that they preserve the precious treasure of innocence, which he has renewed in them by baptism; to make them worthy of the divine adoption, and the glorious title of the children of God, to which he has raised them; to instruct them in all the mysteries of his life and death, and in all the precepts upon the
 observation

observation of which their salvation depends. It is this, that Christ will one day require an account of from us, and not whether we have made them good poets or good orators.

Now whence can we derive these points of divine knowledge, but from the sacred books of the Old and New Testament? I beg the masters to read over carefully what M. de Fenelon says upon this article, in his book I have already mentioned, *of the education of daughters*, which equally belongs to young persons of the other sex. I shall here quote some passages from it.

“ The stories of the Old Testament are not only
 “ proper to awaken the curiosity of children, but by
 “ discovering to them the original of their religion,
 “ they lay the foundations of it in their mind. A
 “ person must be profoundly ignorant of the spirit of
 “ religion not to see that it is wholly historical. It
 “ is by a texture of wonderful facts, that we learn its
 “ establishment, its perpetuity, and all that we are to
 “ believe and practise.

“ It must not be imagined, that we have an incli-
 “ nation to engage young persons to enter deep into
 “ the knowledge of it, by laying before them all these
 “ stories. They are short, various, and calculated to
 “ please persons of the dullest understanding. God,
 “ who knows better than any other the spirit of the
 “ man whom he has formed, has placed religion in
 “ popular facts, which are so far from over-charging
 “ the simple, that they assist them in conceiving and
 “ retaining the mystery of it.” M. de Fenelon brings
 an instance relating to the mystery of the Trinity; after
 which he adds, “ This example suffices to shew
 “ the usefulness of historical relations. Though they
 “ seem to lengthen out instruction, they very much
 “ abridge it, and take off from the driness of cate-
 “ chisms where the mysteries are detached from facts.
 “ Thus we see that formerly instructions were given
 “ by stories. The admirable manner by which St.
 “ Augustine advises all ignorant persons to be in-
 “ structed, was not a method introduced by that fa-

“ ther alone, it was the method and practice of the
 “ universal church, and consisted in shewing, by a se-
 “ ries of historical facts, that the christian religion
 “ was as old as the world ; that Christ was expected
 “ in the Old Testament and reigned in the New ;
 “ which is the substance of the instruction of a
 “ Christian.

“ This requires indeed somewhat more time and
 “ care than is usually spent by a great many persons
 “ upon instruction ; but then religion is not truly
 “ known, unless we descend to these particulars ; and
 “ whoever is ignorant of them, can have no other than
 “ confused notions of Jesus Christ, of the Gospel, of
 “ the Church, and of the main virtues which Christi-
 “ anity should inspire us with. [a] The historical ca-
 “ techism lately printed, which is plain and short, and
 “ far clearer than the common catechisms, contains
 “ all that is necessary to be known upon this subject.
 “ Thus it cannot be said that it requires a great deal
 “ of study.”

M. de Fenelon, after he has run over and pointed out the most remarkable stories of the Old and New Testament, adds as follows ; “ Chuse out the most
 “ wonderful stories of the martyrs, and something in
 “ gross of the heavenly life of the first Christians, add
 “ to them the courage of young virgins, the surpris-
 “ ing austerities of the monks, the conversion of the
 “ emperors and the empire, the blindness of the Jews
 “ and their terrible punishment, which still subsists.
 “ All these stories, discreetly managed, will give the
 “ children with pleasure the whole series of religion,
 “ from the creation of the world to our own time,
 “ which will inspire them with very noble ideas, and
 “ such as will never be erased. In this history, they
 “ will see the hand of God always raised to deliver
 “ the righteous and confound the wicked. They
 “ will be accustomed to see God doing all in every
 “ thing, and secretly leading to his designs such crea-
 “ tures as seem most remote from them. But in this

[a] Of M. l'Abbé Fleury.

“ collection such stories must be chosen as convey the
 “ most pleasing and sublime images, as we must use
 “ our utmost endeavours to make religion appear
 “ beautiful, and august to the children; whereas they
 “ usually represent it to themselves, as something mo-
 “ rose and inspid.”

A solid instruction, like this we have mentioned, is a powerful remedy against superstition. “ Nothing
 “ must ever be suffered, says the same M. de Fenelon,
 “ to be mingled with the faith or the practice of piety,
 “ which is not taken from the gospel, or authorized
 “ by a constant approbation of the church. The
 “ children must be discreetly guarded against certain
 “ abuses, which some are tempted to look upon as
 “ points of discipline, who are not well instructed.
 “ We cannot entirely avoid it, unless we go back to
 “ the original, search into the institution of things,
 “ and the use which the saints have made of them.

“ Accustom then the children, who are naturally
 “ too credulous, not lightly to give into certain sto-
 “ ries, which want authority, nor to practise certain
 “ devotions, which an indiscreet zeal has introduced,
 “ without waiting for the approbation of the church.”

We see by what I have just mentioned the manner of giving youth solid instruction, and the necessity of employing the time spent in college, in teaching them
 “ [b] to know Christ, his precepts, principles and re-
 “ medies; in thoroughly explaining the gospel; in
 “ making them acquainted with the worth of man,
 “ whom God alone can make happy, with his fall
 “ and misery, for which the incarnation and death of
 “ a God were alone capable of providing a remedy.
 “ The corruption of his own heart, which is subdued
 “ by self-love, and an affection for sensible objects;
 “ his inability to do any good of himself, and with-
 “ out the grace of Jesus Christ; and the continual
 “ danger he is exposed to by concupiscence, which
 “ still subsists though conquered.—It is also very im-
 “ portant to inculcate into them the great and effica-

[b] *Instruct. sur la man. d'élever les Nov. tom. des lettres de pieté.*

“ cious truths of religion ; how terrible God is in his
 “ judgments ; how different we shall find the state after
 “ death from our present notions ; how great a mi-
 “ sery it is to lose God irrevocably ; how black sins
 “ are which are committed after baptism ; of what
 “ weight the life and death of Christ are to us, for
 “ which we must give an account ; how great folly
 “ there is in despising eternal happiness ; what holi-
 “ nefs the grace of the new law requires in those who
 “ are dead and buried with Christ, washed in his
 “ blood, consecrated by the infusion of his Spirit,
 “ nourished by his flesh, and united in so intimate a
 “ manner to his divinity.”

There is no person, in my opinion, but upon reading what I have here laid down, must agree that this is doubtless the only method of rightly instructing the boys in matters of religion. This method requires time and care, but we are sufficiently recompensed for all our pains, by the fruit we have reason to expect from it. Let us now enquire when we must give these instructions.

Sundays and holidays are the natural time for it. These days, by their institution, are set apart for divine worship, of which the word of God and instruction are a principal part. We know that they are with us what the sabbath was amongst the Jews, and we know likewise under how severe a punishment God required it to be kept holy. [c] *Whoever doth any work on the sabbath day he shall surely be put to death.* He gave up the Jews the six other days for their own works, but reserved the seventh for himself. [d] *Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do, but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God.* It was a day favoured by him with certain privileges, consecrated only to his worship, and over which he was jealous as of a day that belonged to him in a peculiar manner. [e] *Ye shall therefore keep the sabbath.* He would not suffer them to walk abroad upon that day, but required them to tarry at home, that they

[c] Exod. xxxi. 15.

[d] Ibid. xx. 9, 10.

[e] Ibid. xxxi. 14.

might meditate there more freely upon his law. [f] *Abide ye in every man in his place; let no man go out of his place on the seventh day.* And [g] lastly, it is surprising to see how often, and with what threatening God in a small number of verses repeats and inculcates this precept, and with what force he recommends the observation of it. It is very plain that God no less requires of us the sanctification of Sundays and holidays, and consequently we see of what importance it is to accustom the boys early to the observation of them, and the rather as this precept is almost generally broken by all conditions, and especially among persons of quality. Thus it is a wise rule laid down in several colleges, not to let the pensioners go abroad on Sundays and holidays, but to employ the greatest part of those days in giving them instructions about religion. Parents have no cause to be displeas'd with the principal, who is exact and inflexible upon this point; at least they cannot suspect him of consulting his own interest in it.

I have found by experience, how useful M. de Fenelon's maxim is of teaching the boys religion by historical facts, and at the same time how agreeable to that age. The greatest part of the instructions I gave in college turned upon the Old Testament. All the great truths of religion, either in point of doctrine or morality, are to be found there; and laid down in this manner, they make an impression on the mind of young people, which is the more strong and lasting, as they are joined to historical facts, which are not so easily erased out of their memory.

[f] Exod. xvi. 29.

[g] Verily my sabbaths ye shall keep . . . that ye may know that I am the Lord. . . . Ye shall keep the sabbath therefore, for it is holy unto you: every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death. . . Six days may work be done, but in the seventh is the sabbath of rest, holy unto the Lord: whosoever doth

any work on the sabbath day, he shall surely be put to death. Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant. It is a sign between me and the children of Israel for ever. Exod. xxxi. 13—17.

To these instructions, which I regularly gave after morning and evening service, I joined another, which was still more useful. When their recreation was ended, which upon those days should be very long, for children stand in need of rest and refreshment, they all retired to their chambers. Then the biggest boys spent an hour in reading in their closets three or four historical chapters in the Old Testament, of which they came afterwards to give me an account towards the evening in the chapel. I asked the scholars, without observing any order, what they had taken notice of in their reading, and have often been surpris'd at their sensible and judicious reflections, which I valued the more, as they came from themselves, and were not suggested to them. It is easy to comprehend how useful this sort of exercise may be to boys, not only to instruct them in religion, but likewise for the improvement of their understanding and judgment.

Besides these instructions there must be one day in the week set apart for the explanation of the catechism, and this is usually practis'd in all colleges. I have elsewhere spoken of the manner of catechising, whilst I was discoursing upon the eloquence of the pulpit, which must be different according to the difference of ages. I shall here make but one observation more, which I have seen practis'd with a great deal of success. The instructions which are given to scholars of a more advanced age, as in the class of rhetoric and philosophy, must be more emphatical and sublime, and generally turn upon a continual plan of religion. In some colleges the scholars are oblig'd to set down in writing what they have understood, and give a summary of the catechism which has been explained to them, and several will do it with such an exactness, as is surpris'ing to the masters. The same thing is practis'd in several parishes of Paris, and I have known some young girls succeed in it very well.

I shall say but one word more concerning the instructions relating to servants. It is one of the essential duties of the principal. He owes them this re-
ward

ward for the services they do the college, and he owes this example to the boys, to teach them what God will one day require of them. Persons of wealth and quality are almost entirely ignorant of the obligations they lie under in this particular. They forget that their servants have any other master than themselves, whom they ought to serve, and consequently know, and that for this reason it is their indispensable duty to see them instructed in religion, to watch over their conduct, to allow them time, and procure them means of fulfilling the duties of Christianity; that they owe them these spiritual assistances still more than their food and raiment; that they must answer to God for the salvation of those that serve them no less than their own, and that they are included in the number of those whom St. Paul recommends the care of in such terms as should make all Christian masters tremble; [*b*] *but if any provide not for his own, especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.* There is therefore an absolute necessity of instructing youth in this duty, and giving them an example of it, by the exact care taken in the instruction of servants.

It might be of use to give servants now and then such books as are proper to instruct them in religion, and increase their piety, a New Testament, the imitation of Jesus Christ, and other books of like nature. The expence is not very great, and may draw down a blessing upon the college. The principal, masters and parents, may all contribute something towards it; and it would be neither indifferent or difficult to accustom the boys to give something out of their pocket-money for the use of these pious liberalities.

2. *Of the use of SACRAMENTS.*

As the sacraments are the ordinary channel by which God communicates to us the assistances we stand in need of to live and die like Christians, it is

[*b*] 1 Tim. v. 8.

very important to inspire boys with a profound respect for those sacred springs of grace and salvation, which will accompany them all the rest of their lives, and will teach them early to make an holy and beneficial use of them.

I. *Of BAPTISM.*

We now receive baptism at an age, which does not admit of our attention either to the august ceremonies that are observed in it, or to the engagements we take upon ourselves. It is therefore necessary to recal them to mind at a time when we are better able to profit by them. We must not therefore fail to make the children renew the vows they made in their baptism, either upon the anniversary of the day they received it, or upon the eves of Easter and Whitsuntide, which were formerly the only days whereon this sacrament was administered in a public and solemn manner.

To reap the greater advantage from this pious practice, it may be proper to have the boys present at the baptism of some child, that they may have the stronger impression of what is afterwards to be explained to them. “ This, says M. de Fenelon, will give them a
 “ deeper sense of the spirit and end of it. By this you
 “ will make them understand how great it is to be a
 “ Christian, and how shameful and terrible it is to be
 “ such as the generality of mankind are. Often put
 “ them in mind of the promises they made in their
 “ baptism, to shew them that the examples and max-
 “ ims of the world should be so far from having any
 “ authority over us, that they ought to make us sus-
 “ pect whatever flows from so odious and poisonous a
 “ source. Fear not to represent to them with St. Paul,
 “ the devil reigning in the world, and influencing the
 “ hearts of men with all the violent passions, which
 “ make them fond of riches, glory and pleasures. It
 “ is this pomp, you may say to them, which still
 “ more properly belongs to the devil than the world ;
 “ it is this spectacle of vanity, to which a Christian
 “ must not open his heart, or his eyes. The first
 “ step

“ step a Christian makes by baptism is to renounce
 “ all the pomps and vanities of this wicked world.
 “ To be fond of the world after such solemn promises
 “ made to God, is to relapse into a kind of apostacy.”

2. *Of the EUCHARIST.*

The first communion of the boys should be looked upon as the most important action of their lives, for which they cannot be too much prepared. They must be disposed for it some time before, be early spoke to about it, be taught to consider it as the greatest happiness that can happen to them on earth, be inspired with an eager desire after it, and above all have a thorough sense of the great purity of morals which so sacred an action requires.

It is hard to fix the time of the first communion, as it must not depend upon the age but the disposition of the children, and still more upon the state of their consciences.

The sentiments of M. de Fenelon upon this article, are, in my opinion, very judicious, and without presuming to lay down a rule for any body, I think it proper to propose it here. “ The first communion, says
 “ he, should as I think be made at the time when the
 “ infant, arrived at the use of reason, shall appear
 “ most apt to learn, and exempt from every considerable
 “ fault. It is amidst these first-fruits of faith and
 “ the love of God, that Jesus Christ will exhibit himself
 “ to him by the graces of the communion. When
 “ therefore we shall find the qualifications here spoken
 “ of united in the children, a fund of docility, and
 “ an exemption from every considerable fault, and
 “ consequently a great purity of manners, the first-
 “ fruits, that is, the beginning, though as yet weak
 “ and imperfect, of faith and the love of God. We
 “ have reason to believe, that God will give a blessing
 “ to a first communion received in this condition, and
 “ that it may serve to strengthen and increase such
 “ happy dispositions for the future.

“ When,

“ When, on the other hand, we observe quite opposite dispositions in children, an express indocility, which bears instructions and remonstrances with pain, vicious habits, to which their frequent relapses prove that they are very much addicted; no notion of faith; no mark of the love of God; it is then evident, that we ought to delay it till we have better evidence of a sincere change, and a true conversion.”

The same may be said of the other communions, during the whole course of the year. The boys should be inspired with a fervent desire of communicating often, be made to understand that the body of Christ should be our daily bread, that the primitive Christians very often approached to the eucharist, and derived thence that strength and courage, which were then so necessary to them, and are now no less necessary to us; and that the greatest, or rather the only grief of a Christian should be to see himself deprived of the communion through his own fault. [i] *Unus sit nobis dolor hanc escã privari.*

At the same time they must be well instructed in the dispositions necessary for the worthy receiving of the eucharist, and above all be made sensible, what a horrible crime it is to receive it with a conscience defiled with any mortal sin; that this would be to betray Christ by a kiss, like the perfidious Judas; to crucify him afresh; to tread under foot the Son of God; to count the blood of the covenant wherewith he has sanctified us, an unholy thing; and to do despite unto the Spirit of grace. We ought to use our utmost endeavours to inspire the boys with all possible horror for receiving unworthily; and I think they are very happy, when they carry from college a sincere and solid respect for the sacraments.

3. Of DEVOTIONS.

There are certain short and easy devotions, which are no trouble to the boys, but may put them in mind

[i] Chryostom.

of several duties which are usually neglected, and accustom them to give piety a share in most of their actions.

We cannot too earnestly nor too frequently inculcate into the boys those words of the gospel: [*k*] *This is life eternal, that they might know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* They teach us that true piety is founded on the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, that is, of his mysteries, his precepts and his example. What the evangelists relate of his behaviour in his infancy, should be perfectly known and familiar to them, especially [*l*] what he did in the temple at twelve years old, a valuable circumstance, which it has pleased Christ to preserve in the gospel, that boys might find there a perfect model of all the virtues that are suitable to their age. [*m*] He must often be represented to them as full of tenderness for children, as laying his hands upon them and blessing them, giving them access to him, declaring that the kingdom of heaven belonged to them, and willing to consider what was done to them as done to himself.

As soon as the children awake in the morning, as if God said to them that moment, [*n*] *My son give me thy heart*; let them answer, "I offer myself to thee, O God, with all my heart." [*o*] *Corde magno, & animo volenti.* And let all their studies begin with a short prayer.

Prayers before and after meals are regularly observed in every college; and though nothing can be more just and reasonable than to pay this public homage to the goodness and liberality of God, from whom we have every thing, and to whom we ought consequently to return thanks for all; yet now, to the shame of our age, this sacred custom, confirmed by the use of all times, even among the Pagans, is abolished more and more every day amongst us, espe-

[*k*] John xvii. 3.[*l*] Luke ii. 41, 52.[*m*] Matt. xix. 13, 14. Luke ix. 48.[*n*] Prov. xxiii. 26.[*o*] Macc. i. 3.

cially with the rich and great, who have scarce any footsteps of it amongst them, and seem as though they were ashamed of appearing Christians. The children should be forewarned against these abuses, by being accustomed even at breakfast and drinking, to beg a blessing upon the food they are about to eat. One may take occasion to instruct them upon this subject, by explaining to them what is said of Jesus Christ; that as he sat at meat with his two disciples that went to Emmaus, [p] *He took bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave to them.*

I have no need to take notice of the indispensable obligation we are under to pray every day for the king's most sacred majesty. The statute of the university is herein very express, and is exactly observed.

We must likeways remember the wants, whether public, of the church and state, or private, of our relations and friends.

We must not forget, in Ember weeks, to put the boys in mind of joining with the common prayers of the church, and desiring of God, that he would be pleased to grant us repentance and pardon our sins, to bestow his blessing upon the fruits of the earth, and to give his church good pastors and ministers. Upon the day of ordination, they may add this prayer, taken out of Scripture. [q] *Lord Jesus, thou fold of the sheep, by whom whosoever entereth in shall be saved; Thou good shepherd, who hast laid down thy life for the sheep, have mercy upon thy people, who are afflicted and scattered abroad, as sheep not having a shepherd. The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few; we pray thee therefore, the Lord of the harvest, to send forth labourers into thy harvest. Thou, Lord, who knowest the hearts of all men, shew whom thou hast chosen. Amen.*

When any of our relations or friends, any bishop or magistrate is dangerously ill, we may say every day at the end of our meals, [r] *Lord, be whom thou lovest is sick.* When he is out of danger, we may re-

[p] Luke xxiv. 30.

[q] John x. Matt. ix. Acts i.

[r] John xi. 5.

turn thanks for him thus, *We give thee thanks, O Lord, for thy servant, whose sickness was not unto death, but for thy glory.*

Every scholar may give notice of the day of his birth and baptism, and desire the rest to remember him at the morning service, and give thanks for it for him and with him.

These small devotions, which are very easy in themselves, and which have place upon different occasions, according to different wants, are of service, as we easily see, to inspire youth with a disposition towards piety, and to accustom them early to discharge certain duties of religion, which are usually not known or neglected.

C H A P. II.

Of the DUTY of the REGENTS.

AFTER what I have already said of the manner of teaching, which principally concerns the regents, I have little to add upon this subject. I shall reduce it to four or five articles; the Discipline of the Classes; the Exercises made in them to qualify the Scholars for appearing in public; the Compositions and Public Actions; the Studies of the Masters; and the Application of all that has been said to the order and government of the classes.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

Of the DISCIPLINE of the CLASSES.

THIS consists in keeping the scholars in order, in making themselves heard in silence, and obeyed at the first signal; in which the authority of the master is principally seen; a rare quality, but absolutely necessary for the maintaining of an exact discipline. I have spoke of it in another place.

I have likewise already observed that emulation is the great advantage of the classes. We cannot be too careful

careful to excite and support it among the scholars. There are a thousand different ways of succeeding in it, which depend upon the industry and activity of a master, zealous for the advancement of his disciples. The greatest art and skill lies in inspiring boys of a moderate genius, with an inclination to take pains.

But the most essential part of the discipline of the classes relates to morality and religion; not that I think the regents ought to speak much or frequently upon this subject, for this would be the surest way to disgust the boys. But this object must be their principal motive, and always in view. They must never lose sight of it, though they do not seem always attentive to it. They must artfully lay hold of every occasion that offers to make some remarks, or lay down some principles which relate to it; and though it be but sometimes a word which seems dropped by chance, yet it is very often attended with great effects. [s] Thus a comparison drawn from the public shews by St. Augustine, whilst he was explaining a passage of a certain author in rhetoric, served to open the eyes of St. Alipius, who was then his disciple, and was fond of those shews to a degree of frenzy.

Besides these public and common instructions, the regent may still be very serviceable to the scholars by his watchfulness over their conduct; by the particular conversations he has sometimes with them; by his instructions and admonitions; by the care he takes of placing them in the class near such companions as may not be dangerous to them, and by a thousand other circumstances of a like nature.

One of the surest means to be useful to them, is to keep up an acquaintance with their parents, to get information from them of their characters and conduct; upon the first absence of a scholar, to give him immediate notice of it, to prevent the consequences for

[s] Et fortè lectio in manibus erat, quam dum exponerem, opportunè mihi videbatur adhibenda similitudo Circensium, quo illud, quod insinuabam, & jucundius & planius feret, cum irrisione mordaciorum, quos illa captivasset insania. Conf. lib. vi. cap. 7.

which otherways he might be responsible. This practice is more especially necessary in philosophy, when the scholars are allowed a greater liberty. I know the generality of parents give themselves little trouble about seeing the professors, and I shall hereafter have occasion to speak upon this abuse, but their carelessness must not hinder nor diminish the others zeal.

I should do wrong to the probity and religion of the professors, if I spent any time here in proving that the care of instilling good morals is an essential part of their duty. To think otherwise would be to throw a blemish upon themselves, and sink them below the condition of pagan masters.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

To make the SCHOLARS appear in PUBLIC.

THERE are several ways of improving the boys in speaking, and of making them appear in public, which may all have their use. I shall here mention only two, which are most in practice in the university; to which I shall add some instructions and rules concerning pronunciation.

I. *Of EXERCISES.*

By exercises are meant the public acts in which the scholars give an account of the authors they have read, either in their class or in private, and of all that has been the subject of their studies. This sort of exercise must have been judged very useful, and entirely acceptable to the public, since in a very little time, without any order of the university, it has been adopted by all the colleges, past from thence into private houses, and made its way into all the provinces.

In short, the plainest, most natural, and at the same time most advantageous manner of producing the boys in public, is this method of making them give an account of the authors which have been explained to

them. By this means they are kept in a close application during a whole year, and obliged to pursue their studies with greater attention, by looking forward upon the public at a distance, as the future witnesses and judges of the progress they shall make. They likewise acquire a decent assurance, by being early accustomed to appear in public, to speak before company, and not be afraid of being seen; and by being cured of a timidity, which is natural and pardonable in that age, that might be an obstacle to part of the good they may afterwards do, and which often becomes invincible, when care is not taken to conquer it in their youth.

Some persons have been of opinion, that we ought to make them speak Latin in these exercises. I was once in the same way of thinking and practice; but experience has convinced me that it was less useful to the boys. The principal end proposed by them is to prepare them for the employments they are one day to fill, to give instructions, to plead, report affairs, and to speak their opinions in company. Now all this is done in the mother tongue, and almost in the same manner as in these exercises. Besides, can it be thought easy, or even possible for a young man to explain himself elegantly in Latin? How great a restraint must this be to a scholar? Is it not to take from him the one half of his understanding, and to disable him from producing his thoughts clearly, wherein the advantage and pleasure of these exercises principally consist? And lastly, is it fit we should absolutely neglect the care of our own tongue, which we are to make use of every day, and give up our whole application to dead and foreign languages? The sentiments of the public upon this point have been very clear.

We are now to enquire after what manner these exercises are to be made. The surest means of succeeding in them, as in every thing else, is by uniting pleasure with profit.

Cum tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.

The useful must take place, that is, a young man must have carefully studied the author, whom he undertakes to explain; he must give an account of the difficulties that are found in him; clear up the obscure places; shew the force and energy of the thoughts and expressions; and endeavour to render the sense and beauties of the original in the translation he shall give of it *extempore*.

If the exercise is in Greek, especially at the beginning, the respondent must be able to give an account of every word, what it is, in what case, and why, what tense, and mood, what is its signification, and whence it is derived, and must be able to form *extempore* all the tenses of a verb, agreeably to the rules of his grammar; and the same may be said in respect to a Latin author with reference to young beginners. They must also have some acquaintance with the historical facts related in it, of the situation of the towns and rivers it mentions, as also of the fables, if any occur. In the higher classes these parts of learning must have a larger extent.

This is what I call the ground of these exercises, the basis whereon they are built, and which must be always supposed; that is, in effect, that the scholar is a perfect master of the authors and subjects whereupon he is to answer. But he must not stop here; and the master's skill in these exercises lies in introducing somewhat agreeable, and avoiding the driness and mere grammaticality, which is apt to make them tedious to the audience.

There are two things in my opinion, which may very much contribute to make these exercises agreeable. The first is, that the respondent particularly apply himself to point out the beauties of the author which he explains, upon which I have been very large in the former part of this work. The second, that he make judicious reflections upon the facts and stories, as likewise upon the maxims, which occur in the books, whereof he gives an account; and it is of this I have endeavoured to give some models in the

latter part. I have always observed that these two things were very grateful to the audience; as they shew the boys taste and judgment, which is a matter of the greatest moment, and to which the masters should chiefly apply themselves.

I think therefore, that besides the main study I have spoke of, in which the useful and solid part of these exercises consists, we may prepare certain passages after a particular manner, give some sheets of them to the scholars, and make them read them carefully several times over, and even get them by heart, especially at the beginning. It is sure that passages thus carefully prepared by a skilful master, must please much more than any thing a boy can say *extempore*. He is hereby taught and accustomed to think justly and speak well, he adds reflections to it of his own, which are occasioned by the questions asked him by the interrogator. But I do not think it proper to charge the memory of the boys with a great number of these kind of sheets; for fear they should rely too much upon the master's care, and not take the pains they ought of themselves, but neglect even the study of the author, upon whom they are to answer.

There is another manner of interrogating, which contributes very much to set off the respondent, upon which we may say the whole success of an exercise depends. Our business here is not to instruct the scholar, and still less to perplex him with intricate questions, but to give him an opportunity of shewing what improvements he has made. We are to sound his understanding and strength. We must therefore propose nothing to him beyond his capacity, nothing, to which we may not reasonably presume that he can give an answer. We must chuse out the beautiful passages of an author, upon which we may be sure he is better prepared than any other, and which by their beauty most nearly concern the hearer. When he makes a repetition, he must not be interrupted inopportunately, but be suffered to go on till he has done, and then the difficulties are to be proposed with so

much art and perspicuity, that the scholar, if he has any capacity, may discover in them the solution he is to give. The objector must lay down this rule, That he must speak little, but put the respondent upon talking much; and lastly, he must endeavour to make him only appear to advantage, without considering himself, by which means he will never fail to please the audience, and gain their esteem.

The ordinary subject of the exercises must be what is explained in the class, during the course of the year. So that by way of preparation, little else is wanting, than to attend diligently to the instructions of the professor. A more industrious scholar, who has also private assistance, may add something farther of his own; and herein his zeal is very commendable, provided this extraordinary pains be not prejudicial to the essential duties of the class.

I would have laid it down as a rule in these exercises, whatever author is explained, especially if it is in Greek, to begin with an explanation upon opening of the book, and that the scholar should express in few words, what is the meaning of the passages upon which he first casts his eye. It is the means of obliging the respondent to be equally prepared upon the whole, and to prove to the auditors that the exercises are justly performed.

This foundation once laid, I must repeat it again, that we ought to use all our care to make the exercises agreeable. We have often seen very numerous audiences pay a surprising attention for a very long time, because the subjects were treated of in a very engaging manner.

A boy, for instance, is to answer upon the gospel of St. Luke in Greek. After he has explained by way of trial, as I have said, some line on both sides upon the opening of the book, he stops at the most remarkable history; for instance, that of Lazarus and Dives. He repeats it by adding such Latin and Greek passages of the gospel, as contain some excellent maxim.

[*t*] *And it came to pass that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom.—The rich man also died, and was buried, and in hell he lift up his eyes.—I am tormented in this flame.—But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy life-time receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things. But now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.* The scholar is asked, which of the two he had rather be, the rich man or Lazarus; and he makes no hesitation about the choice. He is then asked his reasons, and the passage which he explains supplies him with them. By this means the way is pointed out, and an opportunity given him of making very solid reflections of his own, or at least from the book he has in his hand, upon the principal circumstances of this story. Upon this occasion they are made to rehearse whatever is said in the same gospel upon poverty and riches. It is easy to discern how by this means, under the appearance of teaching a boy the Greek language, very excellent principles may be instilled into him, and the audience seem always to break up well satisfied with this sort of exercise.

When the scholars answer upon Quintus Curtius, Sallust, Livy, or some lives of Plutarch; how many reflections may be made upon the actions of the great men there mentioned? It is not surprising that auditors of understanding and taste should be charmed with the many excellent things they hear said by the boys, and with seeing them apply what is most useful and solid in the ancient authors.

One of the exercises, which meets with the best success, and is most pleasing to the public, is upon rhetoric. A boy is made to read certain select passages of Tully and Quintilian, wherein the great principles of eloquence are laid down; and these he is made to learn by heart, during the course of the year, instead of his ordinary lessons. He is then obliged to make an application of them to the orations of Demosthenes and Tully, which have before been carefully explained to him. He is next made to point out the

[*t*] Luke xvi. 22, 24, 25.

difference of style and character in these two great orators, who have been ever looked upon as the most perfect models of eloquence. The best lawyers we have, who were present in great numbers at such an exercise, performed by the [u] son of an eminent magistrate, went away extremely well pleased; and it must be owned the respondent spoke with all the grace that could be desired.

There has lately been an attempt made to introduce a new kind of exercise into the college, which we have reason to hope will be attended with great advantage, from the good success it has already met with. It relates to the French tongue. [x] Two younger brothers, one of which was in the fifth class, and the other in the third, were made to read some select remarks upon this language, that were carefully extracted from several books, which treat upon this subject. They made the application of them to certain passages, taken from the history of Theodosius by M. Flechier, which were proposed to them upon the opening of the book, and they observed at the same time, as is usual in explaining a Latin author, whatever was most beautiful and remarkable, either as to thought and expression, or the principles and conduct. This interrogation, added to the other subjects of that exercise, seemed very acceptable to the public, and gave reason to wish that it may be continued for the future. And indeed is it not reasonable to cultivate the study of our own natural tongue with some care, whilst we spend so much time upon ancient and foreign languages?

2. *Of* TRAGEDIES.

This kind of exercise has been of long standing in the university, and is still in use in several colleges, whilst others have wholly laid it aside. Without taking upon me to condemn those of my brethren, who

[u] The eldest son of the Procureur General M. de Fleury.

[x] Sons of the same M. de Fleury.

think differently from me upon this head, which is not my office, I cannot avoid extremely approving their conduct, who think they ought absolutely to reject the custom of exercising boys in declamation, by making them repeat tragedies, as in my opinion this custom is attended with very great inconveniencies.

1. What a burthen is it upon a regent to be obliged to make a tragedy? Is not the profession hard enough of itself, without loading it still farther with the yoke of so heavy and disagreeable a task?

2. I call it an heavy and disagreeable task, because he can scarce ever promise himself that he shall succeed in it. We know how much pains M. Racine was at in composing the plays he has left behind him, and yet, besides an admirable genius for poetry, and very singular talents for theatrical representations, he was absolute master of his time. What then can we expect from a regent, who is otherways very much employed, and may have all the merit that belongs to his profession, without the talent of writing good French verse, much less of making large poems?

3. If any thing is likely to ruin the health of a professor, it is the exercising eight or ten scholars in declaiming for a considerable time. He must have lungs of iron, as Juvenal expresses it of the masters of rhetoric, to hold up under so terrible a fatigue.

Declamare doces, o ferrea pectora, Vestri.

I appeal for the truth of it to experience.

4. It often happens that the scholars, under pretence of preparing for the tragedy, abandon or neglect the essential duty of the class for near two months, which is no small inconvenience.

5. I do not insist upon the expence, which necessarily attends these tragedies, nor upon the difficulty there often is to find actors, who sometimes think they have a right to treat the professor as they please, because he cannot do without them.

6. Farther, the boys derive no solid or lasting advantage from this exercise. For usually a day or two after

after the tragedy is acted, they forget all they have been at so much trouble to learn by heart.

Part of these inconveniencies has been endeavoured to be remedied, by making choice of tragedies composed by the best authors, and adapting them to the theatre of the colleges, that is, by cutting off the parts the women have in them; and it must be owned they have in some measure succeeded therein, and by this means have filled the memory of the boys with excellent pieces of poetry, which may be very useful for the improvement of their understanding and taste.

7. But there may be a fault even in this custom, which is common to good and bad tragedies. [y] Quintilian observes after Tully, that there is a great difference between the pronounciation of players and orators; though it must be owned that the one may be of service to the other. If so, why should we exercise the boys in a manner of pronounciation, which they must necessarily avoid, when they come to speak in public?

8. One of the greatest troubles of the regent in this exercise, as I have often experienced, and am not the only one that has done it, is to keep the scholars in order, whom he is often obliged to join all together, and over whom it is difficult to have a proper eye; as the care of forming the actors actually takes up the whole attention of the master.

9. To be short, I shall conclude with the inconvenience that must be looked upon as the greatest, as it may be prejudicial to piety and good manners; and that is the danger there is in this sort of exercise of creating a desire both in masters and scholars, as is very natural, of informing themselves with their own eyes of the manner they ought to act tragedies, and to this end of frequenting the theatre, and growing fond of plays, which may have very bad consequences, especially at their age.

[y] Ne gestus quidem omnis ac motus à comædis petendus est. Quamquam enim utrumque eorum ad quendam modum præstare debet orator, plurimum tamen aberit à Scenico. C. I. J. C. II.

What

What contributes most, if I mistake not, to continue the use of tragedies, is that several look upon them as the only means of giving a certain solemnity to the distribution of prizes so necessary to excite and support a spirit of emulation among the boys, which is one of the great advantages of colleges. To this I cannot oppose a better answer than experience itself. I have seen the prizes distributed for above twenty years together in common exercises with very great solemnity, and a great concourse of persons of distinction, who, during the whole exercise, kept a profound silence, which does not always happen when plays are represented. This is not peculiar to one college. There are several wherein these exercises are performed with great reputation, and very lately in the college De la Marche, there was one for the distribution of prizes, where the audience was very numerous and well chosen, and the [z] respondent acquired a very great reputation.

All these reasons, joined together, make me think that tragedies are less proper for the boys, than the other exercises I have spoke of. But as every one is at liberty to think as he pleases, and opinions differ upon this subject, I shall not blame those who keep to the old custom, and use all the caution necessary in it.

One of the most essential, in my opinion, is not to give the passion of love any admittance into the tragedies, how honest and lawful soever it may appear. “ Whatever excites love, [a] says M. de Fenelon, the more artful and concealed it lies, appears to me more dangerous.” M. de Rochefoucault is of the same opinion. “ All great diversions, says he, are dangerous to a Christian; but of all that have been invented, there is none we have so much reason to fear as plays. The passions are there so naturally and artfully delineated, that they raise and imprint them in our heart, especially that of love; and

[z] The son of M. de Fieubet
counsellor of parliament.

[a] *Educat. des filles.*

“ principally,

“ principally, when it is represented as chaste and honest; for the more innocent it appears to innocent souls, the more capable they are of being affected with it, &c.”

I speak not here of the balls and dancing, which sometimes accompany tragedies, because this custom has no place in the university.

There has farther crept in a more intolerable abuse, expressly [b] forbidden by the law of God; I cannot tell whence it arose, though it has lasted a long time; I mean that of dressing the boys in tragedies in womens clothes. Could they not know for the course of so many years, that such a custom, to use the words of Scripture, was abominable in the sight of God? The imprudence of some person, perhaps very ignorant, or not over religious, might have at first introduced it; and then the custom was followed without reflection, when once established. As soon as the university forbade it, all the world opened their eyes, and submitted to so prudent and necessary a regulation. Those who had the greatest share in it, were principally determined to it by what they had heard of a [c] famous professor, a man of excellent probity, who, upon his death-bed, expressed a great concern for having given into this custom, which he knew had occasioned disorders among some of his scholars. We should place ourselves in that hour and situation, to form a right judgment of what we ought to follow or reject in this life.

III. Of PRONUNCIATION.

I have promised to say somewhat of pronunciation, which is a part of rhetoric, and this is the proper place for it. There is cause to fear that the masters neglect it too much, both as to themselves and their scholars. We ought, especially in the higher classes, to set apart one day in the week to exercise the boys in declaiming,

[b] The women shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are an abomination unto the Lord thy God. Deut. xxii. 5.

[c] M. de Belleville, professor of rhetoric in the college du Pleffis.

for at least the space of half an hour. This custom was regularly practised whilst I was a scholar, and I followed it exactly after I became a master. [*d*] Quintilian's treatise upon pronunciation is short but excellent; and may be very useful to the masters, if they join with it that of [*e*] Tully. There is another in French, but in manuscript, which belonged to the famous [*f*] M. Lenglet, who excelled in the art of pronouncing still more than in other things. I shall make use of these different treatises in laying down the most general rules about pronunciation, and such as are most in use.

[*g*] The answer of Demosthenes, when asked what he thought the chief point of eloquence, is known to all the world, and shews, that this great man looked upon pronunciation, not only as the most important qualification of an orator, but in a certain sense, as the only one. In short, it is that quality, which can least of all conceal its own defects, and is most capable of hiding others; and we often see, that a mean discourse delivered with all the force and charms of action has a better effect, than the most beautiful oration without them.

Action consists of two parts, which are the voice and gesture, one of which strikes the ears, and the other the eyes; two senses by which we convey our sentiments and thoughts into the minds of the hearers.

I. *Of the Voice.*

[*b*] Quintilian ascribes the same qualifications to the voice and pronunciation as to discourse.

1. It must be correct, that is, exempt from faults, so that the sound of the voice, and the pronunciation may have something, easy, natural, and agreeable in it,

[*d*] Lib. xi. cap. 3.

[*e*] Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 213, 217.

[*f*] M. Lenglet had it of a famous actor in his time named Floridor.

[*g*] Cic. lib. iii. de Orat. n. 132.

[*b*] Emendata erit, id est vitio carebit, si fuerit os facile, emendatum, jucundum, urbanum; id est, in quo nulla neque rusticitas, neque peregrinitas resonet. Quint.

accompanied with a certain air of politeness and delicacy, which the ancients called urbanity, and consists in removing from it every foreign and rustic sound.

2. The pronunciation must be clear, to which two things will contribute; first the right articulation of every syllable; for sometimes some are suppressed, whilst others are but lightly touched upon. But the most common fault, and most carefully to be avoided, is the not dwelling long enough upon the last syllables, and letting the voice fall at the end of periods. [i] As it is necessary to express every word, nothing is more disagreeable or insupportable, than a slow and drawling pronunciation, which calls over, in a manner, all the letters, and seems to count them one after another.

The second observation is to know how to sustain and suspend the voice by the different rests and pauses, which enter into the same period. One instance will explain my meaning, which I shall take from another passage of [k] Quintilian. The points here express the pauses. *Animadverti judices, . . . omnem accusatoris crationem . . . in duas . . . divisam esse partes.* This short period contains but one sense, which is not to be distinguished by any comma, except at the word *judices*, which is an apostrophe; and yet the cadence, the ear, and even the breath require different rests, in which all the harmony of pronunciation consists. By accustoming the scholars to make these pauses, as they read even where there are no commas, they will be taught at the same time to pronounce well.

3. An ornamented pronunciation is that which is assisted with an happy organ, an easy, loud, flexible, firm, durable, clear, sonorous, mild, and piercing voice. For there is a voice made for the ear; not so much by its compass, as by a facility of being managed at will, susceptible of every sound from the strong-

[i] Ut est autem necessaria verborum explanatio, ita omnes computare & velut annumerare literas, molestum & odiosum.

[k] Quint. lib. ix. cap. 4.

est to the softest, from the highest to the lowest, [1] like an instrument well strung, which gives the sound the hand directs it to express. Besides this, a great force of breath is required, and lungs capable of holding out through the longest periods, and of dwelling upon them.

We do not make ourselves understood by violent and great pains, but by a clear and distinct pronunciation; and the principal skill is shewn in artfully managing the different fallies of the voice, in beginning with a tone, that may be raised or depressed without difficulty or constraint, and in so governing the voice, that it may be fully exerted in such passages, where the discourse requires great force and vehemence, and principally in studying and copying nature in every thing.

The whole beauty of pronunciation lies in the union of two qualities, to all outward appearance opposite and inconsistent, equality and variety. By the first the orator sustains his voice, and governs the rise and fall of it by fixed rules, which hinder him from being high and low as by chance, without observing any order or proportion. By the second he avoids one of the most considerable faults in pronunciation, I mean a tedious keeping on in one and the same tone; and, on the other hand, he [m] diffuses through it an agreeable variety, which awakens, raises, and charms his audience, herein [n] resembling the painters, who, by a vast number of shadows and colourings, almost imperceptible, and an happy mixture of the light and shade, know how to set off their pictures, and give them the just proportions which every part demands. Quintilian applies this last rule to the first period of the exordium of Tully's beautiful oration in defence of Milo. This passage deserves to be read to pupils.

[1] Omnes voces, ut nervi in fibris, ita sonant ut à motu animi quoque sunt pulsæ. Cic. lib. iii. de Orat. n. 216.

[2] Quid ad aures nostras, & actionis suavitatem, quid est vicissitu-

dine, & varietate, & commutatione aptius? Ibid.

[3] Hi sunt actori, ut pictori, expositi ad variandum colores. Ibid. n. 217.

There is another fault no less considerable, which likewise comes very near it, and is that of singing what one speaks. This canting consists in depressing or raising with a like tone several members of a period, or several periods together; so that the same inflections of the voice frequently return, and almost constantly in the same manner.

4. Lastly, the pronunciation must be proportioned to the subjects expressed. This is more especially seen in the passions, which have [*o*] all, if I may be allowed the expression, a peculiar language, and a particular tone. For anger shews itself one way compassion another, and so the rest. [*p*] To express them well, we must begin with having a deep sense of them, and to this end we should lively represent things to ourselves, and be affected with them, as if they actually passed in us. Thus the voice, as the interpreter of our sentiments, will easily convey the same disposition into the mind of the auditors, it has derived from our own conceptions. It is the faithful image of the soul; it receives all the impressions and changes that the soul itself is capable of. Thus in joy it is clear, full and flowing; in sorrow, on the other hand, it is slow, dull and gloomy. Anger makes it rough, impetuous and interrupted. In the confession of a fault, making satisfaction, and intreating, it becomes smooth, fearful and submissive. In a word, it follows nature and borrows the tone of every passion.

The voice also varies, and assumes different tones, according to the different parts of a discourse. It conforms itself to the difference of sentiments, and sometimes, though rarely, to the nature and force of certain particular expressions. [*q*] It would be evidently ridiculous, to begin a discourse all at once in a loud

[*o*] Omnes motus animi suum quemdam à natura habet vultum, & sonum, & gestum, &c. Cic. lib. iii. de Orat. n. 216—219.

[*p*] In his primum est bene affici, & concipere imagines rerum, & tanquam veris moveri. Sic velut media vox, quem habitum à nobis ac-

ceperit, hunc judicium animis dabit. Est enim mentis index, & velut exemplar: ac totidem, quot illa mutationes habet. Quintil.

[*q*] A principio clamare, agreste quiddam est. Cic. lib. iii. de Orat. n. 227.

and violent strain; as nothing is more proper to gain upon others than modesty and reservedness. Narrations designed to interest the audience in the point related, require a simple, uniform and calm voice, not much different from what we use in conversation, and so of all the rest.

II. Of GESTURE.

Gesture naturally follows the voice, and conforms itself in like manner to the sentiments of the soul. It is a mute language, but eloquent, and often has more force than speech itself.

As the head has the first place among the parts of the body, it has it also in action. The first rule is to keep it up, and in a natural posture, the second to suit its motions to the pronunciation and the action of the orator. When we refuse or reject, or shew that we have an horror or execration of any thing or person, then at the same time that we repel with the hand, we turn aside the head as a mark of aversion.

The countenance has a principal part in this point. There is a kind of motion or passion which it does not express. It threatens, it caresses, it intreats, it is sorrowful and merry, it is proud and humble, it testifies friendship towards some, and aversion to others, it gives us to understand abundance of things, and often says more than the most eloquent discourse could do.

I never could comprehend how the use [r] of masks came to continue so long upon the stage of the ancients. For certainly it could not but suppress in a great measure the vivacity of action, which is principally seen in the countenance, and may properly be considered as the seat and mirror of all the sentiments of the soul. Does it not frequently happen that the

[r] The actors wore masks, which covered the whole head, and besides the features of the face, represented the beard, the hair, the ears, and all the ornaments of the women's head-dress. This may explain what Phædrus says in the fable of the

mask and the fox.

*Personam tragicam forte vulpes
viderat,*

*O quanta species! inquit; cere-
brum non habet.*

blood,

blood, according as it is moved by different passions, shall sometimes overspread the countenance with a sudden and modest suffusion, sometimes inflame and kindle it into rage, sometimes by retiring from the cheeks, leave them pale and cold with fear, and at other times diffuse through it a gentle and amiable serenity. All this is expressed in the countenance. Now a mask, by covering it, deprives it of this emphatical language, and takes from it a kind of life and soul, which makes it the faithful interpreter of all the sentiments of the heart. I am not therefore surpris'd at the remark which Tully makes, when he is speaking of Roscius as an actor. Our old men, [s] says he, judge better than we, by not entirely approving even Roscius himself, whilst he spoke under his mask.

[t] But the countenance has likewise one part super-eminent above the rest, viz. the eyes. It is by them especially that the soul displays itself, and shows itself in a manner externally; so that even without moving of them, joy shall make them more lively, and sorrow overcast them with a kind of cloud. Add to this, that nature has given them tears, the faithful interpreters of our thoughts, which impetuously force themselves a passage in grief, and flow gently down in joy. But how expressive are they in the different motions imparted to them; they are bold or languid, haughty and threatening, mild, rough or terrible, and all this according to our wants, and the occasion?

To be short, [u] I pass to the hands, without the assistance of which, action would be languid and almost dead. How many motions are they capable of, since

[s] Quo melius nostri illi senes, qui personatum, ne Roscium quidem, magnopere laudabant. Cic. lib. iii. de Orat. n. 221.

[t] Sed in ipso vultu plurimum valent oculi, per quos animus maxime emanat, ut, citra motum quoque, & hilaritate entescant, & tristitia quoddam nubilum ducant. Quinetiam lacrymas his natura mentis indices dedit: quæ, aut erum-

punt dolore, aut lætitia manant: Motu verò intenti, remissi, superbi, torvi, mites, asperi fiunt: quæ, ut actus poposcerit, finguntur. Quintil.

[u] Manus verò, sine quibus trunca esset actio ac debilis, vix dici potest quot motus habeant, cum penè ipsam verborum copiam persequantur. Nam ceteræ partes loquentem adjuvant: hæc (prope est ut dicam) ipsæ loquuntur.

there is scarce a word which they are not sometimes eager to express? For the other parts of the body aid and contribute to discourse, but these may be almost said to speak of themselves, and be understood. We know that the [x] pantomimes professed to represent exactly, and in a manner to paint in their gestures and postures all the actions and passions of mankind. [y] The ancients called this act of the pantomimes a kind of dumb music, which had found out a method of substituting the language of the hands to that of the mouth, of speaking to the eyes by the assistance of the fingers, and of expressing by silence, more eloquent and emphatical than words themselves, what could scarce be explained by discourse or writing.

The motion of the hands naturally follows the voice, and must conform to it. In common gesture, whilst we pronounce a period, we must carry the right-hand from left to right, beginning at the breast, and ending at the side, the fingers being raised a little above the wrist, open and at liberty, and the arm extended at full length, without raising the elbow as high as the shoulder, but keeping it always clear of the body, and observing that the gesture must ordinarily begin with the motion of the elbow. After this we carry the left-hand from right to left, with the same proportions as were observed in the motion of the right-hand. The arm must be held after each gesture close to the side, till the period is at an end; and when it

[x] A prince of Pontus coming to Nero's court upon some business, and having seen a famous pantomime dance with so much art, that though he understood nothing of what was sung, yet he was thereby able to comprehend what was meant, upon his departure desired the emperor to make him a present of that dancer. And upon Nero's asking what use he would make of him; why, says he, I have certain barbarians bordering upon my dominions, who speak a language which no body understands, and this man by his gestures shall serve me as an interpreter. Luc. de saltat.

[y] Hanc partem musicæ disciplinæ mutam nominaverunt majores scilicet quæ ore clauso manibus loquitur, & quibusdam gesticulationibus facit intelligi, quod vix narrante lingua, aut scripturæ textu, possit agnosci. Aurel. Cassiod. lib. i. epist. 10.

Loquacissimæ manus, linguosæ digiti, clamoriam silentium, expositio tacita. Ibid. lib. iv. epist. ult.

Miram scelerum Scenæ peritos, quòd in omnem significationem rerum & affectuum parata illorum est manus, & verborum velocitatem gestus assequitur. Senec. epist. 121.

is finished, the two hands must fall negligently upon the desk, if it is from thence we speak, and never below it; or at their full length before, if we speak standing without any support; or upon the knees, if sitting on a chair. There are a thousand methods of varying these gestures, which are to be learned from use and exercise alone.

There is a second kind of gesture relating to the extent and dimensions of every thing.

To express any thing that is high, we must lift up our eyes as high as we can, without scarce raising the head, but turning it a little on one side, and throwing down both arms together at their full length, but keeping them clear of the body, and so as to have the outside of the hands turned towards the auditor.

To shew the depth of any thing we must cast our eyes down to the ground, and stretch out both our arms on the opposite side, somewhat raising them, and shewing the outside of the hand, which is next the auditor, the other remaining more raised and free.

To express breadth, it suffices to extend both hands at the same time, beginning always directly before us, and ending at the two sides, but so as to keep the hands always upon a level with the wrists, and to carry our eyes round the whole space they are able to comprehend.

To express length, we must stretch out both our arms either this way or that, but on the same side, so as to keep the hands upon a level with the wrist, the elbow, and one another, the inside of the hands being turned downwards.

The third kind of gesture relates to the passions: This matter is too large possibly to enter into an account so short as this, in which my design is only to lay down the most general and necessary rules. The masters will easily supply the rest.

The masters of the art take notice, that the motion of the hand must begin and end with the sense, because otherways it must either precede the discourse, or last longer than it. Now both these would be faulty.

We must not pretend to lay down fixed and certain rules upon the subject I am here treating of. One thing, as Quintilian observes, suiting well with one, which would sit ill upon another, without our sometimes being able to give a reason for it; so far, that in some the [z] refinements of pronunciation shall not be graceful, and in others the very faults not displease. [a] Thus every one, in forming his action, must not only consult the general rules, but carefully study his own actual disposition and personal qualifications.

But the most important precept of all, both as to the voice or gesture, is to study nature, to look upon it here as in every thing else, as the best master and surest guide that can be followed, to place the perfection of the art in a perfect imitation of it, endeavouring only, after the example of painters, to embellish and set it off a little, but without ever swerving from a just likeness. When children are at liberty amongst themselves, and when, in discoursing together, they break out into some heat, they are under no difficulty in seeking either for tone or gesture. All comes to them as it were mechanically, because they only follow the impulse of nature. Why, when they are put upon declamation, do we find them for the most part almost dumb, motionless, confused and perplexed? It is, because they think that then they must speak and act in a very different manner; in which they are much mistaken. For which reason we cannot too early, when children are put upon speaking in the classes, or made to repeat their lessons, accustom them to assume a natural tone, that is, such as they use in their familiar discourse; and the same may be said of any one that is to speak in public. Nor is this observation contrary to the study of the voice and gesture, which I have so earnestly recommended. This study should be applied to in the closet; but when he comes to speak, the orator must not seem to have studied it at

[z] In quibusdam virtutes non habent gratiam, in quibusdam vitia ipsa delectant.

tantum ex communibus præceptis, sed etiam ex natura sua capiat consilium formandæ actionis.

[a] Quare nōrit se quique, nec

all: All must flow easily from him. Art must look like nature; his voice and gesture must shew nothing studied, and he must call to mind this great principle, which in general relates to all the parts of eloquence: [b] *Nothing is beautiful but what is true. Only truth is amiable.*

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

Of COMPOSITIONS and PUBLIC ACTS.

IT is by compositions, either in verse or prose, that the regents do most honour to their colleges, and establish their own reputation in a more eminent manner. The university has at all times abounded in famous poets and orators, who have strove to keep up the glory it has so long acquired, of shining and excelling in all kinds of literature; and every professor must look upon this glory of the university, as a precious inheritance, which he is obliged to preserve, and, if possible, to augment by his labour and application.

The compositions I am here speaking of, are commonly such as celebrate the name and actions of princes, generals, ministers, and magistrates; in a word, all the great men who distinguish themselves in any respect whatsoever; and it is a kind of public homage, which the university pays to virtue and merit.

But it must be remembered, that this homage is in reality due only to virtue and merit; and that when it is not founded upon truth, it degenerates into a shameful adulation, equally dishonourable to the person who commends, and the person commended. We must therefore never praise what is not truly laudable; and that usually with modesty and caution, avoiding all extravagant exaggerations, which serve only to render what we say suspected.

There is a manner of commending so evidently false, and so directly opposite to the taste and judgment of the public, that a person of common sense

[b] Despreaux, epist. 9.

in my opinion cannot help avoiding it. Thus when Nero made the funeral oration of the emperor Claudius his predecessor, he was [c] attentively heard in all the rest; but when he came to speak of his prudence and wisdom, the audience could not help laughing, though the oration was very eloquent, and drawn up by Seneca, who had a very fruitful genius and a very florid style, according to the taste of that age, though he sometimes wanted judgment.

There is another fault, less shocking in appearance, but not less blameable, because it is contrary to religion; and that is to give princes the attributes which belong only to God, by considering them as the masters of nature; as disposing of it at their pleasure; as changing the order of the seasons as they think fit, and making them believe that by conferring the title of minister, they likewise confer merit; an impious flattery, not to be pardoned even in a Pagan, who applying to an emperor, that had assumed the character of a god, and had committed to his care the education of the young princes his nephews, [d] intreats him to inspire him with all the understanding that was necessary in the discharge of so noble an employment, and make him such as he judged him to be. There is a jealous ear, that I may use the scripture expression, which hears such discourse with indignation [e]; and we cannot say how far such blasphemies, for I do not scruple to call them so, are capable of drawing down misfortunes and curses on a Christian kingdom.

The taste of sound eloquence inspires a very different manner; and infuses, especially in point of praise, a prudent discretion and a wise sobriety. We must herein imitate, as much as is possible, the ingenious and artful address of the ancients, who knew how to

[c] Cetera pronis animis audita. Postquam ad providentiam sapientiamque flexit, nemo risui temperare, quanquam oratio à Senecâ composita, multum cultus præferret, ut fuit illi viro ingenium amœnum, & temporis illius auribus accommodatum. Tacit. annal. lib.

xiii. cap. 3.

[d] Ut quantum nobis expectationis adjecit, tantum ingenii aspi-ret; dexterque ac volens adsit, & me, qualem esse credidit, faciat. Quintil. lib. iv. in præf.

[e] Wisd. i. 10.

praise in a curious and delicate manner, and sometimes even whilst they seemed to be employed upon somewhat else. [f] Tully, in his beautiful oration for Ligarius says, he hopes that Cæsar, *who never forgets any thing but the injuries that have been offered him*, will call to mind the inviolable attachment which the brother of Ligarius had to him; *Qui oblivisci nihil soles præter injurias*. One word thrown into a discourse in this manner, is worth a whole panegyric.

[g] Horace declaring that he has not capacity sufficient to describe the glorious victories of Augustus, seems to have nothing in view but to answer those who had advised him to leave off writing satire; but his real design was to commend that prince in such a manner, as might not offend his extreme delicacy in point of commendation; *cui male si palpère, recalcitrat undique tutus*. The reply he makes by Trebatius, that at least he might celebrate the private and pacific virtues of Augustus, his justice, his constancy and magnanimity, as Lucilius had done Scipio's; this turn, I say, is in the same taste, and still more pleasing, by the indirect comparison of this prince with so great a man as Scipio was.

M. Despreaux, the worthy disciple of Horace, has in several passages imitated his master's skill in commending; but I question whether any where in a more beautiful and ingenious manner, than where he puts the panygeric of Lewis the fourteenth into the mouth of sloth.

Ah, where are fled those happy times of peace,
When idle kings, dissolv'd in thoughtless ease,
Resign'd their sceptres, and the toils of state
To counts, or some inferior magistrate:
Loll'd on their thrones, devoid of thought or pain;
And nodding, slumber'd out a lazy reign? . . .

But 'tis no more: that golden age is gone,
And an unweary'd prince fills Gallia's throne.

[f] Cic. pro Ligar. n. 35.

[g] Lib. i. sat. 1.

Each day he frights me with the noise of arms,
 Slights my embraces, and defies my charms.
 In vain does nature, seas and rocks oppose
 To bar his virtue, which undaunted goes
 Thro' Lybia's burning sands, and Scythia's fnows. }
 His name alone my trembling subjects dread ;
 Not his own cannon does more terror spread.

This is a master-piece in its kind ; and whoever can introduce any thing like it into a copy of verses, may safely rely upon the approbation of the public.

Praises and panegyrics are not the only subjects of poems and public acts. Others may be chosen, which are no less fruitful to the orator, and may equally please persons of a good taste ; such as dissertations upon eloquence, poetry, history, or some point of literature. Examples may be found in the collection, which has lately been published, of several pieces in verse or prose, by the professors of the university.

As the discourses I am now speaking of, whether panegyrics or dissertations, are principally made for shew, I know, that according to the rules of sound rhetoric, one may pompously display in them the riches of eloquence ; and the art, which elsewhere should be concealed, may here shew itself with more liberty. But yet this must be done with caution ; and we must remember, that a solid and judicious discourse will always meet with applause, and that we must not strive to be distinguished by witticism and gingling, and especially must take care to avoid such affected turns, and that kind of points which may please an ignorant multitude, but disgust every sensible and judicious hearer.

The panegyric of Trajan by Pliny the younger, the collection of such discourses entitled *Panegyrici veteres*, and still more the works of Seneca, may supply an orator with abundance of thoughts ; but he must correct them by the style of Cicero. We have likewise excellent models of this kind, in the funeral orations and academical discourses of the moderns.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

Of the STUDIES of the MASTERS.

WHAT I have said of compositions and public acts makes a great outward shew, but does not comprehend the essential duty of a regent, which consists in the solid instruction he owes to his scholars. To succeed in this, he stands in need of labour and study. Even the lowest classes require a certain degree of learning, which is not to be acquired but by reading. Besides, a professor ordinarily does not stop there, and must qualify himself for passing into the superior classes.

A regent's first study must relate to the points he teaches, and the authors he explains. Thus, for instance, a grammarian is not allowed to be ignorant of what the ancients have written upon grammar, and still less of what the Mess. de Port Royal have left us upon that head. A professor of rhetoric must have imbibed his art from the same sources, and have thoroughly studied the old Greek and Latin rhetoricians. Not that either of them should load their scholars with a great number of precepts, but, in order to make a choice, they must all be known; and an able master, that hath both judgment and capacity, will find a great assistance from what he reads towards instructing youth.

I am of the same opinion with respect to authors. The most easy have their obscurities; and a regent must have all the interpreters, or at least the most esteemed, upon those he explains. There are indeed abundance of trifles amongst a great many solid remarks; but he must make choice, and distribute such only among his scholars, as are suitable to their age and capacity.

Besides the study of the class, a regent must acquire such a fund of erudition, as is essential to a man of letters,

letters. He should be well acquainted with the Greek, and no stranger to history; nor must the extent of these branches of knowledge frighten him from pursuing them. It is incredible how far an hour or two spent regularly every day in study will carry him by the end of the year; let him but have courage only to begin, and if possible to join himself to some diligent and well-disposed person of the fraternity, and let them confer together upon the authors they have separately read, and read nothing without making extracts, noting what relates to different subjects, as eloquence, poetry, history and antiquity. I remember to have read over in this manner, a great while ago, almost all the lives of Plutarch with a skilful friend, who had an excellent taste. We set apart an afternoon in every week for this small conference, which was made as we walked abroad, when the weather permitted. We mutually communicated what we had found most beautiful and remarkable; each proposed his difficulties, and we were often surpris'd that we had pass'd over passages too lightly, in the notion that we had understood them, when in reality we did not. I know no exercise more agreeable to persons of learning and understanding, than such walks and conversations.

Livy had been read over entirely some time before in such conferences, held once a week in the college de Beauvais, where some professors of other colleges were sometimes pleas'd to be present; and though the conversation was not long, for it began after school-time in the evening, yet at the end of a certain number of years the author was read through, and the work finish'd. M. Crevier, now regent of the second class in the college of Beauvais, held the pen, and took down all the remarks, which he one day designs to give the public, with a new edition of that author, which I hope will be to general satisfaction.

It is plain, that a certain number of books are requisite for this sort of study, and I cannot too earnestly advise the professors to collect each of them a small library, greater or less, according to their wants
and

and income. The king's liberality in establishing a gratuitous instruction in all our colleges, has enabled us, and, I may add, laid us under an obligation of putting ourselves to this expence, which is as absolutely necessary to our profession, as the instruments in any trade are to the workmen. [b] Alcibiades meeting with a schoolmaster, who had none of Homer's works, could not forbear giving him a box on the ear, and treating him as an ignorant fellow, and one who could not make any other than ignorant scholars; and might not we say the same thing of a professor, who has no books?

It is difficult to have a taste for letters, without having one for books, which are the enjoyment of a man of sense, especially in his old age, as Tully elegantly observes in a letter to his friend Atticus, where he intreats him to reserve his library for him, which he designed to purchase with part of his revenue. [i] *Bibliothecam tuam cave cuiquam despondeas, quamvis acrem amatorem inveneris: nam ego omnes meas vindemiolas eo reservo, ut illud subsidium senectuti parem.* In another letter he tells him, that this acquisition will complete his wishes, and make him the happiest man in the world. *Noli desperare fore ut libros tuos facere possim meos. Quod si assequor, supero Crassum divitiis; atque omnium agros, lucos, prata contemno.*

Whilst I am writing this, I am informed that a professor, affected with the same desires as Tully, and with the same taste, has not scrupled to charge himself with an annuity of four hundred livres a year, in order to purchase the library of one of his brethren [k] lately deceased in the university, who had made a good use of his books. I wish the example of both may meet with followers.

We are nearly concerned to excite amongst us, or rather to preserve that taste of knowledge and learn-

[b] Ælian. l. iii. c. 38.

[i] Lib. i. ep. 9.

[k] M. Heuzet, author of the two Latin books for the use of young beginners, which I have

mentioned above, and who was farther preparing to publish some other pieces, that might be very useful to youth.

ing, which has always reigned in the university, and to excite in ourselves a noble emulation by the remembrance of the great men who have done it so much honour, and whose names are so well known, and so much respected throughout the Christian world, Budæus, Turnebus, Ramus, Lambinus, Muretus, Buchanan, Passeratius, Casaubon, all professors in the university, or the *college royal*.

'Tis this taste of learning and books, which has acquired France so many famous printers, that have carried the art of printing to the highest degree of perfection. I cannot help inserting here what we read in M. Baillet, concerning the famous Stephens's, who have rendered their name immortal, not only by the neatness and beauty of their Hebrew, Greek and Roman characters, but their singular exactness, and their ability and great disinterestedness, which made them prefer the public interest to their own.

The œconomy of Robert Stephens's house, [1] says this author, was excellent. He received no workmen into his printing-house, but such as were skilled in Greek and Latin, and capable of being masters elsewhere. He had, besides this, men and maids, who were not allowed to talk any thing but Latin, as well as all the workmen in the printing-house. His wife and daughter understood it perfectly, and were obliged, with all the domestics, to talk nothing else. So that the storehouses, the chambers, the shop, the kitchen, in a word, from the top of the house to the bottom, all spoke Latin at Robert Stephens's. This generous printer had usually ten men of learning in his house, all of them foreigners, who corrected his impressions under him; and, not satisfied with the application he gave to the correction of the several proofs which came from his presses, he publicly exposed the printed sheets before they were taken off, and promised a reward to such as should find out any faults in them.

The shop of that famous printer was almost admirable, for the zeal, taste, and eager pursuit after books

[1] Jugem. des Sav. tom. 1.

and sciences; for application and exactness in the discharge of his duty; for disinterestedness, nobleness of soul and sentiments, and the love of the public. It certainly would not be wrong or dishonourable in us to copy after so excellent a pattern; and this has been my view in this small digression, which I hope the reader will excuse.

ARTICLE THE FIFTH.

The APPLICATION of some particular RULES to the GOVERNMENT of the CLASSES.

THERE is nothing mentioned in this work, but what is commonly practised in the classes, excepting two articles, the one relating to the study of the French tongue, and the other to history, upon which I could wish that more time and care were spent than is usual. Under the study of history I comprehend geography, chronology, fable and antiquities. There is often occasion to speak of them in the classes, but they are not usually taught there in a constant and regular manner, by principles and method.

These studies are allowed to be an important part of the education of youth, and to be either absolutely necessary to them, or at least extremely useful. But it is questioned, whether they can enter into the scheme of the classes, where the whole time seems taken up with the multiplicity of the other matters taught in them; and certainly the case is not without difficulty, though I do not think it absolutely impracticable.

First, as to the French tongue, half an hour twice or thrice a week spent upon this study might suffice, because continued through the whole course of all the classes. Till such time as a book is drawn up for the use of the boys, containing the most necessary rules of grammar, and the principal observations of M. de Vaugelas, F. Bouhours, &c. upon the French tongue, the masters may content themselves with explaining one or other of them to their scholars by word of mouth,

mouth, and making the application of them to some beautiful passage in a French book. Fifteen or twenty rules and observations would suffice for one year.

History might be distributed in the following manner. That of the Old and New Testament should be for the three lowest classes, the sixth, fifth, and fourth; fable and antiquities for the third; the Greek history for the second; the Roman, down to the emperors, for rhetoric; and lastly, the history of the emperors for philosophy.

I do not mean, that all these portions of history should be explained to the boys in their class, for that would take up too much time, and be absolutely impossible; but I would have a certain task given them to be read by themselves in private every day, which they should be obliged to give an account of from time to time in their class. To this end it would be requisite to have books drawn up expressly for the use of boys.

We have two excellent ones for sacred history, to wit, the historical catechism of Mons. l'Abbé Fleury, which may serve in the sixth; and the abridgment of the Old Testament, lately printed for John Desaint, which the journals of Paris and Trevoux have very much recommended, may serve for the fifth and fourth. The first is a short abridgment, made expressly for children, and adapted to the meanest capacity; the other is much larger, and includes the most beautiful and remarkable parts of the Old Testament, either in point of facts, sentiments, or maxims.

I hope we shall soon have a small treatise upon the fabulous history, proper to be put into the hands of the boys. In the mean time they may make use of that of Galtrucius or F. Jouvenci. I have already mentioned a small abridgment of the Roman antiquities printed in 1706, which may serve till a larger is composed.

What we most want are histories of the Greeks and Romans, expressly written for the use of youth. I have engaged to write the former, and shall diligently employ

employ myself about it. Others may turn their views and pains upon the Roman history; in the mean while, we may make use of the universal history of *Monf. de Meaux*; which indeed is a very short abridgment as to facts, but makes a considerable amends by the excellent reflections it contains. We have another abridgment of the Roman history translated from the English of *Laurence Echard*, which is a very good one, and long enough. The history of the revolutions of the Roman republic, by *M. l'Abbé de Vertot*, and that of the triumvirate, may suffice to give the boys a just idea of the latter times of the republic.

It would be a very useful work, and, in my opinion, a very easy one, to abridge what *M. de Tillemont* has left us upon the history of the Roman emperors. We find in this history illustrious examples of the greatest virtues, and perfect models in the art of government. The reading of this work would suit mighty well with the students in philosophy, and equally prepare them for the study of theology and of the law. By this means the boys would have a tolerable knowledge of ancient history, and be much better qualified to enter afterwards upon the study of the modern.

Upon the bare exposition which I have made, every body will doubtless agree, that it were to be wished such a plan could be executed; as it is evident, that the boys instructed in this manner would carry away from college abundance of useful and agreeable knowledge, which might be of great service to them all the rest of their lives. Let us examine therefore whether this plan is practicable or no. Now, in the manner I propose it, it is in my opinion very easily reduced to practice. For I require only of the professors to set their scholars every day a certain task, and appoint them a certain number of pages to read in the books of history, which I suppose they have in their hands, and to make them give an account from time to time, of what they read, which may amount to about half an hour every day. I know well that several of them may happen to misapply this time; and the same will

fall out in all the other studies. But as this is by far the most agreeable, there is cause to hope, that the greatest number will apply to it with pleasure, especially if care be taken to set a mark of honour upon it, to give it admission into the public exercises, to propose prizes and rewards for such as shall distinguish themselves in it, and to employ all the means which the industry of an able and diligent master will not fail to suggest to him.

Chronology is naturally joined to history, and nothing is more easy, or takes up less time, than to give the boys a general idea of it, sufficient to let them know very nearly at what time the events passed, which they read of, and that is all that can be expected from them. We must likewise never fail to make them acquainted in some measure with the author explained to them, the principal circumstances of his life, and the time when he lived. One day as I was explaining the passage where Quintilian mentions the Greek historians, a young man asked me, why he made no mention of Plutarch. He had read several of his lives, but had not been taught at what time, and under what emperors he lived.

As to geography, it may be taught the boys without taking up much time or trouble. The plainest and easiest way of fixing it in the memory, and at the same time historical events, is whenever a city, river, or island is mentioned in an author, to be exact in pointing them out upon a map. By following a general through all his expeditions, such as an Hannibal, a Scipio, a Pompey, a Cæsar, or an Alexander, the boys will have occasion to pass over all the memorable places of the world, and by that means imprint for ever in their mind, the series of facts and situation of towns. When they are a little accustomed to this method, it will be very easy to teach them the degrees of longitude and latitude, and the whole doctrine of the sphere. Thus it may be very proper, in order to teach them modern geography, to engage them sometimes at home to read certain pages of the gazette, and oblige

oblige them to trace out upon the map the different places mentioned in it. All this is but a kind of diversion, and yet will teach them geography in a more lasting manner, than all the regular lessons that are given them in form.

What I am here saying, supposes, that the children have maps in their chambers, and indeed they should never be without them; and I question whether it would not be profitable to have them likewise in every class. It would be sufficient to have a large map of the world, with maps of the Roman empire, Greece and Asia Minor, and some few others of the like sort. The expence would not be very great, and might fall upon the scholars, as these maps must be renewed from time to time. I know that this custom has been put in practice in some colleges with success. Perhaps also one might add to them two tables of chronology, one of which should come down to the birth of Christ, and the other to our own times.

In proposing these different studies, I do not mean that the Latin or Greek tongues should either of them be neglected. We may easily, if I am not mistaken, reconcile them together. What should principally prevail in the classes, is the business of explication; that of a Greek author especially I would never have omitted, but that half an hour should be spent upon it every day. This is a small matter, and yet when that time is regularly employed, it goes a great way by the end of the year. The repetition of lessons requires the least time, as it is the least serviceable to the scholars; a quarter of an hour in my opinion is enough for it, especially in such classes as are not very numerous, and the rather as it returns twice a day; and on Saturdays, when the lessons of the whole week are repeated, a longer time is spent upon it.

The care of a master, who is concerned for the welfare of his scholars, and wisely frugal of time, will induce him to manage every moment with so much œconomy, that he will find enough for all the studies I have mentioned.

C H A P. III.

Of the DUTY of PARENTS.

QUINTILIAN will have the parents duty commence from the very moment their children are born, by the care he requires them to take of procuring them nurses, and having servants about them of known wisdom and probity; and he afterwards insists upon a continual diligence in removing from them whatever may be capable of affecting their innocence the least in the world, and will allow nothing to be said or done in their presence, which may inspire them with dangerous principles, or set them a bad example.

What concerns parents in the case I am here treating of, is first the choice of a master and a college, supposing that they resolve to send their children thither. [n] Quintilian fully points out to us this double obligation in a few words. He requires that the master should be a man of consummate virtue. *Præceptorem eligere sanctissimum quemque, cujus rei præcipua prudentibus cura est*; and that an exact regular discipline should be kept up in the college, & *disciplinam, quæ maximè severa fuerit.*

The younger Pliny, in one of his letters, wherein he recommends to a lady of his acquaintance, a professor of rhetoric for her son, lays down admirable instructions upon this subject, which properly concern the choice of a college and a regent, as the passage of Quintilian which I have quoted above, but may likewise relate to that of a preceptor. The passage is too beautiful not to be repeated here at full length.

“ [o] The only means to enable your son to tread
 “ worthily in the footsteps of his ancestors, is to set
 “ over him a good guide, who knows how to point
 “ out

[n] Lib. i. c. 2.

[o] Lib. iii. ep. 3. Quibus omnibus (avis & majoribus) ita demum similis adolescet, si imbutus

honestis artibus fuerit: quas plurimum refert à quo potissimum accipiat. Adhuc illum pueritiæ ratio intra contubernium tuum tenuit:

“ out to him the paths of knowledge and honour ;
 “ but the choice of this guide is a matter of great
 “ importance. Hitherto he has been brought up by
 “ his preceptors under your inspection, and in a pri-
 “ vate house, where the dangers, if any, are very
 “ small ; but now he is to be sent abroad to attend
 “ upon public lectures ; you must make choice of a
 “ professor of eloquence, in whose school you are as-
 “ sured there is observed an exact discipline, and
 “ above all a great modesty and purity of manners ;
 “ for amongst the other advantages this youth has
 “ received from nature and fortune, he is extremely
 “ beautiful, and this lays you under farther obli-
 “ gations, in so weak and dangerous an age, to set
 “ over him a master, who may serve not only as a
 “ preceptor to him, but likewise as a guide and a
 “ guardian.”

[p] “ I know no body more proper to discharge
 “ this office, than Julius Genitor. I love him, and
 “ the friendship I have for him does not influence my
 “ judgment, to which it owes its existence. He is
 “ grave and unblameable, perhaps somewhat too au-
 “ stere and rough in his behaviour, according to the
 “ licentiousness of these latter times. As the talent of
 “ speaking is an external advantage, which lies open

nuit : præceptores domi habuit, ubi est vel erroribus modica, vel etiam nulla materia. Jam studia ejus extra lumen proferenda sunt : jam circumspiciendus Rhetor latinus, cujus scholæ severitas, pudor, in primis, castitas constet. Adest enim adolescenti nostro, cum cæteris naturæ fortunæque dotibus eximia corporis pulchritudo ; cui in hoc lubrico ætatis non præceptor modò, sed custos etiam rectorque quærendus est.

[p] Vidcor ego demonstrare tibi posse Julium Genitorem. Amaturne me : judicio tamen meo non obstat caritas, quæ ex judicio nata est. Vir est emendatus & gravis : paulo etiam horridior & durior, ut in hac

licentia temporum. Quantum eloquentia valeat, pluribus credere putes : nam dicendi facultas aperta & exposita statim cernitur. Vita hominum altos recessus magnaque latebras habet : cujus pro Genitore me sponforem accipe. Nihil ex hoc viro filius tuus audiet, nisi profuturum : nihil discet, quod nescisse rectius fuerit. Nec minus sæpe ab illo quam à te meque admonebitur quibus imaginibus oneretur, quæ nomina & quanta sustineat. Proinde, faventibus diis, trade eum præceptoris, à quo mores primum, mox eloquentiam discat, quæ malè sine moribus discitur. Vale.

“ and obvious to all the world, you may in point of
 “ eloquence rely upon the testimony of the public in
 “ his favour. It is not so with the life and manners
 “ of a man, they have their secret places, into which
 “ it is scarce possible to penetrate; and in this point
 “ I will be bound for Genitor. Your son will hear
 “ nothing from him, but what may be to his advan-
 “ tage, nor learn any thing of him, which it might be
 “ better for him not to know. He will be no less careful
 “ than you or me, to set continually before his eyes
 “ the examples and virtues of his ancestors, and make
 “ him fully sensible how heavy a burden their great
 “ names lay upon him. Make no scruple therefore
 “ to put him into the hands of a master, who will
 “ first train him up to good morals, and then to elo-
 “ quence, which is never well taught without moral-
 “ ity. Farewel.”

It is not enough to make choice of a good college. To reap all the benefit from it that may be expected, the parents must often visit the principal, the regents and preceptors, to inform themselves of the behaviour of their children, and the progress they make in their studies. They must acquaint them with their dispositions and inclinations, which they cannot but know better than any other. They must consult with them upon proper measures for correcting their faults, support them with their whole authority, and join with them altogether in case of reward, commendation, reprimand or punishment. It is not to be expressed, how useful this good understanding of parents with the masters may be to the children.

[7] Horace, in the beautiful satyr wherein he expresses his grateful acknowledgments for the extraordinary pains his father took in his education, does not fail to observe, that he was careful to visit his masters often; and he attributes to this in a great measure the happiness he had, of having been not only exempt from the irregularities common to youth, but of having escaped even the slightest suspicion of them.

[7] Lib. i. sat. 6.

*Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes
Circum doctores aderat. Quid multa? pudicum,
Qui primus virtutis bonos, servavit ab omni
Non solum factio, verum opprobrio quoque turpi.*

- “ Himself my faithful guardian, ever nigh,
“ On all my tutors kept his cautious eye ;
“ Hence to his care, and to his love I owe,
“ Whatever honour, peace, or truth I know.”

It is a fault, [r] says Plutarch, which very much deserves to be condemned in parents, to think themselves entirely discharged from the care of watching over their children, as soon as they are put into the hands of masters, and not to think any longer of being certified with their own eyes and ears in regard to the progress they make in study and virtue. Besides that it ill becomes a father, in a matter of this importance, and wherein he is so nearly concerned, blindly to rely upon the integrity of strangers, who amongst the ancients were generally slaves or freedmen; it is certain, adds the same author, that a father's care to inform himself from time to time, and take an account of his son's application and behaviour, may serve at the same time to make both the scholars and the masters more exact and diligent in the discharge of their several duties. He applies to this subject the proverb, which says, [s] The master's eye makes the horse fat.

How just soever this duty is, and easy to be discharged, it is seldom that parents discharge it. They scarce ever concern themselves about the behaviour of their children, when they are grown up, and have left the college; and the most of them shew such an indifference and negligence in this point, as is scarce to be imagined. A great many excuse it, with a pretence of their business and employment, as if the education of their children was not the most important of

[r] De educ. liberis.

[s] Οὐδὲν ἔγω παύσει τὸν ἵππον ὡς
Βασιλεως ὑφ' ὀφθαλμοῦ.

all, or the character of father was ever to be effaced by that of magistrate or minister.

Plato observes, that it is a very usual fault with persons concerned in the government of a state, to neglect the care of their own family; and in a dialogue, entitled *Laches*, he introduces two of the most considerable men in Athens, complaining, that if they had acquired little merit and glory, it was their father's fault, who, however distinguished by great actions, both in peace and war, and entirely devoted to the affairs of others, had taken no care of their education, but had left them to themselves, and their own management, at an age when they had most occasion to be looked over and restrained. Would to God that many children had not still cause to utter the like complaints!

Cato the Censor, though taken up with the greatest affairs of state, engaged in the most important employments, and the life of the debates in the senate, did not fall into this mistake, but became himself a preceptor to his son. Paulus Æmilius, amidst his great occupations, found time to assist at the conferences made by his children, and to encourage their studies by his presence. He was well paid for his pains, and the reputation [†] they acquired was a just and grateful reward.

These great men were very far from a fault which is now too common; especially among great men and soldiers, who take pains to repeat to their children, that they do not design to make doctors of them, and have sent them only to college, to pass away a few years, till they are old enough to be sent to the academy, or enter into the service. Such a discourse is capable of rendering the whole fruit of their studies abortive, as it directly tends to stifle and extinguish all emulation in the mind of the boys, whereas parents should employ all their care in exciting, supporting, and augmenting it; because, if their children have a sense of it in their classes, they will afterwards carry it into

[†] The younger Scipio Africanus was one of his children.

the employments confided to them, and take the like pains to succeed and distinguish themselves in them.

But to return to the choice of a preceptor. Plutarch, in a treatise we have of his, concerning the manner of educating children, requires in the masters an unblameable life, a good understanding, great learning, and a capacity for governing, acquired by long experience. But he sadly complains of the negligence, or rather the stupidity of parents, who, in a choice which generally determines the fate and merit of their children for their whole life, take up with the first comer, have regard only to the recommendation of persons little to be relied upon, and guided by a sordid avarice, regard only the expence in the choice of a preceptor, and think him the best that costs them least. He tells us a very notable saying of Aristippus upon this occasion. A father, surpris'd that he should ask a thousand drachmas of him for the instruction of his son, cried out, Why, I could buy a slave for that price. You will have two instead of one, replied the philosopher; thereby insinuating to this covetous father, that he would make no more than a slave of his son.

[u] The satyric poet makes the same complaints, and cannot bear that fathers and mothers, whilst they are at a thousand foolish expences upon their buildings, furniture, equipage, and table, should be so very sparing in the education of their children.

*Hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano,
Ut multum, duo, sufficient. Res nulla minoris
Constabit patri quam filius.*

[x] Crates the philosopher said, that he could wish he was upon the top of the most eminent place in the city, that he might cry aloud to the citizens, “ O senseless generation! how foolish are ye to think only of heaping up riches, and absolutely to neglect the education of your children, for whom you pretend to amass it.”

[u] Juvenal, lib. iii. sat. 7. [x] Plut. de lib. educand. lib. xiv. c. 55.

[y] Parents pay sometimes very dear for their negligence and avarice, when afterwards they have the grief to see their children, abandoned to every kind of vice and disorder, dishonour them a thousand ways, and frequently squander away more money in one year in gratifying their passions, than parents would have spent in ten, in giving them a virtuous and solid education.

No expence therefore must be spared to have a good preceptor; and they must remember, that the noblest and most serviceable use they can make of their money, is to purchase with it men of merit in any kind, and especially in what relates to the instruction of their children. [z] When Seneca would have given back into the hands of Nero, the great wealth, which made him envied, the emperor answered him, that as great as his wealth might seem, there were persons far below Seneca in merit, who possessed a great deal more. I am ashamed, said he to him, to see freedmen richer than you are, and that, as you have the highest place in my esteem, you should not be the greatest in my empire. *Pudet referre libertinos, qui ditiores spectantur. Unde etiam rubori mihi est, quod præcipuus caritate nondum omnes fortuna antecellis.* I do not examine whether Nero thought as he spoke; but this is certain, that understanding and reasonable parents should think thus, and be concerned to see a steward, a secretary, and sometimes a porter get a greater fortune in their service, than the preceptor to the son of the family.

It must be owned there are parents, though the number of them is very small, who do not want generosity in this point, and, not content with paying very good salaries to their childrens tutors, think themselves farther obliged to settle upon them a reasonable revenue for life, sufficient to enable them to enjoy the fruit of their labours at ease and liberty. How small a diminution indeed would an annuity of thirty, fifty, or a hundred pistoles, more or less, according to their different circumstances, make in the estates which so

[y] Plut. de lib. educand. lib. xiv. cap. 55. [z] Tacit. Annal.

many wealthy persons enjoy? Does it come up to the services whereof it is the reward? I always read with singular pleasure, the admirable discourse of the young Tobias to his father, concerning the guide who had conducted him in his journey, and the particular account he gives of the services he received from him, the greatness and number of which he lays down with the same exactness as if he had been to receive the reward and not to give it. *O father, [a] said he to him, what wages shall we give him, that bears any proportion to the benefits he has done unto us? He has brought me again unto thee in perfect safety, he went himself to receive the money of Cabaël, he has made whole my wife, has driven away the devil from her which tormented her, he has filled her father and mother with joy, he has delivered me from the fish that was ready to devour me, he has likewise healed thee, and by his means it is that we enjoy all kinds of blessings. What then may we give unto him for all he hath done to us? I beg of you, O father, to intreat him that he would be pleased to accept of half of all that we have brought.*

What noble sentiments are here! The young Tobias does not think he does any great matter for his guide by so advantageous an offer, but judges that he shall receive himself a favour wherewith he should be very much honoured, if the guide would think fit to accept of his proposal. *If he will be pleased to accept of half of all those things that we have brought.* Here we have a just model for parents; as the description he gives of the services which his guide had done for him is likewise a pattern for tutors, who should serve as guardian angels to their pupils.

All parents are not in a condition to make the fortune of their children's tutors, but they are all able and obliged to honour them, to express constantly a great value for them, and to procure them, by their conduct, the esteem and respect of the children and the whole family. He should be looked upon and re-

[a] Tob. xii. 2—4.

respected as the father himself, for this is the idea which the ancients required should be had of a preceptor.

[b] *Dii majorum umbris tenuem & sine pondere terram ...
Qui præceptorem sancti voluere parentis
Esse loco.*

Though all parents, even such as can make but small allowances, should be very careful in the choice of a preceptor, they must not however be too scrupulous upon this point, nor expect to find all the qualifications that can be desired in a good master. There is nothing more extraordinary, than a man who has all these virtues united in him. The greatest lords and princes find a great difficulty in meeting with persons so qualified. People are often obliged to trust the education of their children with young preceptors, who are without experience, and have not had time to acquire a great deal of learning. But provided they bring with them good dispositions, and do not want understanding and judgment, are fond of taking pains, and above all are moral and religious men, the parents ought to be satisfied. They must only endeavour to make them apply to some wise and experienced person in this way, to consult upon occasions, and govern themselves by his advice. But what in my opinion seems absolutely necessary, and parents should never omit, is to begin with putting some proper books into the hands of the master they set over their children, to instruct him in a right method of educating them, such as those of M. de Fenelon, Mr. Locke, and some others of a like nature. I could wish that mine might be useful to them. I composed them at least with that view.

Parents should never omit a powerful means they have in their hands, of drawing down the blessing of God upon their children, and that is by contributing more or less, in proportion to their circumstances, to the subsistence of some poor scholar, and to help him forward in his learning. I formerly received a like as-

[c] Juvenal, lib. iii. satyr. 7.

stance from the liberality of the late minister M. de Peletier. I had the happiness of being in the same classes with his children [c] in the college du Pleffis, and to reap the advantage of the excellent education he gave them. I often disputed with them for the first places and prizes. M. le Peletier rewarded me in the same manner as he did them. I may say, that during the whole course of my studies, he was a kind of father to me, and has since expressed towards me a truly paternal affection. There is no day passes in my life without the remembrance of his good deeds, and my gratitude becomes the stronger, as I am every day more sensible of the value of a good education.

C H A P. IV.

Of the DUTY of PRECEPTORS.

I Have little to add upon this subject, after what I have said upon it in the different parts of this treatise.

[d] Preceptors are in the place of parents, and must therefore adopt their sentiments, and be kind and tender to the children, but with a kindness which must not degenerate into indulgence, and an affection directed by reason. Nothing must seem below them, which parents would do for their children. I thereby mean certain little cares relating to their persons and health, especially whilst they are very young or sick. This care and attention are very pleasing to parents, and contribute very much to the making them easy.

For the same reason that they supply the place of the parents, they must not look upon themselves as absolute masters of the children, nor pretend to govern them after their own wills and fancy, without any dependence upon the parents, or without consulting them in any thing; and even sometimes forbidding the children, under severe punishments, to tell them

[c] The late bishop of Angers, and M. Peletier the late premier president.

[d] Sumat ante omnia parentis

erga discipulos suos animum, ac succedere se in eorum locum, à quibus sibi liberi traduntur existimet.

Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 2.

any thing of what passes in private. Masters who act only by reason and rule, have no need to impose this silence and secrecy upon their scholars, which has something odious and tyrannical in it, and which the parents have just cause to complain of. By communicating their authority to the masters, they did not design to divest themselves of it. Nothing is more just or reasonable than to consult with them upon the manner of managing their children, to act wholly in concert with them, to take their advice, enter into their views, and, in a word, to have an entire confidence and openness on both sides, which leaves a liberty of mutually declaring what they judge will be most advantageous for the children. I suppose that the parents are such as they should be, and that they require nothing contrary to a Christian education. If it be otherways, the preceptors, by bearing with patience and condescension all that may be endured, may proceed with gentle and moderate remonstrances. When these prove useless, it is their duty to retire, and quit an employment wherein they are not allowed to follow the light of their conscience, or discharge their duty; but they should quit it in a civil manner, without expressing any ill humour, or breaking with the parents.

What I have said of the good understanding between tutors and parents, must likewise be understood with reference to the principal of a college. When the children are there, it is with him they are chiefly intrusted. It is he who is charged with the discipline of the college, both in public and private, and it is he who answers for all that passes there. Now, without the subordination I am speaking of, he is not in a condition to discharge the essential duties of his place and character.

Amongst the virtues of a good master, vigilance and assiduity are some of the chief. He cannot carry them too far, provided it be without constraint and affectation. He is a guardian angel to the children; there is no moment in which he is not charged with their conduct. If his absence, or want of care, for they are

are much alike, gives the enemy, who is continually watching round them, an opportunity of carrying off the precious treasure of their innocence, what will he answer to Jesus Christ, when he demands an account of their souls, and reproaches him with having been less vigilant in taking care of them, than the devil in destroying them? The misfortune is, that the generality of masters are not often attentive to their obligation upon this point, till they learn it from fatal experience, which they might have prevented, by an holy and religious diligence, which constitutes the proper character of every man who presides over the conduct of others: [e] *He that ruleth (let him do it) with diligence.*

The master's care must extend to the servants, who wait upon the children, and it is not the least of his obligations, though it is generally not known or not minded. As [f] Quintilian observes, we have as much cause to apprehend danger from vicious servants, as from bad companions who have usually better education, and more honour, *nec tutior inter servos malos, quàm ingenuos parùm modestos, conversatio est.* He must be careful therefore never to leave a child alone with the servants, unless he is fully assured of their probity and piety; for such there are, of whom parents and masters cannot take too much care.

As children, especially when they are young, are fickle and inconstant in their dispositions, it is proper that they never should be out of their master's sight, not even whilst they are at their studies in private. His presence alone will very much contribute to make them attentive, by fixing their imagination, and save them abundance of distraction and negligence, from whence arise the faults they make in their compositions, that afterwards occasion the chiding and correction, which might have been avoided by the assiduous, rather than the troublesome and pressing diligence of the master. This Quintilian insinuates by the following words, *assiduus sit potius quàm immodicus.*

[e] Rom. xii. 8.

[f] Lib. i. cap. 2.

Affiduity must not seem difficult in the college, where the masters are absolutely at liberty during the whole time of the classes, which would render them entirely inexcusable, if they failed in this point: whereas the same assiduity is very severe and a great confinement in private houses, where the preceptor is obliged to attend his scholars all the day long. It is wise in the parents, and, I may say, for their interest too, to endeavour as much as possible to soften this restraint, by allowing the master every week an afternoon entirely to himself, and taking upon themselves the care of the children during that time. There is no constitution that can hold out under so continual a confinement. A preceptor should have a time to unbend, to visit his friends, to keep up his acquaintance, to advise with them about his studies, and the difficulties he meets with in the education of his charge; in a word, not to be always confined to his scholar. It is not easy to express how much this condescension of the parents encourages the masters, and renders their zeal more lively and vigilant.

I have already taken notice, that a master must never act by passion, humour, or fancy. It is one of the greatest faults in education, as it never escapes the discerning eye of the scholars, renders all the good qualifications of the master almost useless, and deprives his instructions and admonitions of almost all their authority; and what is yet very grievous, those who act most by humour are apt to perceive it least, and often take it ill to be put in mind of it, though it is the best office that a friend can do them.

I am ashamed to mention here certain injurious terms which are sometimes used towards the scholars, such as *blockhead*, *beast*, *ass*, &c. Nor would I do it, if I did not know that these terms were often in the mouths of some masters. Does such language arise from reason, good breeding, or good understanding? Is it not evident that it must be either the effect of a mean education, or of a clownish disposition, which knows not
 what

what decency is, or of a violent and passionate mind that cannot contain itself?

Amongst those who take upon them the education of youth, there are several, whom their narrow circumstances, or even sometimes absolute poverty, have obliged to enter into this profession, and this they must not be ashamed of. The famous Origen taught grammar for a subsistence, and had the happiness of preserving all his life long the remembrance and love of that poverty, wherein his father left him at his death. This is an excellent model for masters. The salary they get for their pains is certainly very lawful, and well deserved. However I would not have that the only motive, nor even the prevailing one, which engages them to it, but that the will of God, and the desire of sanctifying themselves, should have the first and principal share in it. The cruelty of parents often obliges masters to haggle with them, and dispute about the terms of their salary. It were to be wished, that the generosity of parents on one hand, and the disinterestedness of masters on the other, might prevent any occasion for this kind of agreements, which, in my opinion have something mean and sordid in them. It might be well for the latter to rely a little more upon providence than they usually do, and I have never observed that it has ever failed those who have absolutely confided in it.

If views of interest are unworthy a preceptor, that is truly christian, those of vanity and ambition are no less so. I have oft admired what St. Augustine says of the motive, which engaged Nebrides to take upon him the instruction of youth, a motive directly opposite to the two faults I am here speaking of. [g] He was St. Augustine's intimate friend, and had left his country, his estate, and mother, to follow him to Milan, without any other reason, than to give himself up with his friend, to a search after truth and wisdom, which they both pursued with equal zeal. He could not refuse, at his instant intreaties, to become an assistant to Vere-

[g] Conf. l. vi. c. 10.

cundus, who taught a school at Milan. It was not, says St. Augustine, the desire of gain, which induced Nebrides to take upon him this employment, since he might have had a much more profitable one if he had pleased; and still less was it through any motive of vanity or ambition, as he had always shunned the acquaintance of great men, desiring only the obscurity of a peaceable retreat, wherein he might give up his whole time to the study of wisdom.

This example puts me in mind of another, which is no less admirable, and relates to the education of a young gentleman of great quality. [b] The father, full of ambition, thought only of raising his son to great employments in the state, and the mother, who was a true Christian, of making him great in heaven. She thought she could only succeed in her desires by giving him an holy education, and to this end she proposed to a monk, whom she had desired to come to Antioch, to leave his mountain and retirement, and take upon him the care of her son. She conjured him to it in so earnest and pathological a manner, protesting to him that he should answer for the soul of that child, that he thought he was under an obligation not to refuse it. The success answered the hopes of the pious mother. The child, instructed by his excellent preceptor, made an extraordinary progress in the sciences, and still more in piety. Gay, civil, affable and obliging to every body, he insinuated himself by that agreeable behaviour into the favour of his companions, which gave him an opportunity of gaining over several of them, and leading them to embrace virtue. St. Chrysostom, who was an eye-witness of this fact, has given us the history of it, but more at length than I have here quoted it.

What I gather from these two examples, and with which I shall end this chapter, is, that piety is the most essential and important qualification in a preceptor, that which should be preferred to all the rest, and adds an infinite value to them. It inspires the masters

[b] St. Chryf. de vit. Monach. lib. ii. c. 14.

with an earnest zeal for the scholars, which usually draws upon them the blessing of heaven. [i] I have in another place produced an excellent example of this zeal in the person of St. Augustine, which may serve as an instruction and model to all Christian masters.

C H A P. V.

Of the DUTY of SCHOLARS.

QUINTILIAN says, [k] that he has included almost all the duty of scholars in this one piece of advice, which he gives them, to love those who teach them as they love the sciences which they learn of them, and to look upon them as fathers, from whom they derive not the life of the body, but that instruction which is in a manner the life of the soul. Indeed this sentiment of affection and respect suffices to make them apt to learn during the time of their studies, and full of gratitude all the rest of their lives. It seems to me to include a great part of what is to be expected from them.

[l] Docility, which consists in submitting to direction, in readily receiving the instructions of their masters, and reducing them to practice, is properly the virtue of scholars, as that of masters is to teach well: The one can do nothing without the other; and as it is not sufficient for the labourer to sow the seed, unless the earth, after having opened its bosom to receive it, in a manner hatches, warms and moistens it; so likewise the whole fruit of instruction depends upon a good correspondence between the masters and the scholars.

[i] Vol. i. Prelim. Disc. p. 36.

[k] Plura de officiis docentium locutus, discipulos id unum interim moneo, ut præceptores suos non minus quam ipsa studia ament; & parentes esse, non quidem corporum, sed mentium credant. Quintil. lib. ii. c. 9.

[l] Ut magistrorum officium est, docere: sic, discipulorum, præbere se dociles: alioqui neutrum sine altero sufficit. Et, sicut frustra speris semina, nisi illa præmolitus foverit sulcus: ita eloquentia coalescere nequit, nisi fociata tradentis accipientisque concordia. Ibid.

Gratitude for those who have laboured in our education, is the character of an honest man, and the mark of a good heart. Who is there among us, [m] says Cicero, that has been instructed with any care, that is not highly delighted with the sight, or even the bare remembrance of his preceptors, masters, and the place where he was taught and brought up? [n] Seneca exhorts young men to preserve always a great respect for their masters, to whose care they are indebted for the amendment of their faults, and for having imbibed sentiments of honour and probity. [o] Their exactness and severity displease sometimes at an age, when we are not in a condition to judge of the obligations we owe to them; but when years have ripened our understanding and judgment, we then discern that what made us dislike them, I mean admonitions, reprimands, and a severe exactness in restraining the passions of an imprudent and inconsiderate age, is expressly the very thing which should make us esteem and love them. [p] Thus we see that Marcus Aurelius, one of the wisest and most illustrious emperors that Rome ever had, thanked the Gods for two things, especially for his having had excellent tutors himself, and that he had found the like for his children.

Quintilian, after having noted the different characters of the mind in children, draws in a few words the image of what he judged to be a perfect scholar, and certainly it is a very amiable one. “ For my part, says he, I like a child who is encouraged by commendation, is animated by a sense of glory, and weeps when he is outdone. A noble emulation will

[m] Quis est nostrum liberaliter educatus, cui non educator, cui non magister suus atque doctor, cui non locus ille mutus ubi ipse altus aut doctus est, cum grata recordatione in mente versetur? Cic. pro Planc. n. 81.

[n] Præceptores suos adolescens veneretur ac suspiciat, quorum beneficio se vitis exiit, & sub quorum tutela positus exercet bonas artes. Senec. ep. 83.

[o] Tandiu illos odio habemus, quandiu graves iudicamus, & quandiu beneficia illorum non intelligimus. Cum jam ætas aliquid prudentiæ collegit, apparet propter illa ipsa amari à nobis debere, propter quæ non amabantur; admonitiones, severitatem, & inconsultæ adolescentiæ custodiam. Senec. lib. v. de Benef. c. 5.

[p] M. Aurel. l. i. § 17.

“ always

“ always keep him in exercise; a reprimand will
 “ touch him to the quick, and honour will serve in-
 “ stead of a spur. We need not fear that such a scho-
 “ lar will ever give himself up to idleness.” *Mibi
 ille detur puer, quem laus excitet, quem gloria juvet, qui
 victus flect. Hic erit alendus ambitu : hunc mordebit ob-
 jurgatio : hunc honor excitabit : in hoc desidiam nunquam
 verebor.*

How great a value soever Quintilian sets upon the talents of the mind, he esteems those of the heart far beyond them, and looks upon the others as of no value without these. In the same chapter, from whence I took the preceding words, he declares, he should never have a good opinion of a child, who placed his study in occasioning laughter, by mimicking the behaviour, mien, and faults of others, and he presently gives an admirable reason for it. “ A child, says he, cannot be truly ingenious, in my opinion, unless he be good and virtuous; otherwise I should rather chuse to have him dull and heavy, than of a bad disposition.” *Non dabit mihi spem bonæ indolis, qui hoc imitandi studio petet, ut rideatur. Nam probus quoque inprimis erit ille verè ingeniosus : alioqui non pejus duxerim, tardi esse ingenii, quàm mali.*

He displays to us all these talents in the eldest of his two children, whose character he draws, and whose death he laments in so eloquent and pathetic a strain, in the beautiful preface to his sixth book. I shall beg leave to insert here a small extract of it, which will not be usefess to the boys, as they will find it a model which suits well with their age and condition.

After having mentioned his younger son, who died at five years old, and described the graces and beauties of his countenance, the prettiness of his expressions, the vivacity of his understanding, which began to shine through the veil of childhood; “ I had itill left me, [q] says he, my son Quintilian, in whom
 “ I

[q] Una post hæc Quintiliani mei spe ac voluptate nitebar : & poterat sufficere solatio. Non enim

flocculos, sicut prior, sed, jam decimum ætatis ingressus annum, certos atque deformatos fructus ostenderat.

“ I placed all my pleasure and all my hopes, and com-
 “ fort enough I might have found in him. For hav-
 “ ing now entered into his tenth year, he did not pro-
 “ duce only blossoms like his younger brother, but
 “ fruits already formed, and beyond the power of
 “ disappointment. . . I have much experience, but I
 “ never saw in any child, I do not only say so many
 “ excellent dispositions for the sciences, nor so much
 “ taste and inclination for study, as his masters know,
 “ but so much probity, sweetness, good-nature, gen-
 “ tleness and inclination to please and oblige, as I dis-
 “ cerned in him.

[r] “ Besides this, he had all the advantages of na-
 “ ture, a charming voice, a pleasing countenance,
 “ and a surprising facility in pronouncing well the
 “ two languages, as if he had been equally born for
 “ both of them.

[s] “ But all this was no more than hopes. I set
 “ a greater value upon his admirable virtues, his
 “ equality of temper, his resolution, the courage with
 “ which he bore up against fear and pain. For how
 “ were his physicians astonished at his patience under
 “ a distemper of eight months continuance, when at
 “ the point of death he comforted me himself, and bade
 “ me not to weep for him! and, delirious as he some-
 “ times was, at his last moments his tongue ran of
 “ nothing else but learning and the sciences: O vain
 “ and deceitful hopes! &c.”

Are there many boys amongst us, of whom we can truly say so much to their advantage, as Quintilian says here of his son? What a shame would it be for

derat. Juro . . . has me in illo vidisse virtutes ingenii non mediò ad percipiendas disciplinas, quo nihil præstantius cognovi plurima experius, studii que jam tam non coacti, (sciunt præceptores) sed probitatis, pietatis, humanitatis, liberalitatis. . .

[r] Etiam illa fortuita aderant omnia, vocis jucunditas claritasque, oris suavitas, & in utraque lingua, tanquam ad eam demum natus esset, expressa proprietates emul-

um literarum.

[s] Sed hæc spes adhuc. Illa majora: constantia, gravitas, contra dolores etiam ac metus robur. Nam quo ille animo, qua medicorum admiratione, mensium octo valetudinem tulit! Ut me in supremis consolatus est! Quàm, etiam deficiens, jamque non noster, ipsum illum alienatæ mentis errorem circa solas literas non habuit!

them,

them, if born and brought up in a Christian country, they had not even the virtues of Pagan children! I make no scruple to repeat them here again, docility, obedience, respect for their masters, or rather a degree of affection, and the source of an eternal gratitude, zeal for study, and a wonderful thirst after the sciences, joined to an abhorrence of vice and irregularity, an admirable fund of probity, goodness, gentleness, civility and liberality; as also patience, courage and greatness of soul in the course of a long sickness. What then was wanting to all these virtues? That which alone could render them truly worthy the name, and must be in a manner the soul of them, and constitute their whole value, the precious gift of faith and piety, the saving knowledge of a Mediator, a sincere desire of pleasing God, and referring all our actions to him.

It is this which infinitely exalts every other talent in Christian children, and alone deserves to be proposed to them as a perfect model, worthy of their whole imitation. They may find it in two illustrious saints, whose knowledge and virtue have done so much honour to the church. I mean St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen.

They were both descended of very noble families in the eye of the world, and still more so in the eyes of God. They were born almost at the same time, and their birth was the fruit of the prayers and piety of their mothers, who from that very moment devoted them to God, from whom they had received them. The mother of St. Gregory, presenting him to him in the church, sanctified his hands by the sacred books she made him touch.

They had both of them all the qualifications that make children amiable, beauty of person, charms of mind, and mildness and politeness of manners.

Their education was such, as may be imagined in families, where piety, if I may be allowed the expression, was hereditary and domestic: and where fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters and grandfathers on both sides,

sides, were all of them saints, and most of them very eminent ones.

The happy disposition, which God had given them, was cultivated with all possible care. After they had finished their studies at home, they were sent separately into the cities of Greece which were of greatest reputation for learning, and put under the tuition of the most excellent masters.

At last they met again at Athens. We know that this city was in a manner the theatre and centre of polite learning and all erudition. It was likewise in a manner the cradle of the famous friendship which subsisted between our two saints, or at least it served very much to tie the knot of it in a straiter manner. A very extraordinary adventure gave occasion to it. There was an odd custom at Athens, relating to such scholars as were new-comers, that were sent thither from different provinces. They began with introducing them into a numerous assembly of youth like themselves, and there they exposed them to all imaginary raillery and insolence, after which they led them cross the city in procession, conducted and preceded by all the boys, who marched two by two before them. When they came to the place appointed, the whole company stopt, set up a loud cry, and made as if they would break open the gates, and they were refused to be opened to them. When the novice had been admitted there, he was then restored to his liberty. Gregory, who came first to Athens, and saw how opposite this ridiculous ceremony was to the grave and serious character of Basil, and how disagreeable it would be to him, had credit enough among his companions to get it dispensed with. It was this, [t] says St. Gregory Nazianzen, in the admirable account he gives of this adventure, which gave occasion to our sacred friendship, which began to kindle in us that flame which has never since been extinguished, and which pierced our hearts with a dart that is fixed there for

[t] Τέτο ἡμῶν τῆς φιλίας ἀφορμή. διὰ ἧτος ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐπέβημεν.
 μισοῦ ἔτιυθεν ὁ τῆς συγκαταστάσεως σπιν-

ever. Happy Athens, cries he out, thou source of all my felicity! I went thither only to acquire knowledge, and I found there the most precious of all my treasures, an affectionate and faithful friend, happier in this than Saul, who seeking but for asses found a kingdom.

This relation, formed and begun, as I have now mentioned, grew every day stronger and stronger, especially when these two friends, who kept nothing a secret from each other, mutually laying open their hearts, discerned they had both the same end, and fought for the same treasure, that is to say, wisdom and virtue. They lived under the same roof, eat at the same table, had the same exercises and pleasures, and were properly speaking but one and the same soul; a marvellous union, says St. Gregory, which cannot be really produced by any other than a chaste and Christian friendship.

We both alike aspired to knowledge, an object the most capable of raising sentiments of envy and jealousy, and yet we were absolutely exempt from that subtil and malicious passion, and experienced no other than a noble emulation. Each of us had a higher sense of the glory of his friend than of his own, and sought not to gain the superiority over him, but to yield to him, and imitate him.

Our principal study and only end was virtue. We strove to render our friendship eternal by preparing ourselves for a blessed immortality, by withdrawing our affection more and more from the things of this world. We took the word of God for our conductor and guide. We served as masters and overseers to ourselves, by mutually exhorting one another to the practice of piety; and I might say, if there was not some kind of vanity in the expression, that we were a kind of rule to each other, whereby to discern falsehood from truth, and good from evil.

We had no conversation with such of our companions as were saucy, passionate, or immoral; and kept company only with such, as by their modesty,
cir-

circumspection and wisdom might assist and support us in the good designs we had formed; knowing that bad examples, like contagious distempers, are easily communicated.

These two saints, as we cannot too often repeat to youth, were always distinguished among their companions by the beauty and liveliness of their wit, by their diligence and labour, by the extraordinary success they had in all their studies, by the ease and readiness with which they acquired all the sciences taught at Athens; polite learning, poetry, eloquence and philosophy. But they were still more distinguished by the innocence of their manners, which was alarmed at the sight of the least danger, and afraid of even the shadow of vice. A dream, which St. Gregory had, when he was very young, of which he has left us an elegant description in verse, very much contributed to inspire him with these sentiments. As he slept, he thought he saw two virgins of the same age and of equal beauty, clothed in a modest manner, and without any of those ornaments which ladies usually are fond of. Their eyes were fixed upon the ground, and their countenance covered with a veil, which did not hinder him from discerning the blush which a maiden shame spreads over their cheeks [u]. The sight of them adds the saint, filled me with joy, for they seemed to have something in them more than human. They took me in their arms and caressed me as a child, whom they dearly loved, and when I asked them who they were, the one told me she was * *Purity*, and the other † *Continence*; but both the companions of Jesus Christ, and the friends of those who renounced marriage to lead an heavenly life. They exhorted me to join my heart and mind to theirs, that being filled with the glory of virginity, they might present

[u] Κρηδέμων δ' ἐφ' ἕπεσθε κερήματα Αἰδοῦς ἀμφοτέρησιν ἐπέστρεπε καλῶν
 ἢ δὲ παρκεῖς ἔσθθηθ',
 Κρυψάμεναι, κατὰ γῆς ἑταῶτ' ἕμ- "Ὅσον εὐσότηταν φαίνεθ' ἐπ' ἐν
 ματ' ἔχον· φασέων.

* Ἀγνεία.

† Σωφροσύνη.

me before the light of the immortal Trinity. After these words they flew up to heaven, and my eyes followed them as far as they could.

All this indeed was but a dream, but had a very real effect upon the heart of the saint. He never forgot the agreeable image of chastity, and reflected upon it with pleasure in his mind. It was, as he says himself, a spark of fire, which increasing by degrees, inkindled in him the love of a perfect continence.

Basil and he had great need of such a virtue to defend themselves amidst the perils of Athens, the most dangerous city in the world in point of morals, in consequence of the vast concourse of youth which came thither from all parts, and brought with them their vices and irregularities. But, says St. Gregory, we had the happiness of experiencing in that corrupt city something like what the poets tell, of a river, which preserves the sweetness of its waters amidst the saltness of the sea, and of an animal which subsists in the midst of fire. We had no conversation or friendship with the bad; we knew but two ways in Athens, the one which led us to the church and the holy divines who taught there, and the other which led us to the schools, and our masters in learning. As to entertainments, spectacles, assemblies and festivals, we were absolutely ignorant of them.

One might naturally imagine, that youths of this character, who separated themselves from all society, who had no share in any of the pleasures and diversions of those of their own age, whose pure and innocent lives were a continual censure of the irregularity of the rest, must have been the mark of all their companions, and the object of their hatred, or at least of their contempt and raillery. But it was quite the contrary; and nothing is more glorious to the memory of these two illustrious saints, and, I venture to say, reflects more honour upon piety itself, than such an event. Their virtue indeed must have been very pure, and their conduct very wise and discreet, to have not

only the envy and hatred, but to have gained in general the esteem, love and respect of all their companions.

This was seen in an eminent manner, when it was reported that they designed to leave Athens to return into their own country. The grief was universal; cries and lamentations were heard on all sides, and tears flowed from every eye. They were about to lose the honour of their city, and glory of their schools. The masters and scholars, adding force and violence to prayers and complaints, protested they would not let them go, nor ever consent to their departure. One of them could not help yielding to this extraordinary sollicitation, which might rather be called a conspiracy to detain him. This was Gregory, and one may easily judge how much he was concerned at it.

I question whether it is possible to imagine a more perfect model for the boys, than that which I have now laid before their eyes, where we find all the circumstances united, that can render youth amiable and valuable; noble blood, beauty of mind, an incredible ardour for study, wonderful success in all the sciences, polite and noble manners, a surprising modesty amidst public praises and applauses, and what infinitely sets off all these qualifications, a piety and fear of God, which ill examples only improved and confirmed. We may read an admirable character of these two great faints, in M. du Guet's letters, expressly drawn up for the use of the scholars, who were to answer upon some of their discourses.

Besides the example of some illustrious Christian faints, such as the two I have mentioned, it may be proper for the boys to take a view of those that are to be found in holy Scripture. They will there find young Samuel by his piety and virtue alike agreeable to God and men. [x] *And the child Samuel grew on, and was in favour both with the Lord and also with men.* They will there admire an holy king, who, at eight years old, following the example of David, was ever careful to please God in all that he did. [y] *And he did*

[x] 1 Sam. ii. 26.

[y] 2 Kings xxii. 2.

that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and walked in all the ways of David his father. They will there see Tobit, after he had passed his youth in innocence, avoiding the company of such as sacrificed unto the golden calves, shewing nothing childish in his behaviour, and keeping with all exactness the injunctions of the law from his infancy. [z] *Solus fugiebat consortia omnium. . . Nihil puerile gessit in opere. . . Hæc & his familia secundum legem Dei puerulus observabat.* They will see him, I say, educating his son in the same manner, by instructing him in his infancy to fear God, and abstain from every sin. *Quem ab infantiâ timere Deum docuit, & abstinere ab omni peccato.* They will be surpris'd to find long before Christianity, a courage truly heroical and christian, in the seven brethren of the Maccabees, who were all determin'd to die by the most cruel punishments, rather than transgress the law of God. [a] *We are ready to die, rather than to transgress the laws of our fathers.*

But they must principally imbibe their sentiments from the very fountain of holiness and piety, that is, from Jesus Christ, who, to sanctify childhood and youth, was pleas'd to be born a child, and afterward to set an example to all persons, of the several virtues which properly belong to them, by his exactness in going up to the temple at the appointed times; by his diligence in hearing the doctors; by the wisdom and modesty of his answers; his application to do the work of his Father, and execute his orders without consulting with flesh or blood; by his perfect submission to his parents; and lastly, by the care he took of outwardly shewing before God and men, in proportion as he advanced in years, a visible progress of grace and wisdom, the fulness of which he had received from the first moment of his incarnation.

The CONCLUSION of this WORK.

I am now come to the end of my work, which I undertook with a view to serve the public, and to be of

[z] Tob. c. i.

[a] 2 Macc. vii. 2.

some assistance, if I could to youth, and those who are entrusted with their education. It was not my design to say any thing which might in the least offend any of my brethren, or any person whatsoever. If, however, this has happened without my intention or knowledge, I desire they would excuse it, and take in good part what is fallen from me without any bad design.

All that now remains, is to beg of God, who is the only master of mankind, the author of all light, and of every excellent gift, who dispenses talents as he pleases, and inspires us with the manner of making good use of them, to whom alone it belongs to speak to the heart as well as to the understanding, to beseech him, I say, that he would be pleased to give a blessing to this work, to the author, the children, the parents, the masters and servants, in a word, to all who have any care in the education of youth, in any place or any college whatsoever; and particularly, that he would be pleased to pour down abundantly his grace upon the university of Paris, that he will continue to preserve and increase, not only the taste of learning and the sciences, which has always flourished in it, but still more that disposition to piety and religion, which has hitherto been its most solid glory. Amen.

T H E E N D.



