



HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS OF
ENGLISH LITERATURE

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JULIUS
CAESAR
PLUTARCH

BLACKIE'S
ENGLISH
TEXTS

Edited by
W.H.D. ROUSE
LITT.D.



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INTRODUCTION

Life of Plutarch.—Plutarch, the author of the Greek original of this work, was born at Chæronea in Bœotia about the middle of the first century after Christ; the time of his death is unknown, but it may be placed with probability in the reign of Hadrian, about the year 125. He came of an ancient family of pure Hellenic descent, rich in traditions, and true to a high standard of character. Lamprias, his grandfather, was a great teller of stories; with him and with his father Nearchus the boy's early years were passed. At Athens he studied philosophy and rhetoric, and was an insatiable enquirer into science as then understood, history, legend, and all kinds of antiquarian lore. He travelled in Greece, Italy, and Egypt; in Italy he had public business to do, and he also in Domitian's time lectured there on philosophy. He preferred, however, to hold aloof from politics, filling the office of priest, and archon or mayor of his native town. His tastes lay in study and in cultivated society; he had a happy life and many friends.

His Works.—Plutarch wrote a large number of works; some have perished, but those which remain form a library of interesting and profitable reading. There is hardly a subject on which he has not written something—history and criticism, biography and anecdote, philosophy, medicine, and music, mathematics, natural science, archæology, and folklore. He is least known, but best deserves to be known, as a man of deep religious feeling, a high-minded moralist, a courageous and upright man. In his works it is possible to see how an intelligent mind could find satisfaction in the Greek religion, which he so analysed as to extract

its good essence while rejecting the trivial or immoral parts of it.

His most famous work, however, is the collection of *Lives of Famous Men*, fifty in number. Forty-six of these are arranged in pairs, wherein he made a comparison between typical great men of the Greek and Roman races. Thus the Roman Cicero is set against the Greek Demosthenes, and at the end of the lives a detailed comparison is made between them. The same plan is followed with the remaining pairs. Historically these *Lives* are of great value, not only because Plutarch drew on numbers of historians whose works are now lost, but because he was careful about little personal details which are often left out of account. Plutarch did this because he knew that a man's character is often revealed by trivial acts and sayings; and character, not history, was his theme. Plutarch was not a critical historian, and he is not always accurate, but the general impression of the portraits in his great gallery is vivid and true. Few works have been more popular, and few better deserve their popularity. His own nobility of nature has stamped his work, and the *Lives* of Plutarch ought to form part of all liberal education.

North's Translation.—The translation which is here reprinted is hardly less notable than the original work. Sir Thomas North, the translator, was born about 1535, and died early in the seventeenth century. He may have studied at Cambridge university, and he was a member of Lincoln's Inn. He was a justice of the peace, and a practical man of war, for in the Armada year he was captain of three hundred men of Ely: and he could himself wear and wield the arms and armour which Plutarch's heroes were accustomed to use. In 1557 he translated Guevara's *Golden Book*, a free version of the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, under the title of the *Diall of Princes*; he also translated the famous eastern story-book of *Baaram and Josaphat* under the title of the *Morall Philosophie of Doni* (1570). But his chief work was the translation of Plutarch's *Lives* from the French of Amyot. This translation has its

faults. It is sometimes far from the Greek, as having been rendered at second-hand; sometimes North has misunderstood the French, as when he renders *la presqu'isle de la Peloponnèse* by "the Isle Presqua". But it has shining virtues in the magnificence of the vocabulary and the noble cadences of the rhythm, partly due to the equal magnificence of Amyot, but partly the common heritage of Elizabethan prose. In translations the Elizabethans were at their best; their exuberant fancy was kept in bounds by the original, and the style gained in strength without losing in richness. But above this the book has a further importance in being one of the sources of Shakespeare's plays. From North's *Plutarch*, Shakespeare got the dry bones for his *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*, and in some cases he transfers to the plays phrases, sentences, even whole speeches almost unchanged.

The modern reader may at first be ill at ease amongst North's long periods and irregular syntax. He will, however, find that the strangeness is due not to faults on North's part but chiefly to ignorance on his own. Since the days of Macaulay we have become used to short crisp sentences, which are admirably clear, each by each, but have no other merit; while they have the faults of monotony in the rhythm and of obscuring the logical connection of the thoughts. North requires a sustained effort of the mind; but that given, he satisfies the understanding no less than his noble cadences satisfy the ear. His irregularities are idiomatic, and are true English no less than the *constructio ad sensum* is true Latin, and more than the stereotyped propriety of modern style.

The Text.—The present edition is reprinted from the first edition of the original, published in 1579, which in correctness is superior to those which followed it. A few omissions have been made, and one or two mistakes have been corrected.

PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF JULIUS CAESAR

ENGLISHED BY SIR THOMAS NORTH

AT what time Sulla was made lord of all, he would have had Caesar put away his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna Dictator : but when he saw he could neither with any promise nor threat bring him to it, he took her jointure away from him. The cause of Caesar's ill-will unto Sulla was by means of his marriage : for Marius the elder married his father's own sister, by whom he had Marius the younger, whereby Caesar and he were cousin-germans. Sulla being troubled in weighty matters, putting to death so many of his enemies, when he came to be conqueror, he made no reckoning of Caesar : and he was not contented to be hidden in safety, but came and made suit unto the priesthoodship that was void, when he had scant

any hair on his face. Howbeit, he was repulsed by Sulla's means, that secretly was against him, who, when he was determined to have killed him, some of his friends told him that it was to no purpose to put so young a boy as he to death. But Sulla told them again, that they did not consider that there were many Marians in that young boy. Caesar understanding that, stole out of Rome, and hid himself a long time in the country of the Sabines, wandering still from place to place. But one day being carried from house to house, he fell into the hands of Sulla's soldiers, who searched all those places, and took them whom they found hidden. Caesar bribed the captain, whose name was Cornelius, with two talents which he gave him. After he had escaped them thus, he went unto the seaside and took ship, and sailed into Bithynia to go unto King Nicomedes. When he had been with him a while, he took sea again, and was taken by pirates about the Isle of Pharmacusa : for those pirates kept all upon that sea-coast, with a great fleet of ships and boats. They asking him at the first twenty talents for his ransom, Caesar laughed them to scorn, as though they knew not what man they had taken, and of himself promised them fifty talents. Then he sent his men up and down to get him this money, so that he was left in manner alone among

these thieves of the Cilicians (which are the cruellest butchers in the world) with one of his friends and two of his slaves only: and yet he made so little reckoning of them, that when he was desirous to sleep, he sent unto them to command them to make no noise. Thus was he eight-and-thirty days, not kept as a prisoner, but rather waited upon by them as a prince. All this time he would boldly exercise himself in any sport or pastime they would go to. And otherwise also he would write verses, and make orations, and call them together to say them before them: and if any of them seemed as though they had not understood him, or passed not for them, he called them blockheads and brute beasts, and laughing, threatened them that he would hang them up. But they were as merry with the matter as could be, and took all in good part, thinking that this his bold speech came through the simplicity of his youth.

So when his ransom was come from the city of Miletus, they being paid their money, and he being set at liberty: he then presently armed and manned certain ships out of the haven of Miletus, to follow those thieves, whom he found yet riding at anchor in the same island. So he took the most of them, and had the spoil of their goods; but for their bodies, he brought them into

the city of Pergamum, and there committed them to prison, whilst he himself went to speak with Junius, who had the government of Asia, as unto whom the execution of these pirates did belong, for that he was Praetor of that country. But this Praetor having a great fancy to be fingering of the money, because there was good store of it: answered, that he would consider of these prisoners at better leisure. Caesar leaving Junius there, returned again unto Pergamum, and there hung up all these thieves openly upon a cross, as he had oftentimes promised them in the isle he would do, when they thought he did but jest.

Afterwards when Sulla's power began to decay, Caesar's friends wrote unto him, to pray him to come home again. But he sailed first unto Rhodes, to study there a time under Apollonius the son of Molon, whose scholar also Cicero was, for he was a very honest man, and an excellent good rhetorician. It is reported that Caesar had an excellent natural gift to speak well before the people, and besides that rare gift, he was excellently well studied, so that doubtless he was counted the second man for eloquence in his time, and gave place to the first because he would be the first and chiefest man of war and authority, being not yet come to the degree of perfection to speak well, which his nature could have per-

formed in him, because he was given rather to follow wars and to manage great matters, which in the end brought him to be lord of all Rome. And therefore in a book he wrote against that which Cicero made in praise of Cato, he prayeth the readers not to compare the style of a soldier with the eloquence of an excellent orator that had followed it the most part of his life. When he was returned again unto Rome, he accused Dolabella for his ill behaviour in the government of his province, and he had divers cities of Greece that gave in evidence against him. Notwithstanding, Dolabella at the length was dismissed. Caesar, to requite the good-will of the Grecians, which they had shown him in his accusation of Dolabella, took their cause in hand when they did accuse Publius Antonius before Marcus Lucullus, Praetor of Macedon: and followed it so hard against him in their behalf, that Antonius was driven to appeal before the Tribunes at Rome, alleging, to colour his appeal withal, that he could have no justice in Greece against the Grecians.

Now Caesar immediately won many men's good-will at Rome, through his eloquence in pleading of their causes: and the people loved him marvellously also, because of the courteous manner he had to speak to every man, and to use them gently, being more ceremonious therein

than was looked for in one of his years. Furthermore, he ever kept a good board, and fared well at his table, and was very liberal besides: the which indeed did advance him forward, and brought him in estimation with the people. His enemies judging that this favour of the common people would soon quail, when he could no longer hold out that charge and expense: suffered him to run on, till by little and little he was grown to be of great strength and power. But in fine, when they had thus given him the bridle to grow to this greatness, and that they could not then pull him back, though indeed in sight it would turn one day to the destruction of the whole state and commonwealth of Rome: too late they found, that there is not so little a beginning of anything, but continuance of time will soon make it strong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatness. Thereupon, Cicero, like a wise shipmaster that feareth the calmness of the sea, was the first man that mistrusting his manner of dealing in the commonwealth, found out his craft and malice, which he cunningly cloaked under the habit of outward courtesy and familiarity. "And yet," said he, "when I consider how finely he combeth his fair bush of hair, and how smooth it lieth, and that I see him scratch his head with one finger only:

my mind gives me then, that such a kind of man should not have so wicked a thought in his head as how to overthrow the state of the commonwealth." But this was long time after that.

The first show and proof of the love and good-will which the people did bear unto Caesar, was : when he sued to be Tribune of the soldiers (to wit, colonel of a thousand footmen), standing against Gaius Pompilius, at what time he was preferred and chosen before him. But the second and more manifest proof than the first, was at the death of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius the elder. For being her nephew, he made a solemn oration in the market-place in commendation of her, and at her burial did boldly venture to show forth the images of Marius : the which was the first time that they were seen after Sulla's victory, because that Marius and all his confederates had been proclaimed traitors and enemies to the commonwealth. For when there were some that cried out upon Caesar for doing of it : the people on the other side kept a stir, and rejoiced at it, clapping of their hands, and thanked him, for that he had brought as it were out of hell the remembrance of Marius' honour again into Rome, which had so long time been obscured and buried. And where it had been an ancient custom of long time that the Romans used to make funeral

orations in praise of old ladies and matrons when they died, but not of young women: Caesar was the first that praised his own wife with funeral oration when she was dead, the which also did increase the people's good-wills the more, seeing him of so kind and gentle a nature. After the burial of his wife he was made treasurer under Antistius Vetus Praetor, whom he honoured ever after: so that when himself came to be Praetor, he made his son to be chosen treasurer. Afterwards, when he was come out of that office, he married his third wife Pompeia, having a daughter by his first wife Cornelia, which was married unto Pompey the Great.

Now for that he was very liberal in expenses, buying (as some thought) but a vain and short glory of the favour of the people (where indeed he bought cheap the greatest things that could be): some say, that before he bare any office in the commonwealth, he was grown in debt to the sum of thirteen hundred talents. Furthermore, because he was made overseer of the work for the highway called Appius' Way, he disbursed a great sum of his own money towards the charges of the same. And on the other side, when he was made Aedile, for that he did show the people the pastime of three hundred and twenty couple of sword-players, and did besides exceed all other in sumptuousness

in the sports and common feasts which he made to delight them withal, and did as it were drown all the stately shows of others in the like, that were gone before him, he so pleased the people, and won their love therewith, that they devised daily to give him new offices for to requite him. At that time there were two factions in Rome, to wit, the faction of Sulla, which was very strong and of great power, and the other of Marius, which then was under foot and durst not show itself. But Caesar, because he would renew it again, even at that time when he being Aedile, all the feasts and common sports were in their greatest ruff: he secretly caused images of Marius to be made, and of victories that carried triumphs, and those he set up one night within the Capitol. The next morning when every man saw the glistering of these golden images excellently well wrought, showing by the inscriptions that they were the victories which Marius had won upon the Cimbrians: every one marvelled much at the boldness of him that durst set them up there, knowing well enough who it was. Hereupon, it ran straight through all the city, and every man came thither to see them. Then some cried out upon Caesar, and said, it was a tyranny which he meant to set up, by renewing of such honours as before had been trodden under foot, and forgotten

by common decree and open proclamation ; and that it was no more but a bait to gauge the people's good-wills, which he had set out in the stately shows of his common plays, to see if he had brought them to his lure, that they would abide such parts to be played, and a new alteration of things to be made. They of Marius' faction on the other side, encouraging one another, showed themselves straight a great number gathered together, and made the mount of the Capitol ring again with their cries and clapping of hands ; insomuch as the tears ran down many of their cheeks for very joy when they saw the images of Marius, and they extolled Caesar to the skies, judging him the worthiest man of all the kindred of Marius. The Senate being assembled thereupon, Catulus Lutatius, one of the greatest authority at that time in Rome, rose, and vehemently inveighed against Caesar, and spake that then which ever since hath been noted much : that Caesar did not now covertly go to work, but by plain force sought to alter the state of the commonwealth. Nevertheless, Caesar at that time answered him so, that the Senate was satisfied. Thereupon, they that had him in estimation did grow in better hope than before, and persuaded him, that hardily he would give place to no man, and that through the good-will

of the people, he should be better than all they, and come to be the chiefest man of the city.

At that time the chief bishop Metellus died, and two of the notablest men of the city, and of greatest authority (Isauricus and Catulus), contended for his room : Caesar notwithstanding their contention, would give neither of them both place, but presented himself to the people, and made suit for it as they did. The suit being equal betwixt either of them, Catulus, because he was a man of greater calling and dignity than the other, doubting the uncertainty of the election, sent unto Caesar a good sum of money, to make him leave off his suit. But Caesar sent him word again, that he would lend a greater sum than that to maintain the suit against him. When the day of the election came, his mother bringing him to the door of his house, Caesar weeping, kissed her, and said : "Mother, this day thou shalt see thy son chief bishop of Rome, or banished from Rome." In fine, when the voices of the people were gathered together, and the strife well debated, Caesar won the victory, and made the Senate and noblemen all afraid of him : for that they thought that thenceforth he would make the people do what he thought good. Then Catulus and Piso fell flatly out with Cicero, and condemned him for that he did not bewray Caesar, when he

knew that he was of conspiracy with Catiline, and had opportunity to have done it. For when Catiline was bent and determined, not only to overthrow the state of the commonwealth, but utterly to destroy the empire of Rome, he scraped out of the hands of justice for lack of sufficient proof, before his full treason and determination was known. Notwithstanding, he left Lentulus and Cethegus in the city, companions of his conspiracy : unto whom, whether Caesar did give any secret help or comfort, it is not well known. Yet this is manifest, that when they were convinced in open Senate, Cicero being at that time Consul, asking every man's opinion in the Senate what punishment they should have, and every one of them till it came to Caesar, gave sentence they should die : Caesar then rising up to speak, made an oration (penned and premeditated before) and said : that it was not lawful, nor yet their custom did bear it, to put men of such nobility to death (but in an extremity) without lawful indictment and condemnation ; and therefore, that if they were put in prison in some city of Italy, where Cicero thought best, until that Catiline were overthrown, the Senate then might at their pleasure quietly take such order therein as might appear best unto their wisdoms. This opinion was thought more gentle, and withal was uttered with

such a passing good grace and eloquence, that not only they which were to speak after him did approve it: but such also as had spoken to the contrary before, revoked their opinion and stuck to his, until it came to Cato and Catulus to speak. They both did sharply inveigh against him, but Cato chiefly: who in his oration made Caesar suspected to be of the conspiracy, and stoutly spake against him, insomuch that the offenders were put into the hands of the officers to be put to death. Caesar coming out of the Senate, a company of young men, which guarded Cicero for the safety of his person, did set upon him with their swords drawn. But some say that Curio covered Caesar with his gown, and took him out of their hands. And Cicero self, when the young men looked upon him, beckoned with his head that they should not kill him, either fearing the fury of the people, or else that he thought it too shameful and wicked a part. But if that were true, I marvel why Cicero did not put it into his book which he wrote of his Consulship.

But certainly they blamed him afterwards, for that he took not the opportunity offered him against Caesar, only for overmuch fear of the people, that loved him very dearly. For shortly after, when Caesar went into the Senate, to clear himself of certain presumptuous and false accusa-

tions objected against him, and being bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him longer than they were wont: the people came about the Council House, and called aloud for him, bidding them let him out. Cato then fearing the insurrection of the poor needy persons, which were they that put all their hope in Caesar, and did also move the people to stir: did persuade the Senate to make a frank distribution of corn unto them, for a month. This distribution did put the commonwealth to a new charge of five hundred and fifty myriads. This counsel quenched a present great fear, and did in happy time scatter and disperse abroad the best part of Caesar's force and power, at such time as he was made Praetor, and that for respect of his office he was most to be feared.

Yet all the time he was officer, he never sought any alteration in the commonwealth, but contrarily he himself had a great misfortune fell on his own house, which was this:—There was a young nobleman of the order of the Patricians called Publius Clodius, who lacked neither wealth nor eloquence, but otherwise as insolent and impudent a person as any one was else in Rome. He became in love with Pompeia, Caesar's wife, who misliked not withal: notwithstanding she was so straightly looked to, and that Aurelia

(Caesar's mother), an honest gentlewoman, had such an eye of her, that these two lovers could not meet as they would, without great peril and difficulty. The Romans do use to honour a goddess which they call the good goddess, as the Grecians have her whom they call the goddess of women. Her the Phrygians do claim to be peculiar unto them, saying: that she is King Midas' mother. Howbeit the Romans hold opinion, that it is a nymph of the wood married unto the god Faunus. The Grecians, they say also, that she was one of the mothers of the god Bacchus, whom they dare not name. And for proof hereof, on her feast day, the women make certain tabernacles of vine twigs, and leaves of vine branches, and also they make, as the tale goeth, a holy dragon for this goddess, and do set it by her: besides, it is not lawful for any man to be present at their sacrifices, no not within the house itself where they are made. Furthermore, they say that the women in these sacrifices do many things among themselves, much like unto the ceremonies of Orpheus. Now when the time of this feast came, the husband (whether he were Praetor or Consul) and all his men, and the boys in the house, do come out of it, and leave it wholly to his wife, to order the house at her pleasure, and there the sacrifices and ceremonies

are done the most part of the night, and they do besides pass the night away in songs and music. Pompeia, Caesar's wife, being that year to celebrate this feast, Clodius, who had yet no hair on his face, and thereby thought he should not be bewrayed: disguised himself in a singing wench's apparel, because his face was very like unto a young wench. He finding the gates open, being secretly brought in by her chambermaid that was made privy unto it: she left him and ran to Pompeia her mistress, to tell her that he was come. The chambermaid tarried long before she came again, insomuch as Clodius being weary waiting for her where she left him, he took his pleasure, and went from one place to another in the house, which had very large rooms in it: still shunning the light, and was by chance met by one of Aurelia's maids, who taking him for a woman, prayed her to play. Clodius refusing to play, the maid pulled him forward, and asked him what he was: Clodius then answered her, that he tarried for Abra, one of Pompeia's women. So, Aurelia's maid knowing him by his voice, ran straight where the lights and ladies were, and cried out, that there was a man disguised in woman's apparel. The women therewith were so amazed, that Aurelia caused them presently to leave off the ceremonies of the sacrifice, and to hide their

secret things : and having seen the gates fast locked, went immediately up and down the house with torch-light to seek out this man : who at last was found in the chamber of Pompeia's maid, with whom he had hid himself. Thus Clodius being found out and known of the women : they thrust him out of the doors by the shoulders. The same night the women told their husbands of this chance as soon as they came home.

The next morning there ran a great rumour through the city how Clodius had attempted a great villainy, and that he deserved, not only to be punished of them whom he had slandered, but also of the commonwealth and the gods. There was one of the Tribunes of the People that did indict him, and accuse him of high treason to the gods. Furthermore, there were also of the chiefest of the nobility and Senate that came to depose against him, and burdened him with many horrible and detestable facts. Notwithstanding, the people stoutly defended Clodius against their accusations : and this did help him much against the judges, which were amazed, and afraid to stir the people. This notwithstanding, Caesar presently put his wife away, and thereupon being brought by Clodius' accuser to be a witness against him, he answered : he knew nothing of that they objected against Clodius. This answer being clean contrary to

their expectation that heard it, the accuser asked Caesar, why then he had put away his wife. "Because I will not," said he, "that my wife be so much as suspected." And some say that Caesar spake truly as he thought. But others think that he did it to please the common people, who were very desirous to save Clodius. So Clodius was discharged of this accusation, because the most part of the judges gave a confused judgment, for the fear they stood one way of the danger of the common people if they condemned him : and for the ill opinion on the other side of the nobility if they did quit him.

The government of the province of Spain being fallen unto Caesar for that he was Praetor : his creditors came and cried out upon him, and were importunate of him to be paid. Caesar being unable to satisfy them, was compelled to go unto Crassus, who was the richest man of all Rome, and that stood in need of Caesar's boldness and courage to withstand Pompey's greatness in the commonwealth. Crassus became his surety unto his greediest creditors for the sum of eight hundred and thirty talents : whereupon they suffered Caesar to depart to the government of his province. In this journey it is reported, that passing over the mountains of the Alps, they came through a little poor village that had not many households, and

yet poor cottages. There his friends that did accompany him, asked him merrily if there were any contending for offices in that town, and whether there were any strife there amongst the noblemen for honour. Caesar speaking in good earnest, answered: "I cannot tell that," said he, "but for my part, I had rather be the chiefest man here, than the second person in Rome." Another time also when he was in Spain, reading the history of Alexander's acts, when he had read it, he was sorrowful a good while after, and then burst out in weeping. His friends seeing that, marvelled what should be the cause of his sorrow. He answered them: "Do ye not think," said he, "that I have good cause to be heavy, when King Alexander being no older than myself is now, had in old time won so many nations and countries: and that I hitherto have done nothing worthy of myself?"

Self-accusing

Therefore when he was come into Spain, he was very careful of his business, and had in few days joined ten new ensigns more of footmen unto the other twenty which he had before. Then marching forward against the Caläicans and Lusitanians, he conquered all, and went as far as the great sea Oceanus, subduing all the people which before knew not the Romans for their lords. There he took order for pacifying of the

war, and did as wisely take order for the establishing of peace. For he did reconcile the cities together, and made them friends one with another, but specially he pacified all suits of law and strife betwixt the debtors and creditors, which grew by reason of usury. For he ordained that the creditors should take yearly two parts of the revenue of their debtors, until such time as they had paid themselves: and that the debtors should have the third part themselves to live withal.

He having won great estimation by this good order taken, returned from his government very rich, and his soldiers also full of rich spoils, who called him Imperator, to say sovereign captain. Now the Romans having a custom, that such as demanded honour of triumph should remain a while without the city, and that they on the other side which sued for the Consulship should of necessity be there in person: Caesar coming unhappily at that very time when the Consuls were chosen, he sent to pray the Senate to do him that favour, that being absent he might by his friends sue for the Consulship. Cato at the first did vehemently inveigh against it, vouching an express law to the contrary. But afterwards, perceiving that notwithstanding the reasons he alleged, many of the Senators (being won by Caesar)

favoured his request : yet he cunningly sought all he could to prevent them, prolonging time in dilating his oration until night. Caesar thereupon determined rather to give over the suit of his triumph, and to make suit for the Consulship : and so came into the city, and had such a device with him, as went beyond them all, but Cato only. His device was this : Pompey and Crassus, two of the greatest personages of the city of Rome, being at jar together, Caesar made them friends, and by that means got unto himself the power of them both : for, by colour of that gentle act and friendship of his, he subtly (and unawares to them all) did greatly alter and change the state of the commonwealth. For it was not the private discord between Pompey and Caesar, as many men thought, that caused the civil war : but rather it was their agreement together, who joined all their powers first to overthrow the state of the Senate and nobility, and afterwards they fell at jar one with another. But Cato, that then foresaw and prophesied many times what would follow, was taken but for a vain man : but afterwards they found him a wiser man, than happy in his counsel. Thus Caesar being brought unto the assembly of the election, in the midst of these two noble persons, whom he had before reconciled together : he was there chosen Consul, with Cal-

urnius Bibulus, without gainsaying or contradiction of any man.

Now when he was entered into his office, he began to put forth laws meeter for a seditious Tribune of the People, than for a Consul: because by them he preferred the division of lands, and distributing of corn to every citizen gratis, to please them withal. But when the noblemen of the Senate were against his device, he desiring no better occasion, began to cry out, and to protest, that by the overhardness and austerity of the Senate, they drave him against his will to lean unto the people: and thereupon, having Crassus on the one side of him and Pompey on the other, he asked them openly in the assembly, if they did give their consent unto the laws which he had put forth. They both answered, they did. Then he prayed them to stand by him against those that threatened him with force of sword to let him. Crassus gave him his word he would. Pompey also did the like, and added thereunto that he would come with his sword and target both against them that would withstand him with their swords. These words offended much the Senate, being far unmeet for his gravity, and undecent for the majesty and honour he carried, and most of all, uncomely for the presence of the Senate whom he should have revered: and

were speeches fitter for a rash light-headed youth than for his person. Howbeit the common people on the other side, they rejoiced. Then Caesar because he would be more assured of Pompey's power and friendship, he gave him his daughter Julia in marriage, which was made sure before unto Servilius Caepio, and promised him in exchange Pompey's daughter, the which was sure also unto Faustus the son of Sulla. And shortly after also, Caesar self did marry Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, whom he caused to be made Consul, to succeed him the next year following. Cato then cried out with open mouth, and called the gods to witness, that it was a shameful matter, and not to be suffered, that they should in that sort make havoc of the empire of Rome, by such horrible matches, distributing among themselves through those wicked marriages the governments of the provinces, and of great armies. Calpurnius Bibulus, fellow Consul with Caesar, perceiving that he did contend in vain, making all the resistance he could to withstand this law, and that oftentimes he was in danger to be slain with Cato in the market-place and assembly : he kept close in his house all the rest of his Consulship.

When Pompey had married Julia, he filled all the market-place with soldiers, and by open force authorised the laws which Caesar had made in

behalf of the people. Furthermore, he procured that Caesar had Gaul on this side and beyond the Alps, and all Illyria, with four legions granted him for five years. Then Cato standing up to speak against it: Caesar had his officers lay hold on him, and carry him to prison, thinking he would have appealed unto the Tribunes. But Cato said never a word, when he went his way. Caesar perceiving then that not only the Senators and nobility were offended, but that the common people also for the reverence they bare unto Cato's virtues, were ashamed, and went away with silence: he himself secretly did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take Cato from the officers. But after he had played this part, there were few Senators that would be President of the Senate under him, but left the city, because they could not away with his doings. And of them, there was an old man called Considius, that on a time boldly told him the rest durst not come to council, because they were afraid of his soldiers. Caesar answered him again: "And why, then, dost thou not keep thee at home for the same fear?" Considius replied, "Because my age taketh away fear from me: for having so short a time to live, I have no care to prolong it further." The shamefullest part that Caesar played while he was Consul, seemeth to be this: when he

chose P. Clodius Tribune of the People, that had offered his wife such dishonour, and profaned the holy ancient mysteries of the women, which were celebrated in his own house. Clodius sued to be Tribune to no other end but to destroy Cicero: and Caesar self also departed not from Rome to his army before he had set them together by the ears, and driven Cicero out of Italy.

All these things they say he did, before the wars with the Gauls. But the time of the great armies and conquests he made afterwards, and of the war in which he subdued all the Gauls (entering into another course of life far contrary unto the first), made him to be known for as valiant a soldier and as excellent a captain to lead men, as those that afore him had been counted the wisest and most valiantest generals that ever were, and that by their valiant deeds had achieved great honour. For whosoever would compare the house of the Fabians, of the Scipios, of the Metellians, yea those also of his own time or long before him, as Sulla, Marius, the two Lucullians, and Pompey self,

Whose fame ascendeth up unto the heavens :

it will appear that Caesar's prowess and deeds of arms, did excel them altogether. The one, in the hard countries where he made wars : another,

in the multitude and power of his enemies whom he overcame : another, in the rudeness and austere nature of men with whom he had to do, whose manners afterwards he softened and made civil : another, in courtesy and clemency which he used unto them whom he had conquered : another, in great bounty and liberality bestowed upon them that served under him in those wars : and in fine, he excelled them all in the number of battles he had fought, and in the multitude of his enemies he had slain in battle. For in less than ten years' war in Gaul he took by force and assault above eight hundred towns, he conquered three hundred several nations : and having before him in battle thirty hundred thousand soldiers, at sundry times, he slew ten hundred thousand of them, and took as many more prisoners. Furthermore, he was so entirely beloved of his soldiers, that to do him service (where otherwise they were no more than other men in any private quarrel) if Caesar's honour were touched, they were invincible, and would so desperately venture themselves, and with such fury, that no man was able to abide them. And this appeareth plainly by the example of Acilius : who in a battle by sea before the city of Marseilles, boarding one of his enemies' ships, one cut off his right hand with a sword, but yet he forsook not his target which

he had in his left hand, but thrust it in his enemies' faces, and made them fly, so that he won their ship from them. And Cassius Scaeva also, in a conflict before the city of Dyrrachium, having one of his eyes put out with an arrow, his shoulder stricken through with a dart, and his thigh with another, and having received thirty arrows upon his shield, he called to his enemies, and made as though he would yield unto them. But when two of them came running to him, he clave one of their shoulders from his body with his sword, and hurt the other in the face, so that he made him turn his back: and at the length saved himself, by means of his companions that came to help him. And in Britain also, when the captains of the bands were driven into a marish or bog full of mire and dirt, and that the enemy did fiercely assail them there: Caesar then standing to view the battle, he saw a private soldier of his thrust in among the captains, and fought so valiantly in their defence, that at the length he drave the barbarous people to fly, and by his means saved the captains, which otherwise were in great danger to have been cast away. Then this soldier being the hindmost of all the captains, marching with great pain through the mire and dirt, half swimming and half on foot: in the end got to the other side, but left his

shield behind him. Caesar wondering at his noble courage, ran to him with joy to embrace him. But the poor soldier hanging down his head, the water standing in his eyes, fell down at Caesar's feet, and besought him to pardon him, for that he had left his target behind him. And in Africa also, Scipio having taken one of Caesar's ships, and Granius Petronius aboard on her amongst other, not long before chosen Treasurer : he put all the rest to the sword but him, and said he would give him his life. But Petronius answered him again : that Caesar's soldiers did not use to have their lives given them, but to give others their lives : and with those words he drew his sword, and thrust himself through.

Now Caesar self did breed this noble courage and life in them. First, for that he gave them bountifully, and did honour them also, showing thereby that he did not heap up riches in the wars to maintain his life afterwards in wantonness and pleasure, but that he did keep it in store honourably to reward their valiant service : and that by so much he thought himself rich, by how much he was liberal in rewarding of them that had deserved it. Furthermore, they did not wonder so much at his valiantness in putting himself at every instant in such manifest danger, and in taking so extreme pains as he did,

knowing that it was his greedy desire of honour that set him on fire, and pricked him forward to do it: but that he always continued all labour and hardness, more than his body would bear, that filled them all with admiration.

For, concerning the constitution of his body, he was lean, white, and soft skinned, and often subject to headache, and otherwhile to the falling sickness (the which took him the first time, as is reported, in Corduba, a city of Spain): but yet therefore yielded not to the disease of his body, to make it a cloak to cherish him withal, but contrarily, took the pains of a war as a medicine to cure his sick body, fighting always with his disease, travelling continually, living soberly, and commonly lying abroad in the field. For the most nights he slept in his coach or litter, and thereby bestowed his rest, to make him always able to do something: and in the daytime he would travel up and down the country to see towns, castles, and strong places. He had always a secretary with him in his coach, who did still write as he went by the way, and a soldier behind him that carried his sword. He made such speed the first time he came from Rome, when he had his office, that in eight days he came to the river of Rhone. He was so excellent a rider of horse from his youth, that

holding his hands behind him, he would gallop his horse upon the spur. In his wars in Gaul, he did further exercise himself to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did occupy two secretaries at once with as much as they could write : and as Oppius writeth, more than two at a time. As it is reported, that Caesar was the first that devised friends might talk together by writing ciphers in letters, when he had no leisure to speak with them for his urgent business, and for the great distance besides from Rome.

How little account Caesar made of his diet, this example doth prove it. Caesar supping one night in Milan with his friend Valerius Leo, there was served sperage to his board, and oil of perfume put into it instead of sallet oil. He simply ate it and found no fault : blaming his friends that were offended : and told them, that it had been enough for them to have abstained to eat of that they misliked, and not to shame their friend, and how that he lacked good manner that found fault with his friend. Another time as he travelled through the country, he was driven by foul weather on the sudden to take a poor man's cottage, that had but one little cabin in it, and that was so narrow, that one man could scarcely lie in it. Then he said to his friends that were about him : "Greatest rooms are meetest for

greatest men, and the most necessary rooms for the sickest persons." And thereupon he caused Oppius that was sick to lie there all night: and he himself, with the rest of his friends, lay without doors, under the easing of the house. The first war that Caesar made, with the Gauls, was with the Helvetians and Tigurinians, who having set fire of all their good cities, to the number of twelve, and four hundred villages besides, came to invade that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutons have done before: unto whom for valiantness they gave no place, and they were also a great number of them (for they were three hundred thousand souls in all), whereof there were a hundred fourscore and ten thousand fighting men. Of those, it was not Caesar himself that overcame the Tigurinians, but Labienus his lieutenant that overthrew them by the river of Arar. But the Helvetians themselves came suddenly with their army to set upon him, as he was going towards a city of his confederates. Caesar perceiving that, made haste to get him some place of strength, and there did set his men in battle ray. When one brought him his horse to get up on which he used in battle, he said unto them: "When I have overcome mine enemies, I will get up on him to follow the chase, but now

let us give them charge." Therewith he marched forward on foot, and gave charge: and there fought it out a long time, before he could make them fly that were in battle. But the greatest trouble he had, was to distress their camp, and to break their strength which they had made with their carts. For there, they that before had fled from the battle, did not only put themselves in force, and valiantly fought it out: but their wives and children also fighting for their lives to the death, were all slain, and the battle was scant ended at midnight.

Now if the act of this victory was famous, unto that he also added another as notable, or exceeding it. For of all the barbarous people that had escaped from this battle, he gathered together again above a hundred thousand of them, and compelled them to return home into their country which they had forsaken, and unto their towns also which they had burnt: because he feared the Germans would come over the river of Rhine, and occupy that country lying void. The second war he made, was in defence of the Gauls against the Germans: although before, he himself had caused Ariovistus their king to be received for a confederate of the Romans. Notwithstanding, they were grown very unquiet neighbours, and it appeared plainly, that having any

occasion offered to them to enlarge their territories, they would not content them with their own, but meant to invade and possess the rest of Gaul. Caesar perceiving that some of his captains trembled for fear, but specially the young gentlemen of the noble houses of Rome, who thought to have gone to the wars with him, as only for their pleasure and gain: he called them to council, and commanded them that were afraid, that they should depart home and not put themselves in danger against their wills, sith they had such womanish faint hearts to shrink when he had need of them. And for himself, he said, he would set upon the barbarous people, though he had left him but the tenth legion only, saying, that the enemies were no valianter than the Cimbri had been, nor that he was a captain inferior unto Marius. This oration being made, the soldiers of the tenth legion sent their lieutenants unto him to thank him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other legions also fell out with their captains, and all of them together followed him many days' journey with good-will to serve him, until they came within two hundred furlongs of the camp of the enemies. Ariovistus' courage was well cooled when he saw Caesar was come, and that the Romans came to seek out the Germans, where they thought, and made account, that they durst

not have abidden them : and therefore nothing mistrusting it would have come to pass, he wondered much at Caesar's courage, and the more when he saw his own army in amaze withal. But much more did their courage fall by reason of the foolish women prophesiers they had among them, which did foretell things to come : who, considering the waves and trouble of the rivers, and the terrible noise they made running down the stream, did forewarn them not to fight until the new moon. Caesar having intelligence thereof, and perceiving that the barbarous people thereupon stirred not, thought it best then to set upon them, being discouraged with this superstitious fear, rather than losing time, he should tarry their leisure. So he did skirmish with them even to their forts and the little hills where they lay, and by this means provoked them so, that with great fury they came down to fight. There he overcame them in battle, and followed them in chase, with great slaughter, three hundred furlong, even unto the river of Rhine ; and he filled all the fields thitherto with dead bodies and spoils. Howbeit, Ariovistus flying with speed, got over the river of Rhine, and escaped with a few of his men. It is said that there were slain fourscore thousand persons in this battle.

After this exploit, Caesar left his army amongst the Sequans to winter there : and he himself in

the meantime, thinking of the affairs at Rome, went over the mountains into Gaul about the river of Po, being part of his province which he had in charge. For there the river called Rubicon divideth the rest of Italy from Gaul on this side of the Alps. Caesar lying there, did practise to make friends in Rome, because many came thither to see him : unto whom he granted their suits they demanded, and sent them home also, partly with liberal rewards, and partly with large promises and hope.

Now during all this conquest of the Gauls, Pompey did not consider how Caesar interchangeably did conquer the Gauls with the weapons of the Romans, and won the Romans again with the money of the Gauls. Caesar being advertised that the Belgae (which were the warlikest men of all the Gauls, and that occupied the third part of Gaul) were all up in arms, and had raised a great power of men together : he straight made towards them with all possible speed, and found them spoiling and overrunning the country of the Gauls, their neighbours, and confederates of the Romans. So he gave them battle, and they fighting cowardly, he overthrew the most part of them which were in a troop together, and slew such a number of them, that the Romans passed over deep rivers and lakes on

foot upon their dead bodies, the rivers were so full of them. After this overthrow, they that dwelt nearest unto the seaside, and were next neighbours unto the ocean, did yield themselves without any compulsion or fight: whereupon, he led his army against the Nervians, the stoutest warriors of all the Belgae. They dwelling in the wood country, had conveyed their wives, children, and goods into a marvellous great forest, as far from their enemies as they could: and being about the number of sixscore thousand fighting men and more, they came one day and set upon Caesar, when his army was out of order, and fortifying of his camp, little looking to have fought that day. At the first charge, they brake the horsemen of the Romans, and compassing in the twelfth and seventh legions, they slew all the centurions and captains of the bands. And had not Caesar self taken his shield on his arm, and flying in amongst the barbarous people, made a lane through them that fought before him: and the tenth legion also seeing him in danger, run unto him from the top of the hill where they stood in battle, and broken the ranks of their enemies: there had not a Roman escaped alive that day. But taking example of Caesar's valiantness they fought desperately beyond their power, and yet could not make the Nervians fly, but they fought

it out to the death, till they were all in manner slain in the field. It is written that of threescore thousand fighting men, there escaped only but five hundred : and of four hundred gentlemen and councillors of the Romans, but three were saved.

The Senate understanding it at Rome, ordained that they should do sacrifice unto the gods, and keep feasts and solemn processions fifteen days together without intermission, having never made the like ordinance at Rome for any victory that ever was obtained. Because they saw the danger had been marvellous great, so many nations rising as they did in arms together against him ; and further, the love of the people unto him made his victory much more famous. For when Caesar had set his affairs at a stay in Gaul on the other side of the Alps, he always used to lie about the river of Po in the winter time, to give direction for the establishing of things at Rome at his pleasure. For not only they that made suit for offices at Rome were chosen magistrates by means of Caesar's money which he gave them, with the which, bribing the people, they bought their voices, and when they were in office did all they could to increase Caesar's power and greatness : but the greatest and chiefest men also of the nobility went unto Luke unto him ; as Pompey, Crassus, Appius, Praetor of Sardinia, and Nepos, Proconsul in

Spain. Insomuch that there were at one time six-score sergeants carrying rods and axes before the magistrates, and above two hundred Senators besides. There they fell in consultation, and determined that Pompey and Crassus should again be chosen Consuls the next year following. Furthermore, they did appoint that Caesar should have money again delivered him to pay his army, and, besides, did prorogue the time of his government five years further. This was thought a very strange and an unreasonable matter unto wise men. For they themselves that had taken so much money of Caesar, persuaded the Senate to let him have money of the common treasure, as though he had had none before : yea, to speak more plainly, they compelled the Senate unto it, sighing and lamenting to see the decrees they passed. Cato was not there then, for they had purposely sent him before into Cyprus. Howbeit, Favonius, that followed Cato's steps, when he saw that he could not prevail nor withstand them, he went out of the Senate in choler, and cried out amongst the people that it was a horrible shame. But no man did hearken to him : some for the reverence they bare unto Pompey and Crassus, and others favouring Caesar's proceedings, did put all their hope and trust in him ; and therefore did quiet themselves and stirred not.

Then Caesar returning into Gaul beyond the Alps unto his army, found there a great war in the country. For two great nations of Germany had not long before passed over the river of Rhine, to conquer new lands: and the one of these people were called Ipes, and the other Tenteritae. Now touching the battle which Caesar fought with them, he himself doth describe it in his Commentaries in this sort. That the barbarous people having sent ambassadors unto him, to require peace for a certain time, they notwithstanding, against law of arms, came and set upon him as he travelled by the way, insomuch as eight hundred of their men of arms overthrew five thousand of his horsemen, who nothing at all mistrusted their coming. Again, that they sent him other ambassadors to mock him once more; but that he kept them, and therewith caused his whole army to march against them, thinking it a folly and madness to keep faith with such traitorous barbarous breakers of leagues. Canutius writeth, that the Senate appointing again to do new sacrifice, processions, and feasts, to give thanks to the gods for this victory: Cato was of contrary opinion, that Caesar should be delivered into the hands of the barbarous people, for to purge their city and commonwealth of this breach of faith, and to turn the curse upon him that was the

author of it. Of these barbarous people which came over the Rhine (being about the number of four hundred thousand persons), they were all in manner slain, saving a very few of them, that flying from the battle got over the river of Rhine again, who were received by the Sicambrians, another people of the Germans. Caesar taking this occasion against them, lacking no good-will of himself besides, to have the honour to be counted the first Roman that ever passed over the river of Rhine with an army: he built a bridge over it. This river is marvellous broad, and runneth with great fury: and in that place specially where he built his bridge. For there it is of a great breadth from one side to the other, and it hath so strong and swift a stream besides, that men casting down great bodies of trees into the river (which the stream bringeth down with it), did with the great blows and force thereof marvellously shake the posts of the bridge he had set up. But to prevent the blows of those trees, and also to break the fury of the stream, he made a pile of great wood above the bridge a good way, and did forcibly ram them into the bottom of the river, so that in ten days' space he had set up and finished his bridge of the goodliest carpenter's work, and most excellent invention to see, that could be possibly thought or devised.

Then passing over his army upon it, he found none that durst any more fight with him. For the Suevians, which were the warlikest people of all Germany, had gotten themselves with their goods into wonderful great valleys and bogs, full of woods and forests. Now when he had burnt all the country of his enemies, and confirmed the league with the confederates of the Romans, he returned back again into Gaul after he had tarried eighteen days at the most in Germany on the other side of the Rhine.

The journey he made also into England was a noble enterprise and very commendable. For he was the first that sailed the West Ocean with an army by sea, and that passed through the sea Atlanticum with his army, to make war in that so great and famous island (which many ancient writers would not believe that it was so indeed, and did make them vary about it, saying it was but a fable and a lie): and was the first that enlarged the Roman Empire beyond the earth inhabitable. For twice he passed over the narrow sea against the firm land of Gaul, and fighting many battles there, did hurt his enemies more than enrich his own men: because, of men hardly brought up, and poor, there was nothing to be gotten. Whereupon his war had not such success as he looked for, and therefore taking pledges only of the king,

and imposing a yearly tribute upon him to be paid unto the people of Rome, he returned again into Gaul.

There he was no sooner landed, but he found letters ready to be sent over the sea unto him : in the which he was advertised from Rome of the death of his daughter. For the which, Pompey and Caesar both were marvellous sorrowful : and their friends mourned also, thinking that this alliance which maintained the commonwealth (that otherwise was very tickle) in good peace and concord, was now severed and broken asunder : and the rather likely, because Julia's child lived not long after its mother. So the common people at Rome took the corpse of Julia, in despite of the Tribunes, and buried it in the field of Mars.

Now Caesar being driven to divide his army (which was very great) into sundry garrisons for the winter time, and returning again into Italy as he was wont : all Gaul rebelled again, and had raised great armies in every quarter to set upon the Romans, and to assay if they could distress their forts where they lay in garrison. The greatest number and most warlike men of these Gauls that entered into action of rebellion, were led by one Ambiorix : and first did set upon the garrisons of Cotta and Titurius, whom they slew, and all the soldiers they had about them. Then

they went with threescore thousand fighting men to besiege the garrison which Quintus Cicero had in his charge, and had almost taken them by force, because all the soldiers were every man of them hurt: but they were so valiant and courageous, that they did more than men (as they say) in defending of themselves.

These news being come to Caesar, who was far from thence at that time, he returned with all possible speed, and leaving seven thousand soldiers, made haste to help Cicero that was in such distress. The Gauls that did besiege Cicero, understanding of Caesar's coming, raised their siege incontinently to go and meet him: making account that he was but a handful in their hands, they were so few. Caesar, to deceive them, still drew back, and made as though he fled from them, lodging in places meet for a captain that had but a few, to fight with a great number of his enemies, and commanded his men in no wise to stir out to skirmish with them, but compelled them to raise up the rampiers of his camp, and to fortify the gates, as men that were afraid, because the enemies should less esteem them: until at length he took opportunity, by their disorderly coming, to assail the trenches of his camp (they were grown to such a presumptuous boldness and bravery), and then sallying out upon them, he put

them all to flight with slaughter of a great number of them.

This did suppress all the rebellions of the Gauls in those parts : and furthermore, he himself in person went in the midst of winter thither where he heard they did rebel : for that there was come a new supply out of Italy of three whole legions in their room which he had lost : of the which, two of them Pompey lent him, and the other legion he himself had levied in Gaul about the river of Po.

During these stirs brake forth the beginning of the greatest and most dangerous war that he had in all Gaul, the which had been secretly practised of long time by the chieftest and most warlike people of that country, who had levied a wonderful great power. For everywhere they levied multitudes of men, and great riches besides, to fortify their strongholds. Furthermore, the country where they rose was very ill to come unto, and specially at that time being winter, when the rivers were frozen, the woods and forests covered with snow, the meadows drowned with floods, and the fields so deep of snow that no ways were to be found, neither the marishes nor rivers to be discerned, all was so overflown and drowned with water : all which troubles together were enough (as they thought) to keep Caesar from setting upon the rebels.

Many nations of the Gauls were of this conspiracy, but two of the chiefest were the Arvernians and Carnutes: who had chosen Vercingetorix for their lieutenant-general, whose father the Gauls before had put to death, because they thought he aspired to make himself king. This Vercingetorix dividing his army into divers parts, and appointing divers captains over them, had gotten to take his part all the people and countries thereabouts, even as far as they that dwell towards the Sea Adriatic, having determined (understanding that Rome did conspire against Caesar) to make all Gaul rise in arms against him. So that if he had but tarried a little longer, until Caesar had entered in his civil wars, he had put all Italy in as great fear and danger as it was when the Cimbri did come and invade it. But Caesar, that was valiant in all affairs and dangers of war, and that was very skilful to take time and opportunity: so soon as he understood the news of the rebellion, he departed with speed, and returned back the self-same way which he had gone, making the barbarous people know that they should deal with an army invincible, and which they could not possibly withstand, considering the great speed he had made with the same in so sharp and hard a winter. For they would not possibly have believed that a post or curreur could

have come in so short a time from the place where he was unto them : they wondered when they saw him burning and destroying the country, the towns, and strong forts where he came with his army, taking all to mercy that yielded unto him : until such time as the Aedui took arms against him, who before were wont to be called the brethren of the Romans, and were greatly honoured of them. Wherefore Caesar's men, when they understood that they had joined with the rebels, they were marvellous sorry and half discouraged.

Thereupon, Caesar departing from those parts, went through the country of the Lingones, to enter the country of the Burgonians, who were confederates of the Romans, and the nearest unto Italy on that side, in respect of all the rest of Gaul. Thither the enemies came to set upon him, and to environ him of all sides with an infinite number of thousands of fighting men. Caesar on the other side tarried their coming, and fighting with them a long time, he made them so afraid of him, that at length he overcame the barbarous people.

But at the first it seemed, notwithstanding, that he had received some overthrow : for the Arvernians showed a sword hanged up in one of their temples which they said they had won

from Caesar. Insomuch as Caesar self coming that way by occasion, saw it, and fell a-laughing at it. But some of his friends going about to take it away, he would not suffer them, but bade them let it alone, and touch it not, for it was a holy thing. Notwithstanding, such as at the first had saved themselves by flying, the most of them were gotten with their king into the city of Alexia, the which Caesar went and besieged, although it seemed inexpugnable, both for the height of the walls, as also for the multitude of soldiers they had to defend it. But now during this siege he fell into a marvellous great danger without, almost incredible. For an army of three hundred thousand fighting men, of the best men that were among all the nations of the Gauls, came against him, being at the siege of Alexia, besides them that were within the city, which amounted to the number of threescore and ten thousand fighting men at the least: so that perceiving he was shut in betwixt two so great armies, he was driven to fortify himself with two walls, the one against them of the city, and the other against them without. For if those two armies had joined together, Caesar had been utterly undone. And therefore this siege of Alexia, and the battle he won before it, did deservedly win him more honour and fame than

any other. For there in that instant and extreme danger, he showed more valiantness and wisdom than he did in any battle he fought before. But what a wonderful thing was this, that they of the city never heard anything of them that came to aid them, until Caesar overcame them : and furthermore, that the Romans themselves which kept watch upon the wall that was built against the city, knew also no more of it than they, until it was done, and that they heard the cries and lamentations of men and women in Alexia when they perceived on the other side of the city such a number of glittering shields of gold and silver, such store of bloody corselets and armours, such a deal of plate and movables, and such a number of tents and pavilions after the fashion of the Gauls, which the Romans had gotten of their spoils in the camp. Thus suddenly was this great army vanished as a dream or vision : where the most part of them were slain that day in battle.

Furthermore, after that they within the city of Alexia had done great hurt to Caesar, and themselves also : in the end they all yielded themselves. And Vercingetorix (he that was their king and captain in all this war) went out of the gate excellently well armed, and his horse furnished with rich caparison accordingly, and rode round

about Caesar, who sat in his chair of state. Then lighting from his horse, he took off his caparison and furniture, and unarmed himself, and laid all on the ground, and went and sat down at Caesar's feet, and said never a word. So Caesar at length committed him as a prisoner taken in the wars, to lead him afterwards in his triumph at Rome.

Now Caesar had of long time determined to destroy Pompey: and Pompey him also. For Crassus being killed among the Parthians, who only did see that one of them two must needs fall: nothing kept Caesar from being the greatest person, but because he destroyed not Pompey that was the greater: neither did anything let Pompey to withstand that it should not come to pass, but because he did not first overcome Caesar, whom he feared. For till then, Pompey had not long feared him, but always before set light by him, thinking it an easy matter for him to put him down when he would, sith he had brought him to that greatness he was come unto. But Caesar contrarily having had that drift in his head from the beginning, like a wrestler that studieth for tricks to overthrow his adversary: he went far from Rome to exercise himself in the wars of Gaul, where he did train his army, and presently by his valiant deeds did increase his fame and honour. By these means became Caesar as famous as Pompey in his

doings, and lacked no more to put his enterprise in execution but some occasions of colour, which Pompey partly gave him, and also partly the time delivered him, but chiefly the hard fortune and ill government at that time of the commonwealth at Rome.

For they that made suit for honour and offices bought the voices of the people with ready money, which they gave out openly to usury without shame or fear. Thereupon the common people that had sold their voices for money, came to the market-place at the day of election to fight for him that hired them: not with their voices, but with bows, slings, and swords. So that the assembly seldom time brake up, but that the pulpit for orations was defiled and sprinkled with the blood of them that were slain in the market-place: the city remaining all that time without government of magistrate, like a ship without a pilot. Insomuch, as men of deep judgment and discretion, seeing such fury and madness of the people, thought themselves happy if the commonwealth were no worse troubled than with the absolute state of a monarchy and sovereign lord to govern them.

Furthermore, there were many that were not afraid to speak it openly, that there was no other help to remedy the troubles of the commonwealth,

but by the authority of one man only, that should command them all : and that this medicine must be ministered by the hands of him that was the greatest physician, meaning covertly Pompey. Now Pompey used many fine speeches, making semblance as though he would none of it, and yet cunningly underhand did lay all the irons in the fire he could, to bring to pass that he might be chosen Dictator.

Cato finding the mark he shot at, and fearing lest in the end the people should be compelled to make him Dictator : he persuaded the Senate rather to make him sole Consul, that contenting himself with that more just and lawful government, he should not covet the other unlawful. The Senate following his counsel, did not only make him Consul, but further did prorogue his government of the provinces he had. For he had two provinces, all Spain and Africk, the which he governed by his lieutenants : and further, he received yearly of the common treasure to pay his soldiers a thousand talents.

Hereupon Caesar took occasion also to send his men to make suit in his name for the Consulship, and also to have the government of his provinces prorogued. Pompey at the first held his peace. But Marcellus and Lentulus (that otherwise hated Caesar) withstood them, and to

shame and dishonour him had much needless speech in matters of weight. Furthermore, they took away the freedom from the colonies which Caesar had lately brought unto the city of Novum Comum in Gaul towards Italy, where Caesar not long before had lodged them. And moreover, when Marcellus was Consul, he made one of the Senators in that city to be whipped with rods who came to Rome about those matters, and said he gave him those marks that he should know he was no Roman citizen, and bade him go his way and tell Caesar of it.

After Marcellus' Consulship, Caesar, setting open his coffers of the treasure he had gotten among the Gauls, did frankly give it out amongst the magistrates at Rome without restraint or spare. First he set Curio the Tribune clear out of debt, and gave also unto Paul the Consul a thousand five hundred talents, with which money he built that notable palace by the market-place, called Paul's Basilica, in the place of Fulvius' Basilica.

Then Pompey being afraid of this practice, began openly to procure, both by himself and his friends, that they should send Caesar a successor : and moreover, he sent unto Caesar for his two legions of men of war which he had lent him for the conquest of Gaul. Caesar sent him them

again, and gave every private soldier two hundred and fifty silver drachmas. Now they that brought these two legions back from Caesar gave out ill and seditious words against him among the people, and did also abuse Pompey with false persuasions and vain hopes, informing him that he was marvellously desired and wished for in Caesar's camp: and though in Rome, for the malice and secret spite which the governors there did bear him, he could hardly obtain that he desired, yet in Gaul he might assure himself, that all the army was at his commandment. They added further also, that if the soldiers there did once return over mountains again into Italy, they would all straight come to him, they did so hate Caesar: because he wearied them with too much labour and continual fight: and withal, for that they suspected he aspired to be king. These words breeding security in Pompey, and a vain conceit of himself, made him negligent in his doings, so that he made no preparation for war, as though he had no occasion to be afraid: but only studied to thwart Caesar in speech, and to cross the suits he made.

Howbeit, Caesar passed not of all this. For the report went, that one of Caesar's captains which was sent to Rome to prosecute his suit, being at the Senate door, and hearing that they

denied to prorogue Caesar's time of government which he sued for : clapping his hand upon his sword, he said : "Sith you will not grant it him, this shall give it him." Notwithstanding, the requests that Caesar propounded carried great semblance of reason with them. For he said, that he was contented to lay down arms, so that Pompey did the like : and that both of them as private persons, should come and make suit of their citizens to obtain honourable recompense : declaring unto them, that taking arms from him and granting them unto Pompey, they did wrongfully accuse him in going about to make himself a tyrant, and in the meantime to grant the other means to be a tyrant. Curio making these offers and persuasions openly before the people, in the name of Caesar : he was heard with great rejoicing and clapping of hands : and there were some that cast flowers and nosegays upon him when he went his way, as they commonly use to do unto any man when he hath obtained victory, and won any games. Then Antonius, one of the Tribunes, brought a letter sent from Caesar, and made it openly to be read in despite of the Consuls. But Scipio, in the Senate (Pompey's father-in-law), made this motion : that if Caesar did not dismiss his army by a certain day appointed him, the Romans should proclaim him an enemy unto

Rome. Then the Consuls openly asked in the presence of the Senators, if they thought it good that Pompey should dismiss his army: but few agreed to that demand. After that again they asked, if they liked that Caesar should dismiss his army: thereunto they all in manner answered: "Yea, yea." But when Antonius requested again that both of them should lay down arms: then they were all indifferently of his mind. Notwithstanding, because Scipio did insolently behave himself, and Marcellus also, who cried that they must use force of arms and not men's opinions against a thief: the Senate rose straight upon it without further determination, and men changed apparel through the city because of this dissension, as they use to do in a common calamity.

After that, there came other letters from Caesar, which seemed much more reasonable: in the which he requested that they would grant him Gaul that lieth between the mountains of the Alps and Italy, and Illyria, with two legions only, and then that he would request nothing else, until he made suit for the second Consulship. Cicero the Orator, that was newly come from the government of Cilicia, travailed to reconcile them together, and pacified Pompey the best he could: who told him he would yield to anything he would

have him, so he did let him alone with his army. So Cicero persuaded Caesar's friends to be contented to take those two provinces and six thousand men only, that they might be friends and at peace together. Pompey very willingly yielded unto it, and granted them. But Lentulus the Consul would not agree to it, but shamefully drave Curio and Antonius out of the Senate: whereby they themselves gave Caesar a happy occasion and colour, as could be, stirring up his soldiers the more against them, when he showed them these two notable men and tribunes of the people that were driven to fly, disguised like slaves, in a carrier's cart. For they were driven for fear to steal out of Rome disguised in that manner.

Now at that time, Caesar had not in all about him above five thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen: for the rest of his army he left on the other side of the mountains to be brought after him by his lieutenants. So, considering that for the execution of his enterprise he should not need so many men of war at the first, but rather suddenly stealing upon them, to make them afraid with his valiantness, taking benefit of the opportunity of time, because he should more easily make his enemies afraid of him, coming so suddenly when they looked not

for him, than he should otherwise distress them, assailing them with his whole army in giving them leisure to provide further for him : he commanded his captains and lieutenants to go before, without any other armour than their swords, to take the city of Ariminum (a great city of Gaul, being the first city men come to when they come out of Gaul) with as little bloodshed and tumult as they could possibly. Then committing that force and army he had with him unto Hortensius, one of his friends, he remained a whole day together, openly in the sight of every man, to see the sword-players handle their weapons before him. At night he went into his lodging, and bathing his body a little, came afterwards into the hall amongst them, and made merry with them a while, whom he had bidden to supper. Then, when it was well forward night, and very dark, he rose from the table, and prayed his company to be merry, and no man to stir, for he would straight come to them again ; howbeit, he had secretly before commanded a few of his trustiest friends to follow him, not all together, but some one way and some another way. He himself in the meantime took a coach that he had hired, and made as though he would have gone some other way at the first, but suddenly he turned back again towards the city of Ariminum.

When he was come unto the little river of Rubicon, which divideth Gaul on this side the Alps from Italy, he stayed upon a sudden. For the nearer he came to execute his purpose, the more remorse he had in his conscience, to think what an enterprise he took in hand: and his thoughts also fell out more doubtful, when he entered into consideration of the desperateness of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with himself, and spake never a word, waving sometimes one way, sometimes another way, and oftentimes changed his determination, contrary to himself. So did he talk much also with his friends he had with him, amongst whom was Asinius Pollio, telling him what mischiefs the beginning of this passage over that river would breed in the world, and how much their posterity and them that lived after them would speak of it in time to come. But at length, casting from him with a noble courage all those perilous thoughts to come, and speaking these words which valiant men commonly say that attempt dangerous and desperate enterprises, "A man can be but once undone, come on": he passed over the river, and when he was come over he ran with his coach and never stayed, so that before daylight he was within the city of Ariminum, and took it.

The city of Ariminum being taken, and the

rumour thereof dispersed through all Italy, even as if it had been open war both by sea and land, and as if all the laws of Rome, together with the extreme bounds and confines of the same, had been broken up: a man would have said, that not only the men and women for fear, as experience proved at other times, but whole cities themselves leaving their habitations, fled from one place to another through all Italy.

And Rome itself also was immediately filled with the flowing repair of all the people their neighbours thereabouts, which came thither from all parts like droves of cattle, that there was neither officer nor magistrate that could any more command them by authority, neither by any persuasion of reason bridle such a confused and disorderly multitude: so that Rome had in manner destroyed itself for lack of rule and order. For in all places men were of contrary opinions, and there were dangerous stirs and tumults everywhere: because they that were glad of this trouble could keep in no certain place, but running up and down the city, when they met with others in divers places that seemed either to be afraid or angry with this tumult (as otherwise is it impossible in so great a city), they flatly fell out with them, and boldly threatened them with that that was to come.

Pompey himself, who at that time was not a

little amazed, was yet much more troubled with the ill words some gave him on the one side, and some on the other. For some of them reproved him, and said that he had not done wisely, and had paid for his folly, because he had made Caesar so great and strong against him and the commonwealth. And others again did blame him, because he had refused the honest offers and reasonable conditions of peace which Caesar had offered him, suffering Lentulus the Consul to abuse him too much. On the other side, Favonius spake unto him, and bade him stamp on the ground with his foot: for Pompey being one day in a bravery in the Senate, said openly: Let no man take thought for preparation of war, for when he liked, with one stamp of his foot on the ground, he would fill all Italy with soldiers.

This notwithstanding, Pompey at that time had a greater number of soldiers than Caesar: but they would never let him follow his own determination. For they brought him so many lies, and put so many examples of fear before him, as if Caesar had been already at their heels, and had won all: so that in the end he yielded unto them, and gave place to their fury and madness, determining (seeing all things in such tumult and garboil) that there was no way but to forsake the city: and thereupon commanded the Senate

to follow him, and not a man to tarry there, unless he loved tyranny more than his own liberty and the commonwealth. Thus the Consuls themselves, before they had done their common sacrifices accustomed at their going out of the city, fled every man of them. So did likewise the most part of the Senators, taking their own things in haste, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another. And there were some of them also that always loved Caesar, whose wits were then so troubled and beside themselves with the fear that they had conceived, that they also fled, and followed the stream of tumult, without manifest cause or necessity. But above all things, it was a lamentable sight to see the city itself, forsaken of her pilots, that in this fear and trouble was left at all adventure, as a ship tossed in storm of sea, forsaken of her pilots, and despairing of her safety. This their departure being thus miserable, yet men esteemed their banishment (for the love they bare unto Pompey) to be their natural country, and reckoned Rome no better than Caesar's camp.

At that time also Labienus, who was one of Caesar's greatest friends, and had been always used as his lieutenant in the wars of Gaul, and had valiantly fought in his cause: he likewise forsook him then, and fled unto Pompey. But

Caesar sent his money and carriage after him, and went and encamped before the city of Corfinium, the which Domitius kept with thirty cohorts or ensigns. When Domitius saw he was besieged, he straight thought himself but undone : and despairing of his success, he bade a physician, a slave of his, give him poison. The physician gave him a drink which he drank, thinking to have died. But shortly after, Domitius hearing them report what clemency and wonderful courtesy Caesar used unto them he took, repented him then that he had drunk this drink, and began to lament and bewail his desperate resolution taken to die. The physician did comfort him again, and told him, that he had taken a drink only to make him sleep, but not to destroy him. Then Domitius rejoiced, and went straight and yielded himself unto Caesar : who gave him his life, but he notwithstanding stole away immediately, and fled unto Pompey.

When these news were brought to Rome, they did marvellously rejoice and comfort them that still remained there : and moreover there were of them that had forsaken Rome, which returned thither again. In the meantime, Caesar did put all Domitius' men in pay, and he did the like through all the cities where he had taken any captains that levied men for Pompey.

Now Caesar having assembled a great and dreadful power together, went straight where he thought to find Pompey himself. But Pompey tarried not his coming, but fled into the city of Brundisium, from whence he had sent the two Consuls before with that army he had, unto Dyrrachium : and he himself also went thither afterwards, when he understood that Caesar was come, as you shall hear more amply hereafter in his life. Caesar lacked no good-will to follow him, but wanting ships to take the seas, he returned forthwith to Rome : so that in less than threescore days, he was lord of all Italy, without any bloodshed. Who when he was come to Rome, and found it much quieter than he looked for, and many Senators there also, he courteously entreated them, and prayed them to send unto Pompey, to pacify all matters between them upon reasonable conditions. But no man did attempt it, either because they feared Pompey for that they had forsaken him, or else for that they thought Caesar meant not as he spake, but that they were words of course to colour his purpose withal.

And when Metellus also, one of the Tribunes, would not suffer him to take any of the common treasure out of the temple of Saturn, but told him that it was against the law : "Tush," said he,

"time of war and law are two things. If this that I do," quoth he, "do offend thee, then get thee hence for this time: for war cannot abide this frank and bold speech. But when wars are done, and that we are all quiet again, then thou shalt speak in the pulpit what thou wilt: and yet I do tell thee this of favour, impairing so much my right, for thou art mine, both thou and all them that have risen against me, and whom I have in my hands." When he had spoken thus unto Metellus, he went to the temple door where the treasure lay: and finding no keys there, he caused smiths to be sent for, and made them break open the locks. Metellus thereupon began again to withstand him, and certain men that stood by praised him in his doing: but Caesar at length speaking bigly to him, threatened him he would kill him presently, if he troubled him any more: and told him furthermore, "Young man," quoth he, "thou knowest it is harder for me to tell thee, than to do it." That word made Metellus quake for fear, that he got him away roundly: and ever after that, Caesar had all at his commandment for the wars.

From thence he went into Spain, to make war with Petreius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants: first to get their armies and provinces into his hands which they governed, that afterwards he

might follow Pompey the better, leaving never an enemy behind him. In this journey he was oftentimes himself in danger, through the ambushes that were laid for him in divers strange sorts and places, and likely also to have lost his army for lack of victuals. All this notwithstanding, he never left following of Pompey's lieutenants, provoking them to battle, and intrenching them in: until he had gotten their camps and armies into his hands, albeit that the lieutenants themselves fled unto Pompey.

When Caesar returned again to Rome, Piso, his father-in-law, gave him counsel to send ambassadors unto Pompey to treat for peace. But Isauricus, to flatter Caesar, was against it. Caesar being then created Dictator by the Senate, called home again all the banished men, and restored their children to honour whose fathers before had been slain in Sulla's time: and did somewhat cut off the usuries that did oppress them, and besides, did make some such other ordinances as those, but very few. For he was Dictator but eleven days only, and then did yield it up of himself, and made himself Consul with Servilius Isauricus, and after that determined to follow the wars. All the rest of his army he left coming on the way behind him, and went himself before with six hundred horse, and five legions only of foot-

men, in the winter quarter, about the month of January, which after the Athenians is called Poseideon.

Then having passed over the Sea Ionium, and landed his men, he won the cities of Oricum and Apollonia. Then he sent his ships back again unto Brundusium, to transport the rest of his soldiers that could not come with that speed he did. They as they came by the way (like men whose strength of body and lusty youth was decayed), being wearied with so many sundry battles as they had fought with their enemies: complained of Caesar in this sort. "To what end and purpose doth this man hale us after him up and down the world, using us like slaves and drudges? It is not our armour, but our bodies, that bear the blows away: and what, shall we never be without our harness on our backs, and our shields on our arms? Should not Caesar think, at the least when he seeth our blood and wounds, that we are all mortal men, and that we feel the misery and pains that other men do feel? And now even in the dead of winter, he putteth us unto the mercy of the sea and tempest, yea which the gods themselves cannot withstand: as if he fled before his enemies, and pursued them not." Thus spending time with this talk, the soldiers still marching on, by small journeys came

at length unto the city of Brundusium. But when they were come, and found that Caesar had already passed over the sea, then they straight changed their complaints and minds. For they blamed themselves, and took on also with their captains because they had not made them make more haste in marching: and sitting upon the rocks and cliffs of the sea, they looked over the main sea towards the realm of Epirus, to see if they could discern the ships returning back to transport them over.

Caesar in the meantime being in the city of Apollonia, having but a small army to fight with Pompey, it grieved him for that the rest of his army was so long a-coming, not knowing what way to take. In the end he followed a dangerous determination, to embark unknown in a little pinnace of twelve oars only, to pass over the sea again unto Brundusium: the which he could not without great danger, considering that all that sea was full of Pompey's ships and armies. So he took ship in the night apparelled like a slave, and went aboard upon this little pinnace, and said never a word, as if he had been some poor man of mean condition. The pinnace lay in the mouth of the river of Aöus, the which commonly was wont to be very calm and quiet, by reason of a little wind that came from the shore, which every

morning drave back the waves far into the main sea. But that night (by ill fortune) there came a great wind from the sea that overcame the land wind, insomuch as the force and strength of the river fighting against the violence of the rage and waves of the sea, the encounter was marvellous dangerous, the water of the river being driven back, and rebounding upward, with great noise and danger in turning of the water. Thereupon the master of the pinnace seeing he could not possibly get out of the mouth of this river, bade the mariners to cast about again, and to return against the stream. Caesar hearing that, straight discovered himself unto the master of the pinnace, who at the first was amazed when he saw him : but Caesar then taking him by the hand said unto him : " Good fellow, be of good cheer, and follow hardily : fear not, for thou hast Caesar and his fortune with thee."

Then the mariners forgetting the danger of the storm they were in, laid on load with oars, and laboured for life what they could against the wind, to get out of the mouth of this river. But at length, perceiving they laboured in vain, and that the pinnace took in abundance of water, and was ready to sink : Caesar then to his great grief was driven to return back again : who when he was returned unto his camp, his soldiers came in

great companies unto him, and were very sorry that he mistrusted he was not able with them alone to overcome his enemies, but would put his person in danger to go fetch them that were absent, putting no trust in them that were present. In the meantime Antonius arrived, and brought with him the rest of his army from Brundisium.

Then Caesar finding himself strong enough, went and offered Pompey battle : who was passingly well lodged for victualling of his camp both by sea and land. Caesar on the other side, who had no great plenty of victuals at the first, was in a very hard case : insomuch as his men gathered roots, and mingled them with milk, and ate them. Furthermore, they did make bread of it also, and sometimes when they skirmished with the enemies, and came alongst by them that watched and warded, they cast of their bread into their trenches, and said, that as long as the earth brought forth such fruits, they would never leave besieging of Pompey. But Pompey straightly commanded them that they should neither carry those words nor bread into their camp, fearing lest his men's hearts should fail them, and that they would be afraid when they should think of their enemies' hardness, with whom they had to fight, sith they were weary with no pains, no more than brute beasts.

Caesar's men did daily skirmish hard to the trenches of Pompey's camp, in the which Caesar had ever the better, saving once only, at what time his men fled with such fear that all his camp that day was in great hazard to have been cast away. For Pompey came on with his battle upon them, and they were not able to abide it, but were fought with and driven into their camp, and their trenches were filled with dead bodies which were slain within the very gate and bulwarks of their camp, they were so valiantly pursued. Caesar stood before them that fled, to make them to turn head again : but he could not prevail. For when he would have taken the ensigns to have stayed them, the ensign-bearers threw themselves down on the ground : so that the enemies took two-and-thirty of them, and Caesar's self also escaped hardly with life. For striking a great big soldier that fled by him, commanding him to stay and turn his face to the enemy : the soldier being afraid, lift up his sword to strike at Caesar. But one of Caesar's pages preventing him, gave him such a blow with his sword, that he strake off his shoulder. Caesar that day was brought unto so great extremity, that (if Pompey had not, either for fear or spiteful fortune, left off to follow his victory, and retired into his camp, being contented to have

driven his enemies into their camp) returning to his camp with his friends, he said unto them : " The victory this day had been our enemies', if they had had a captain that could have told how to have overcome."

So when he was come to his lodging he went to bed, and that night troubled him more than any night that ever he had. For still his mind ran with great sorrow of the foul fault he had committed in leading of his army, of self-will to remain there so long by the seaside, his enemies being stronger by sea : considering that he had before him a goodly country, rich and plentiful of all things, and goodly cities of Macedon and Thessaly, and had not the wit to bring the war from thence, but to lose his time in a place where he was rather besieged of his enemies for lack of victuals, than he did besiege them by force of arms. Thus fretting and chafing to see himself so straitened with victuals, and to think of his ill-luck, he raised his camp, intending to go set upon Scipio : making account that either he should draw Pompey to battle against his will, when he had not the sea at his back to furnish him with plenty of victuals : or else that he should easily overcome Scipio, finding him alone, unless he were aided.

This remove of Caesar's camp did much

encourage Pompey's army and his captains, who would needs in any case have followed after him, as though he had been overcome and had fled. But for Pompey himself, he would in no respect hazard battle, which was a matter of so great importance. For finding himself so well provided of all things necessary to tarry time, he thought it better to draw this war out in length by tract of time, the rather to consume this little strength that remained in Caesar's army: of the which, the best men were marvellous well trained and good soldiers, and for valiantness, at one day's battle, were incomparable. But on the other side again, to remove here and there so oft, and to fortify their camp where they came, and to besiege any wall, or to keep watch all night in their armour: the most part of them could not do it, by reason of their age, being then unable to away with that pains, so that the weakness of their bodies did also take away the life and courage of their hearts. Furthermore, there fell a pestilent disease among them, that came by ill meats hunger drave them to eat. Yet was not this the worst: for besides, he had no store of money, neither could tell how to come by victuals: so that it seemed in all likelihood, that in very short time he would come to nothing. For these respects Pompey would in no case fight, and yet

had he but Cato only of his mind in that, who stuck in it the rather, because he would avoid shedding of his countrymen's blood. For when Cato had viewed the dead bodies slain in the camp of his enemies at the last skirmish that was between them, the which were no less than a thousand persons: he covered his face and went away weeping.

All other but he contrarily fell out with him, and blamed him because he so long refrained from battle: and some prickt him forward, and called him Agamemnon, and king of kings, saying that he delayed this war in this sort, because he would not leave his authority to command them all, and that he was glad always to see many captains about him, which came to his lodging to honour him and wait upon him. And Favonius also, a hare-brained fellow, frantically counterfeiting the round and plain speech of Cato, made as though he was marvellous angry, and said: "Is it not great pity that we shall not eat this year of Tusculum figs, and all for Pompey's ambitious mind to reign alone?" And Afranius, who not long before was but lately come out of Spain (where because he had but ill success, he was accused of treason, that for money he had sold his army unto Caesar): he went busily asking why they fought not with that merchant

unto whom they said he had sold the province of Spain?

So that Pompey, with these kind of speeches, against his will was driven to follow Caesar to fight with him. Then was Caesar at the first marvellously perplexed and troubled by the way: because he found none that would give him any victuals, being despised of every man for the late loss and overthrow he had received. But after he had taken the city of Gomphi in Thessaly, he did not only meet with plenty of victuals to relieve his army with, but he strangely also did rid them of their disease. For the soldiers meeting with plenty of wine, drinking hard and making merry, drave away the infection of the pestilence. For they disposed themselves unto dancing, masking, and playing the Baccherians by the way: insomuch that drinking drunk they overcame their disease, and made their bodies new again.

When they both came into the country of Pharsalia, and both camps lay before each other: Pompey returned again to his former determination, and the rather, because he had ill signs and tokens of misfortune in his sleep. For he thought in his sleep that when he entered into the theatre, all the Romans received him with great clapping of hands. Whereupon, they that were about him

grew to such boldness and security, assuring themselves of victory: that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, in a bravery contended between themselves for the chief bishopric which Caesar had. Furthermore, there were divers that sent unto Rome to hire the nearest houses unto the market-place, as being the fittest places for Praetors and Consuls: making their account already, that those offices could not scape them incontinently after the wars. But besides those, the young gentlemen and Roman knights were marvellous desirous to fight, that were bravely mounted and armed with glistering gilt armours, their horses fat and very finely kept, and themselves goodly young men, to the number of seven thousand: where the gentlemen of Caesar's side were but one thousand only. The number of his footmen also were much after the same reckoning. For he had five and forty thousand against two and twenty thousand.

Wherefore Caesar called his soldiers together, and told them how Cornificus was at hand, who brought two whole legions, and that he had fifteen ensigns led by Calenus, the which he made to stay about Megara and Athens. Then he asked them if they would tarry for that aid or not, or whether they would rather themselves alone venture battle. The soldiers cried out to him

and prayed him not to defer battle, but rather to devise some fetch to make the enemy fight as soon as he could. Then he sacrificed unto the gods for the purifying of his army: the first beast was no sooner sacrificed, but his soothsayer assured him that he should fight within three days. Caesar asked him again, if he saw in the sacrifice any lucky sign or token of good luck. The soothsayer answered: "For that, thou shalt answer thyself better than I can do: for the gods do promise us a marvellous great change and alteration of things that are now, unto another clean contrary. For if thou beest well now, dost thou think to have worse fortune hereafter? And if thou be ill, assure thyself thou shalt have better."

The night before the battle, as he went about midnight to visit the watch, men saw a great firebrand in the element, all of a light fire, that came over Caesar's camp and fell down in Pompey's. In the morning, also, when they relieved the watch, they heard a false alarm in the enemies' camp without any apparent cause: which they commonly call, a sudden fear that makes men beside themselves. This notwithstanding, Caesar thought not to fight that day, but was determined to have raised his camp from thence, and to have gone towards the city of

Scotusa : and his tents in his camp were overthrown when his scouts came in with great speed, to bring him news that his enemies were preparing themselves to fight. Then he was very glad, and after he had made his prayers unto the gods to help him that day, he set his men in battle ray, and divided them into three squadrons, giving the middle battle unto Domitius Calvinus, and the left wing unto Antonius, and placed himself in the right wing, choosing his place to fight in the tenth legion. But seeing that against that his enemies had set all their horsemen : he was half afraid when he saw the great number of them, and so brave besides. Wherefore he closely made six ensigns to come from the rearward of his battle, whom he had laid as an ambush behind his right wing, having first appointed his soldiers what they should do when the horsemen of the enemies came to give them charge.

On the other side, Pompey placed himself in the right wing of his battle, gave the left wing unto Domitius, and the middle battle unto Scipio, his father-in-law. Now all the Roman knights (as we have told you before) were placed in the left wing, of purpose to environ Caesar's right wing behind, and to give their hottest charge there where the general of their enemies was : making their account that there was no squadron

of footmen, how thick soever they were, that could receive the charge of so great a troop of horsemen, and that at the first onset they should overthrow them all, and march upon their bodies.

When the trumpets on either side did sound the alarm to the battle, Pompey commanded his footmen that they should stand still without stirring to receive the charge of their enemies, until they came to throwing of their darts. Wherefore Caesar afterwards said, that Pompey had committed a foul fault, not to consider that the charge which is given running with fury, besides that it giveth the more strength also unto their blows, doth set men's hearts also on fire: for the common hurling of all the soldiers that run together, is unto them as a box on the ear that sets men afire.

Then Caesar making his battle march forward to give the onset, saw one of his captains (a valiant man, and very skilful in war, in whom he had also great confidence) speaking to his soldiers that he had under his charge, encouraging them to fight like men that day. So he called him aloud by his name, and said unto him, "Well, Caius Crassinius, what hope shall we have to-day? How are we determined, to fight it out manfully?" Then Crassinius casting up his hand, answered him aloud, "This day, O Caesar, we shall have

a noble victory, and I promise thee ere night thou shalt praise me alive or dead." When he had told him so, he was himself the foremost man that gave charge upon his enemies, with his band following of him, being about six score men : and making a lane through the foremost ranks, with great slaughter he entered far into the battle of his enemies : until that valiantly fighting in this sort, he was thrust in at length in the mouth with a sword, that the point of it came out again at his neck.

Now the footmen of both battles being come to the sword, the horsemen of the left wing of Pompey did march as fiercely also, spreading out their troops to compass in the right wing of Caesar's battle. But before they began to give charge, the six ensigns of footmen which Caesar had laid in ambush behind him, they began to run full upon them, not throwing away their darts far off as they were wont to do, neither striking their enemies on the thighs nor on the legs, but seeking to hit them full in the eyes, and to hurt them in the face as Caesar had taught them. For he hoped that these lusty young gentlemen that had not been often in the wars, nor were used to see themselves hurt, and the which being in the prime of their youth and beauty, would be afraid of those hurts, as well for the fear of the

present danger to be slain, as also for that their faces should not for ever be deformed. As indeed it came to pass, for they could never abide that they should come so near their faces with the points of their darts, but hung down their heads for fear to be hit with them in their eyes, and turned their backs, covering their faces because they should not be hurt. Then, breaking of themselves, they began at length cowardly to fly, and were occasion also of the loss of all the rest of Pompey's army. For they that had broken them ran immediately to set upon the squadron of the footmen behind, and slew them.

Then Pompey seeing his horsemen from the other wing of his battle, so scattered and dispersed, flying away : forgot that he was any more Pompey the Great which he had been before, but rather was like a man whose wits the gods had taken from him, being afraid and amazed with the slaughter sent from above : and so retired into his tent speaking never a word, and sat there to see the end of this battle. Until at length all his army being overthrown and put to flight, the enemies came and got upon the rampiers and defence of his camp, and fought hand to hand with them that stood to defend the same. Then as a man come to himself again, he spake but this only word, " What, even

in our camp?" So in haste, casting off his coat armour and apparel of a general, he shifted him, and put on such as became his miserable fortune, and so stole out of his camp. Furthermore, what he did after this overthrow, and how he had put himself into the hands of the Egyptians by whom he was miserably slain, we have set it forth in his life.

Then Caesar entering into Pompey's camp, and seeing the bodies laid on the ground that were slain, and others also that were a-killing, said, fetching a great sigh: "It was their own doing, and against my will." For Caius Caesar, after he had won so many famous conquests, and overcome so many great battles, had been utterly condemned notwithstanding, if he had departed from his army. Asinius Pollio writeth that he spake these words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greek, and saith furthermore, that the most part of them which were put to the sword in the camp were slaves and bondmen, and that there were not slain in all at this battle above six thousand soldiers.

As for them that were taken prisoners, Caesar did put many of them amongst his legions, and did pardon also many men of estimation, among whom Brutus was one, that afterwards slew Caesar himself: and it is reported that Caesar was very

sorry for him when he could not immediately be found after the battle, and that he rejoiced again when he knew that he was alive, and that he came to yield himself unto him.

Caesar had many signs and tokens of victory before this battle: but the notablest of all other that happened to him was in the city of Tralles. For in the temple of victory within the same city, there was an image of Caesar, and the earth all about it very hard of itself, and was paved besides with hard stones, and yet some say that there sprang up a palm hard by the base of the same image. In the city of Padua, Caius Cornelius, an excellent soothsayer (a countryman and friend of Titus Livius the historiographer), was by chance at that time set to behold the flying of birds. He (as Livy reporteth) knew the very time when the battle began, and told them that were present, "Even now they give the onset on both sides, and both armies do meet at this moment." Then sitting down again to consider of the birds, after he had bethought him of the signs: he suddenly rose up on his feet, and cried out as a man possessed with some spirit, "O Caesar, the victory is thine." Every man wondering to see him, he took the crown he had on his head, and made an oath that he would never put it on again, till the event of his prediction had

proved his art true. Livy testifieth that it came so to pass.

Caesar afterwards giving freedom unto the Thessalians, in respect of this victory which he won in their country, he followed after Pompey. When he came into Asia, he gave freedom also unto the Gnidians for Theopompus' sake, who had gathered the fables together. He did release Asia also the third part of the tribute which the inhabitants paid unto the Romans. Then he came into Alexandria after Pompey was slain : and detested Theodotus, that presented him Pompey's head, and turned his head aside because he would not see it. Notwithstanding, he took his seal, and beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he courteously used all Pompey's friends and familiars, who wandering up and down the country were taken of the King of Egypt, and won them all to be at his commandment. Continuing these courtesies, he wrote unto his friends at Rome, that the greatest pleasure he took of his victory was, that he daily saved the lives of some of his countrymen that bare arms against him.

And for the war he made in Alexandria, some say he needed not have done it, but that he willingly did it for the love of Cleopatra : wherein he won little honour, and besides did put his person in great danger. Others do lay the fault upon

the King of Egypt's ministers, but specially on Pothinus the eunuch, who bearing the greatest sway of all the king's servants, after he had caused Pompey to be slain, and driven Cleopatra from the court, secretly laid wait all the ways he could, how he might likewise kill Caesar. Wherefore Caesar hearing an inkling of it, began thenceforth to spend all the night long in feasting and banqueting, that his person might be in the better safety. But besides all this, Pothinus the eunuch spake many things openly not to be borne, only to shame Caesar and to stir up the people to envy him. For he made his soldiers have the worst and oldest wheat that could be gotten : then if they did complain of it, he told them they must be contented, seeing they ate at another man's cost. And he would serve them also at the table in treen and earthen dishes, saying that Caesar had away all their gold and silver, for a debt that the king's father (that then reigned) did owe unto him : which was, a thousand seven hundred and fifty myriads, whereof Caesar had before forgiven seven hundred and fifty thousand unto his children. Howbeit, then he asked a million to pay his soldiers withal. Thereto Pothinus answered him, that at that time he should do better to follow his other causes of greater importance, and afterwards that he should

at more leisure recover his debt with the king's good-will and favour. Caesar replied unto him, and said, that he would not ask counsel of the Egyptians for his affairs, but would be paid: and thereupon secretly sent for Cleopatra, which was in the country, to come unto him.

She only taking Apollodorus Sicilian of all her friends, took a little boat and went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foot of the castle. Then having no other mean to come into the court without being known, she laid herself down upon a mattress or flock bed, which Apollodorus her friend tied and bound up together like a bundle with a great leather thong, and so took her up on his back, and brought her thus hampered in this fardel unto Caesar in at the castle gate.

This was the first occasion (as it is reported) that made Caesar to love her: but afterwards, when he saw her sweet conversation and pleasant entertainment, he fell then in further liking with her, and did reconcile her again unto her brother the king, with condition that they two jointly should reign together. Upon this new reconciliation, a great feast being prepared, a slave of Caesar's that was his barber, the fearfullest wretch that lived, still busy prying and listening abroad in every corner, being mistrustful by nature.

found that Pothinus and Achillas did lie in wait to kill his master Caesar. This being proved unto Caesar, he did set such sure watch about the hall where the feast was to be made, that, in fine, he slew the eunuch Pothinus himself. Achillas, on the other side, saved himself and fled unto the king's camp, where he raised a marvellous dangerous and difficult war for Caesar: because he having then but a few men about him as he had, he was to fight against a great and strong city. The first danger he fell into, was for lack of water he had: for that his enemies had stopped the mouth of the pipes, the which conveyed the water into the castle. The second danger he had was that seeing his enemies came to take his ships from him, he was driven to repulse that danger with fire, the which burnt the arsenal where the ships lay, and that notable library of Alexandria withal. The third danger was in the battle by sea that was fought by the tower of Phar: where meaning to help his men that fought by sea, he leapt from the pier into a boat. Then the Egyptians made towards him with their oars on every side: but he leaping into the sea, with great hazard saved himself by swimming. It is said, that then holding divers books in his hand, he did never let them go, but kept them always upon his head above water,

and swam with the other hand, notwithstanding that they shot marvellously at him, and was driven sometime to duck into the water : howbeit the boat was drowned presently. In fine, the king coming to his men that made war with Caesar, he went against him, and gave him battle, and won it with great slaughter and effusion of blood. But for the king, no man could ever tell what became of him. Thereupon Caesar made Cleopatra his sister Queen of Egypt.

From thence he went into Syria, and so going into Asia, there it was told him that Domitius was overthrown in battle by Pharnaces the son of King Mithridates, and was fled out of the realm of Pont, with a few men with him : and that this King Pharnaces greedily following his victory, was not contented with the winning of Bithynia, and Cappadocia, but further would needs attempt to win Armenia the Less, procuring all those kings, princes, and governors of the provinces thereabouts to rebel against the Romans. Thereupon Caesar went thither straight, with three legions, and fought a great battle with King Pharnaces by the city of Dela, where he slew his army, and drave him out of all the realm of Pont. And because he would advertise one of his friends of the suddenness of this victory, he only wrote three words unto Anicius at Rome : *Veni, Vidi,*

Vici: to wit, "I came, I saw, I conquered." These three words ending all with like sound and letter in the Latin, have a certain short grace, more pleasant to the ear than can well be expressed in any other tongue.

After this he returned again into Italy, and came to Rome, ending his year for the which he was made Dictator the second time, which office before was never granted for one whole year, but unto him. Then was he chosen Consul for the year following. Afterwards he was very ill spoken of, for that his soldiers in a mutiny having slain two Praetors, Cosconius and Galba, he gave them no other punishment for it, but instead of calling them soldiers, he named them citizens, and gave unto every one of them a thousand drachmas a man, and great possessions in Italy. He was much disliked also for the desperate parts and madness of Dolabella, for the covetousness of Anicius, for the drunkenness of Antonius and Corniscius, which made Pompey's house be pulled down and builded up again, as a thing not big enough for him, wherewith the Romans were marvellously offended. Caesar knew all this well enough, and would have been contented to have redressed them: but to bring his matters to pass he pretended he was driven to serve his turn by such instruments.

After the battle of Pharsalia, Cato and Scipio being fled into Africa, King Juba joined with them, and levied a great puissant army. Wherefore Caesar determined to make war with them, and in the midst of winter he took his journey into Sicily. There, because he would take all hope from his captains and soldiers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged upon the very sands by the seaside, and with the next gale of wind that came, he took the sea with three thousand footmen and a few horsemen. Then having put them a-land, unawares to them he hoisted sail again, to go fetch the rest of the army, being afraid lest they should meet with some danger in passing over, and meeting them midway, he brought them all into his camp. Where, when it was told him that his enemies trusted in an ancient oracle, which said that it was predestined unto the family of the Scipios to be conquerors in Africa: either of purpose to mock Scipio the general of his enemies, or otherwise in good earnest to take the benefit of this name (given by the oracle) unto himself, in all the skirmishes and battles fought, he gave the charge of his army unto a man of mean quality and account, Scipio Salution, who came of the race of Scipio Africanus, and made him always general when he fought.

For he was eftsoons compelled to weary and

harry his enemies : for that neither his men in his camp had corn enough, nor his beasts forage, but the soldiers were driven to take seaweeds, called alga (and washing away the brackishness thereof with fresh water, putting to it a little herb called dog's tooth), to cast it so to their horse to eat. For the Numidians (which are light horsemen, and very ready of service) being a great number together, would be on a sudden in every place, and spread all the fields over thereabout, so that no man durst peep out of the camp to go for forage. And one day as the men of arms were staying to behold an African doing notable things in dancing and playing with the flute : they being set down quietly to take their pleasure of the view thereof, having in the meantime given their slaves their horses to hold, the enemies stealing suddenly upon them, compassed them in round about, and slew a number of them in the field, and chasing the others also that fled, followed them pell-mell into their camp. Furthermore, had not Caesar himself in person, and Asinius Pollio with him, gone out of the camp to the rescue, and stayed them that fled, the war that day had been ended.

There was also another skirmish where his enemies had the upper hand, in the which it is reported, that Caesar taking the ensign-bearer by

the collar that carried the eagle in his hand, stayed him by force, and turning his face, told him : " See, there be thy enemies."

These advantages did lift up Scipio's heart aloft, and gave him courage to hazard battle : and leaving Afranius on one hand of him, and King Juba on the other hand, both their camps lying near to other, he did fortify himself by the city of Thapsus, above the lake, to be a safe refuge for them in this battle. But whilst he was busy intrenching of himself, Caesar having marvellous speedily passed through a great country full of wood, by by-paths which men would never have mistrusted : he stole upon some behind, and suddenly assailed the others before, so that he overthrew them all, and made them fly. Then following this first good hap he had, he went forthwith to set upon the camp of Afranius, the which he took at the first onset, and the camp of the Numidians also, King Juba being fled. Thus in a little piece of the day only he took three camps and slew fifty thousand of his enemies, and lost but fifty of his soldiers. In this sort is set down the effect of this battle by some writers.

Yet others do write also, that Caesar self was not there in person at the execution of this battle. For as he did set his men in battle ray the falling sickness took him, whereunto he was given, and

therefore feeling it coming, before he was overcome withal, he was carried into a castle not far from thence where the battle was fought, and there took his rest till the extremity of his disease had left him.

Now for the Praetor and Consuls that scaped from this battle, many of them being taken prisoners, did kill themselves, and others also Caesar did put to death: but he being specially desirous of all men else to have Cato alive in his hands, he went with all possible speed unto the city of Utica, whereof Cato was governor, by means whereof he was not at the battle. Notwithstanding, being certified by the way that Cato had slain himself with his own hands, he then made open show that he was very sorry for it, but why or wherefore, no man could tell. But this is true, that Caesar said at that present time: "O Cato, I envy thy death, because thou didst envy my glory to save thy life." This notwithstanding, the book that he wrote afterwards against Cato being dead, did show no very great affection nor pitiful heart towards him. For how could he have pardoned him, if living he had had him in his hands, that being dead did speak so vehemently against him? Notwithstanding, men suppose he would have pardoned him if he had taken him alive, by the clemency he showed unto Cicero,

Brutus, and divers others that had borne arms against him. Some report that he wrote that book, not so much for any private malice he had to his death, as for civil ambition, upon this occasion.

Cicero had written a book in praise of Cato, which he entitled *Cato*. This book in likelihood was very well liked of, by reason of the eloquence of the orator that made it, and of the excellent subject thereof. Caesar therefore was marvelously offended, thinking that to praise him of whose death he was author, was even as much as to accuse himself: and therefore he wrote a letter against him, and heaped up a number of accusations against Cato, and entitled the book *Anticato*. Both these books have favourers unto this day, some defending the one for the love they bare to Caesar, and others allowing the other for Cato's sake.

Caesar being now returned out of Africa, first of all made an oration to the people, wherein he greatly praised and commended this his last victory, declaring unto them that he had conquered so many countries unto the empire of Rome, that he could furnish the commonwealth yearly with two hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and twenty hundred thousand pound weight of oil. Then he made three triumphs, the one for Egypt, the other

for the kingdom of Pont, and the third for Africa : not because he had overcome Scipio there, but King Juba. Whose son being likewise called Juba, being then a boy, was led captive in the show of this triumph. But this his imprisonment fell out happily for him : for where he was but a barbarous Numidian, by the study he fell into when he was a prisoner, he came afterwards to be reckoned one of the wisest historiographers of the Grecians.

After these three triumphs ended, he very liberally rewarded his soldiers : and to curry favour with the people, he made great feasts and common sports. For he feasted all the Romans at one time, at two and twenty thousand tables, and gave them the pleasure to see divers sword-players to fight at the sharp : and battles also by sea, for the remembrance of his daughter Julia, which was dead long before.

Then after all these sports, he made the people (as the manner was) to be mustered : and where there were at the last musters before three hundred and twenty thousand citizens, at this muster only there were but a hundred and fifty thousand. Such misery and destruction had this civil war brought unto the commonwealth of Rome, and had consumed such a number of Romans, not speaking at all of the mischiefs and calamities it

had brought unto all the rest of Italy, and to the other provinces pertaining to Rome.

After all these things were ended, he was chosen Consul the fourth time, and went into Spain to make war with the sons of Pompey : who were yet but very young, but had notwithstanding raised a marvellous great army together, and showed to have had manhood and courage worthy to command such an army : insomuch as they put Caesar himself in great danger of his life.

The greatest battle that was fought between them in all this war, was by the city of Munda. For then Caesar seeing his men sorely distressed, and having their hands full of their enemies, he ran into the press among the men that fought, and cried out unto them : " What, are you not ashamed to be beaten and taken prisoners, yielding yourselves with your own hands to these young boys ? " And so, with all the force he could make, having with much ado put his enemies to flight, he slew above thirty thousand of them in the field, and lost of his own men a thousand of the best he had.

After this battle he went into his tent, and told his friends that he had often before fought for victory, but this last time now, that he fought for the safety of his own life. He won this battle on the very feast day of the Bacchanalians, in the which men say that Pompey the Great went out

of Rome, about four years before, to begin this civil war. For his sons, the younger scaped from the battle: but within few days after Didius brought the head of the elder.

This was the last war that Caesar made. But the triumph he made into Rome for the same, did as much offend the Romans, and more, than anything that ever he had done before: because he had not overcome captains that were strangers, nor barbarous kings, but had destroyed the sons of the noblest man in Rome, whom fortune had overthrown. And because he had plucked up his race by the roots, men did not think it meet for him to triumph so for the calamities of his country, rejoicing at a thing for which he had but one excuse to allege in his defence, unto the gods and men, that he was compelled to do that he did. And the rather they thought it not meet, because he had never before sent letters nor messengers unto the commonwealth at Rome, for any victory that he had ever won in all the civil wars: but did always for shame refuse the glory of it.

This notwithstanding, the Romans inclining to Caesar's prosperity, and taking the bit in the mouth, supposing that to be ruled by one man only alone, it would be a good mean for them to take breath a little, after so many troubles and miseries as they had abidden in these civil wars:

they chose him perpetual Dictator. This was a plain tyranny: for to this absolute power of Dictator, they added this, never to be afraid to be deposed. Cicero propounded before the Senate that they should give him such honours as were meet for a man: howbeit others afterwards added too, honours beyond all reason. For, men striving who should most honour him, they made him hateful and troublesome to themselves that most favoured him, by reason of the unmeasurable greatness and honours which they gave him. Thereupon it is reported, that even they that most hated him were no less favourers and furtherers of his honours than they that most flattered him: because they might have greater occasions to rise, and that it might appear they had just cause and colour to attempt that they did against him.

And now for himself, after he had ended his civil wars, he did so honourably behave himself, that there was no fault to be found in him: and therefore, methinks, amongst other honours they gave him, he rightly deserved this, that they should build him a temple of clemency, to thank him for his courtesy he had used unto them in his victory. For he pardoned many of them that had borne arms against him, and furthermore, did prefer some of them to honour and office in the commonwealth; as amongst others, Cassius and

Brutus, both the which were made Praetors. And when Pompey's images had been thrown down, he caused them to be set up again; whereupon Cicero said then, that Caesar setting up Pompey's images again, he made his own to stand the surer. And when some of his friends did counsel him to have a guard for the safety of his person, and some also did offer themselves to serve him: he would never consent to it, but said, it was better to die once, than always to be afraid of death. But to win himself the love and good-will of the people, as the honourablest guard and best safety he could have: he made common feasts again, and general distributions of corn.

Furthermore, to gratify the soldiers also, he replenished many cities again with inhabitants, which before had been destroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repair unto: of the which the noblest and chiefest cities were these two, Carthage and Corinth, and it chanced also, that like as aforetime they had been both taken and destroyed together, even so were they both set afoot again, and replenished with people at one self time.

And as for great personages, he won them also, promising some of them to make them Praetors and Consuls in time to come, and unto others, honours and preferments: but to all men

generally good hope, seeking all the ways he could to make every man contented with his reign. Insomuch as one of the Consuls called Maximus, chancing to die a day before his Consulship ended, he declared Caninius Rebilus Consul only for the day that remained. So, divers going to his house (as the manner was) to salute him, and to congratulate with him of his calling and preferment, being newly chosen officer : Cicero pleasantly said : "Come, let us make haste, and be gone thither before his Consulship come out."

Furthermore, Caesar being born to attempt all great enterprises, and having an ambitious desire besides to covet great honours : the prosperous good success he had of his former conquests, bred no desire in him quietly to enjoy the fruits of his labours, but rather gave him the hope of things to come, still kindling more and more in him thoughts of greater enterprises, and desire of new glory, as if that which he had present were stale and nothing worth. This humour of his was no other but an emulation with himself as with another man, and a certain contention to overcome the things he prepared to attempt. For he was determined, and made preparation also to make war with the Persians. Then when he had overcome them, to pass through Hyrcania (com-

passing in the Sea Caspium, and Mount Caucasus) into the realm of Pontus, and so to invade Scythia : and overrunning all the countries and people adjoining unto High Germany, and Germany itself, at length to return by Gaul into Italy, and so to enlarge the Roman empire round, that it might be every way compassed in with the great sea Oceanus.

But whilst he was preparing for this voyage, he attempted to cut the bar of the Strait of Peloponnesus, in the place where the city of Corinth standeth. Then he was minded to bring the rivers of Anien and Tiber straight from Rome unto the city of Circeii, with a deep channel and high banks cast up on either side, and so to fall into the sea at Terracina, for the better safety and commodity of the merchants that come to Rome to traffic there. Furthermore, he determined to drain and sew all the water of the marishes betwixt the cities of Nomentum and Setium, to make it firm land, for the benefit of many thousands of people : and on the sea-coast next unto Rome, to cast great high banks, and to cleanse all the haven about Ostia of stones and rocks hidden under the water, and to take away all other impediments that made the harbour dangerous for ships, and to make new havens and arsenals meet to harbour such ships as did

continually traffic thither. All these things were purposed to be done, but took no effect. But the ordinance of the calendar, and reformation of the year, to take away all confusion of time, being exactly calculated by the mathematicians, and brought to perfection, was a great commodity unto all men. For the Romans using then the ancient computation of the year, had not only such uncertainty and alteration of the month and times that the sacrifices and yearly feasts came by little and little to seasons contrary for the purpose they were ordained : but also in the revolution of the sun (which is called *Annus Solaris*) no other nation agreed with them in account : and of the Romans themselves, only the priests understood it. And therefore when they listed, they suddenly (no man being able to control them) did thrust in a month above their ordinary number, which they called in old time *Mercedonius*. Some say that *Numa Pompilius* was the first that devised this way, to put a month between : but it was a weak remedy, and did little help the correction of the errors that were made in the account of the year, to frame them to perfection. But *Caesar* committing this matter unto the philosophers and best expert mathematicians at that time, did set forth an excellent and perfect calendar, more exactly calculated than any other that was before :

the which the Romans do use until this present day, and do nothing err as others, in the difference of time.

But his enemies, notwithstanding, that envied his greatness, did not stick to find fault withal. As Cicero the orator, when one said : "To-morrow the star Lyra will rise." "Yea," said he, "at the commandment of Caesar:" as if men were compelled so to say and think by Caesar's edict. But the chiefest cause that made him mortally hated, was the covetous desire he had to be called king: which first gave the people just cause, and next his secret enemies honest colour, to bear him ill-will. This notwithstanding, they that procured him this honour and dignity, gave it out among the people that it was written in the Sibylline prophecies, how the Romans might overcome the Parthians, if they made war with them, and were led by a king, but otherwise that they were unconquerable. And furthermore, they were so bold besides, that Caesar returning to Rome from the city of Alba, when they came to salute him they called him king. But the people being offended, and Caesar also angry, he said he was not called king, but Caesar. Then every man keeping silence, he went his way heavy and sorrowful.

When they had decreed divers honours for

him in the Senate, the Consuls and Praetors accompanied with the whole assembly of the Senate went unto him in the market-place, where he was set by the pulpit for orations, to tell him what honours they had decreed for him in his absence. But he sitting still in his majesty, disdain^ging to rise up unto them when they came in, as if they had been private men, answered them: that his honours had more need to be cut off than enlarged. This did not only offend the Senate, but the common people also, to see that he should so lightly esteem of the magistrates of the commonwealth: insomuch as every man that might lawfully go his way departed thence very sorrowfully. Thereupon also Caesar rising, departed home to his house, and tearing open his doublet collar, making his neck bare, he cried aloud to his friends, that his throat was ready to offer to any man that would come and cut it. Notwithstanding, it is reported that afterwards, to excuse this folly, he imputed it to his disease, saying, that their wits are not perfect which have this disease of the falling evil when standing on their feet they speak to the common people, but are soon troubled with a trembling of their body, and a sudden dimness and giddiness. But that was not true: for he would have risen up to the Senate, but Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends

(or rather a flatterer) would not let him, saying :
“ What, do you not remember that you are Caesar,
and will you not let them reverence you, and do
their duties ? ”

Besides these occasions and offences, there followed also his shame and reproach abusing the Tribunes of the people in this sort. At that time the feast of Lupercalia was celebrated, the which in old time men say was the feast of shepherds or herdmen, and is much like unto the feast of the Lycaeans in Arcadia. But howsoever it is, that day there are divers noblemen's sons, young men, and some of them magistrates themselves that govern then, which run naked through the city, striking in sport them they meet in their way, with leather thongs, hair and all on, to make them give place. Caesar sat to behold that sport upon the pulpit for oration, in a chair of gold, apparelled in triumphant manner. Antonius, who was Consul at that time, was one of them that ran this holy course. So when he came into the market-place, the people made a lane for him to run at liberty, and he came to Caesar, and presented him a diadem wreathed about with laurel. Whereupon there rose a certain cry of rejoicing, not very great, done only by a few appointed for the purpose. But when Caesar refused the diadem, then all the people together made an outcry of

joy. Then Antonius offering it again, there was a second shout of joy, but yet of a few. But when Caesar refused it again the second time, then all the whole people shouted. Caesar having made this proof, found that the people did not like of it, and therefore rose out of his chair, and commanded the crown to be carried unto Jupiter in the Capitol.

After that, there were set up images of Caesar in the city, with diadems upon their heads, like kings. Those, the two Tribunes, Flavius and Marullus, went and pulled down: and furthermore, meeting with them that first saluted Caesar as king, they committed them to prison. The people followed them rejoicing at it, and called them Brutes, because of Brutus, who had in old time driven the kings out of Rome, and that brought the kingdom of one person unto the government of the Senate and people. Caesar was so offended withal, that he deprived Marullus and Flavius of their Tribuneships, and accusing them, he spake also against the people, and called them Bruti and Cumani, to wit, beasts and fools. Hereupon the people went straight unto Marcus Brutus, who from his father came of the first Brutus, and by his mother of the house of the Servilians, a noble house as any was in Rome, and was also nephew and son-in-law of Marcus Cato.

Notwithstanding, the great honours and favour Caesar showed unto him kept him back, that of himself alone he did not conspire nor consent to depose him of his kingdom. For Caesar did not only save his life after the battle of Pharsalia when Pompey fled, and did at his request also save many more of his friends besides : but furthermore, he put a marvellous confidence in him. For he had already preferred him to the Praetorship for that year, and furthermore was appointed to be Consul the fourth year after that, having through Caesar's friendship obtained it before Cassius, who likewise made suit for the same : and Caesar also, as it is reported, said in this contention, "Indeed Cassius hath alleged best reason, but yet shall he not be chosen before Brutus." Some one day accusing Brutus while he practised this conspiracy, Caesar would not hear of it, but clapping his hand on his body, told them, "Brutus will look for this skin" : meaning thereby that Brutus for his virtue deserved to rule after him, but yet that for ambition's sake, he would not show himself unthankful or dishonourable.

Now they that desired change, and wished Brutus only their prince and governor above all other : they durst not come to him themselves to tell him what they would have him to do, but in the night did cast sundry papers into the Praetor's

seat where he gave audience, and the most of them to this effect: "Thou sleepest, Brutus, and art not Brutus indeed." Cassius finding Brutus' ambition stirred up the more by these seditious bills, did prick him forward, and egg him on the more for a private quarrel he had conceived against Caesar: the circumstances whereof, we have set down more at large in Brutus' life. Caesar also had Cassius in great jealousy, and suspected him much: whereupon he said on a time to his friends: "What will Cassius do, think ye? I like not his pale looks." Another time when Caesar's friends complained unto him of Antonius and Dolabella, that they pretended some mischief towards him: he answered them again: "As for those fat men and smooth-combed heads," quoth he, "I never reckon of them: but these pale-visaged and carrion-lean people, I fear them most": meaning Brutus and Cassius.

Certainly, destiny may easier be foreseen than avoided: considering the strange and wonderful signs that were said to be seen before Caesar's death. For, touching the fires in the element, and spirits running up and down in the night, and also the solitary birds to be seen at noondays sitting in the great market-place: are not all these signs perhaps worth the noting, in such a wonderful chance as happened? But Strabo the

philosopher writeth, that divers men were seen going up and down in fire : and furthermore, that there was a slave of the soldiers, that did cast a marvellous burning flame out of his hand, insomuch as they that saw it thought he had been burnt ; but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. Caesar self also doing sacrifice to the gods, found that one of the beasts which was sacrificed had no heart : and that was a strange thing in nature, how a beast could live without a heart. Furthermore, there was a certain soothsayer that had given Caesar warning long time afore, to take heed of the day of the Ides of March (which is the fifteenth of the month), for on that day he should be in great danger. That day being come, Caesar going unto the Senate House, and speaking merrily unto the soothsayer, told him, "The Ides of March be come." "So they be," softly answered the soothsayer, "but yet are they not passed."

And the very day before, Caesar supping with Marcus Lepidus, sealed certain letters as he was wont to do at the board : so talk falling out amongst them reasoning what death was best : he preventing their opinions cried out aloud, "Death unlooked for." Then going to bed the same night as his manner was, and lying with his wife Calpurnia, all the windows and doors of

his chamber flying open, the noise awoke him and made him afraid when he saw such light : but more, when he heard his wife Calpurnia, being fast asleep, weep and sigh, and put forth many fumbling lamentable speeches : for she dreamed that Caesar was slain, and that she had him in her arms. Others also do deny that she had any such dream, as amongst others, Titus Livius writeth that it was in this sort : the Senate having set upon the top of Caesar's house for an ornament and setting forth of the same, a certain pinnacle, Calpurnia dreamed that she saw it broken down, and that she thought she lamented and wept for it. Insomuch that Caesar rising in the morning, she prayed him, if it were possible, not to go out of the doors that day, but to adjourn the session of the Senate until another day : and if that he made no reckoning of her dream, yet that he would search further of the soothsayers by their sacrifices, to know what should happen him that day. Thereby it seemed that Caesar likewise did fear and suspect somewhat, because his wife Calpurnia until that time was never given to any fear or superstition : and that then he saw her so troubled in mind with this dream she had.

But much more afterwards, when the soothsayers having sacrificed many beasts one after another, told him that none did like them : then

he determined to send Antonius to adjourn the session of the Senate. But in the meantime came Decius Brutus, surnamed Albinus, in whom Caesar put such confidence, that in his last will and testament he had appointed him to be his next heir, and yet was of the conspiracy with Cassius and Brutus. He fearing that if Caesar did adjourn the session that day the conspiracy would be betrayed, laughed at the soothsayers, and reprov'd Caesar, saying: that he gave the Senate occasion to mislike with him, and that they might think he mocked them, considering that by his commandment they were assembled, and that they were ready willingly to grant him all things, and to proclaim him king of all the provinces of the empire of Rome out of Italy, and that he should wear his diadem in all other places both by sea and land. And furthermore, that if any man should tell them from him, they should depart for that present time, and return again when Calpurnia should have better dreams: what would his enemies and ill-wishers say, and how could they like of his friends' words? And who could persuade them otherwise, but that they would think his dominion a slavery unto them, and tyrannical in himself? "But yet if it be so," said he, "that you utterly mislike of this day, it is better that you go yourself in person, and

saluting the Senate, to dismiss them till another time." Therewithal he took Caesar by the hand, and brought him out of his house.

Caesar was not gone far from his house, but a bondman, a stranger, did what he could to speak with him: and when he saw he was put back by the great press and multitude of people that followed him, he went straight into his house, and put himself into Calpurnia's hands, to be kept till Caesar came back again, telling her that he had great matters to impart unto him. And one Artemidorus, also born in the Isle of Gnidos, a doctor of rhetoric in the Greek tongue, who by means of his profession was very familiar with certain of Brutus' confederates, and therefore knew the most part of all their practices against Caesar: came and brought him a little bill written with his own hand, of all that he meant to tell him. He marking how Caesar received all the supplications that were offered him, and that he gave them straight to his men that were about him, pressed nearer to him, and said: "Caesar, read this memorial to yourself, and that quickly, for they be matters of great weight, and touch you nearly." Caesar took it of him, but could never read it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did salute him: but holding it still in his hand,

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keeping it to himself, went on withal into the Senate House. Howbeit others are of opinion, that it was some man else that gave him that memorial, and not Artemidorus, who did what he could all the way as he went to give it Caesar, but he was always repulsed by the people.

For these things, they may seem to come by chance: but the place where the murder was prepared, and where the Senate were assembled, and where also there stood up an image of Pompey dedicated by himself amongst other ornaments which he gave unto the theatre: all these were manifest proofs that it was the ordinance of some god, that made this treason to be executed, specially in that very place. It is also reported, that Cassius (though otherwise he did favour the doctrine of Epicurus) beholding the image of Pompey, before they entered into the action of their traitorous enterprise, he did softly call upon it to aid him: but the instant danger of the present time, taking away his former reason, did suddenly put him into a furious passion, and make him like a man half beside himself. Now Antonius, that was a faithful friend to Caesar, and a valiant man besides of his hands, him Decius Brutus Albinus entertained out of the Senate House, having begun a long tale of set purpose.

So Caesar coming into the House, all the Senate stood up on their feet to do him honour. Then part of Brutus' company and confederates stood round about Caesar's chair, and part of them also came towards him, as though they made suit with Metellus Cimber, to call home his brother again from banishment: and thus prosecuting still their suit, they followed Caesar till he was set in his chair. Who, denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after another, because the more they were denied, the more they pressed upon him, and were the earnestest with him: Metellus at length, taking his gown with both his hands, pulled it over his neck, which was the sign given the confederates to set upon him. Then Casca behind him strake him in the neck with his sword, howbeit the wound was not great nor mortal, because, it seemed, the fear of such a devilish attempt did amaze him, and take his strength from him, that he killed him not at the first blow. But Caesar turning straight unto him, caught hold of his sword and held it hard, and they both cried out: Caesar in Latin: "O vile traitor Casca, what doest thou?" and Casca in Greek to his brother: "Brother, help me." At the beginning of this stir, they that were present, not knowing of the conspiracy, were so amazed with the horrible sight they saw, they had no power to fly, neither to help

him, nor so much as once to make an outcry. They on the other side, that had conspired his death, compassed him in on every side with their swords drawn in their hands, that Caesar turned him nowhere, but he was stricken by some, and still had naked swords in his face, and was hacked and mangled among them, as a wild beast taken of hunters. For it was agreed among them that every man should give him a wound, because all their parts should be in this murder: and then Brutus himself gave him one wound. Men report also, that Caesar did still defend himself against the rest, running every way with his body: but when he saw Brutus with his sword drawn in his hand, then he pulled his gown over his head, and made no more resistance, and was driven either casually or purposedly, by the counsel of the conspirators, against the base whereupon Pompey's image stood, which ran all of a gore-blood till he was slain. Thus it seemed that the image took just revenge of Pompey's enemy, being thrown down on the ground at his feet, and yielding up his ghost there, for the number of wounds he had upon him. For it is reported, that he had three-and-twenty wounds upon his body: and divers of the conspirators did hurt themselves, striking one body with so many blows.

When Caesar was slain, the Senate (though

Brutus stood in the midst amongst them, as though he would have said something touching this fact) presently ran out of the House, and flying filled all the city with marvellous fear and tumult. Insomuch as some did shut to their doors, others forsook their shops and warehouses, and others ran to the place to see what the matter was: and others also that had seen it ran home to their houses again. But Antonius and Lepidus, which were two of Caesar's chiefest friends, secretly conveying themselves away, fled into other men's houses, and forsook their own.

Brutus and his confederates on the other side, being yet hot with this murder they had committed, having their swords drawn in their hands, came all in a troop together out of the Senate, and went into the market-place: not as men that made countenance to fly, but otherwise, boldly holding up their heads like men of courage, and called to the people to defend their liberty, and stayed to speak with every great personage whom they met in their way. Of them some followed this troop and went amongst them, as if they had been of the conspiracy, and falsely challenged part of the honour with them: amongst them was Caius Octavius, and Lantulus Spinther. Both of them were afterwards put to death for their vain covetousness of honour, by Antonius and

Octavius Caesar the younger : and yet had no part of that honour for the which they were put to death, neither did any man believe that they were of the confederates, or of counsel with them. For they that did put them to death, took revenge rather of the will they had to offend, than of any fact they had committed.

The next morning, Brutus and his confederates came into the market-place to speak unto the people, who gave them such audience, that it seemed they neither greatly reprov'd, nor allowed the fact : for by their great silence they showed they were sorry for Caesar's death, and also that they did reverence Brutus. Now the Senate granted general pardon for all that was past : and to pacify every man, ordained besides that Caesar's funerals should be honoured as a god, and established all things that he had done : and gave certain provinces also and convenient honours unto Brutus and his confederates, whereby every man thought all things were brought to good peace and quietness again.

But when they had opened Caesar's testament, and found a liberal legacy of money bequeathed unto every citizen of Rome, and that they saw his body (which was brought into the market-place) all bemangled with gashes of swords : then there was no order to keep the multitude

and common people quiet, but they plucked up forms, tables, and stools, and laid them all about the body, and setting them afire, burnt the corse. Then when the fire was well kindled, they took the firebrands and went unto their houses that had slain Caesar, to set them afire. Others also ran up and down the city to see if they could meet with any of them, to cut them in pieces : howbeit they could meet with never a man of them, because they had locked themselves safely in their houses. There was one of Caesar's friends called Cinna, that had a marvellous strange and terrible dream the night before. He dreamed that Caesar bade him to supper, and that he refused and would not go : then that Caesar took him by the hand and led him against his will. Now Cinna hearing at that time that they burned Caesar's body in the market-place, notwithstanding that he feared his dream, and had an ague on him besides : he went into the market-place to honour his funerals. When he came thither, one of the mean sort asked him what his name was ? He was straight called by his name. The first man told it to another, and that other unto another, so that it ran straight through them all that he was one of them that murdered Caesar (for indeed one of the traitors to Caesar was also called Cinna as himself) : where-

fore taking him for Cinna the murderer, they fell upon him with such fury, that they presently dispatched him in the market-place.

This stir and fury made Brutus and Cassius more afraid than of all that was past, and therefore within few days after, they departed out of Rome: and touching their doings afterwards, and what calamity they suffered till their deaths, we have written it at large in the life of Brutus.

Caesar died at six-and-fifty years of age, and Pompey also lived not passing four years more than he. So he reaped no other fruit of all his reign and dominion, which he had so vehemently desired all his life and pursued with such extreme danger, but a vain name only, and a superficial glory, that procured him the envy and hatred of his country. But his great prosperity and good fortune that favoured him all his lifetime, did continue afterwards in the revenge of his death: pursuing the murderers both by land and sea, till they had not left a man more to be executed of all them that were actors or counsellors in the conspiracy of his death.

Furthermore, of all the chances that happen unto men upon the earth, that which came to Cassius above all other is most to be wondered at. For he being overcome in battle at the

journey of Philippi, slew himself with the same sword with which he strake Caesar.

Again of signs in the element, the great comet which seven nights together was seen very bright after Caesar's death, the eighth night after was never seen more. Also the brightness of the sun was darkened, the which all that year through rose very pale, and shined not out, whereby it gave but small heat: therefore the air being very cloudy and dark, by the weakness of the heat that could not come forth, did cause the earth to bring forth but raw and unripe fruit, which rotted before it could ripe.

But above all, the ghost that appeared unto Brutus, showed plainly that the gods were offended with the murder of Caesar. The vision was thus: Brutus being ready to pass over his army from the city of Abydos, to the other coast lying directly against it, slept every night (as his manner was) in his tent, and being yet awake thinking of his affairs (for by report he was as careful a captain, and lived with as little sleep, as ever man did), he thought he heard a noise at his tent door, and looking towards the light of the lamp that waxed very dim, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderful greatness and dreadful look, which at the first made him marvellously afraid. But when he saw that it

did him no hurt, but stood by his bedside and said nothing, at length he asked him what he was. The image answered him, "I am thy ill angel, Brutus, and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippi." Then Brutus replied again, and said, "Well, I shall see thee then." Therewithal, the spirit presently vanished from him. After that time, Brutus being in battle near unto the city of Philippi, against Antonius and Octavius Caesar, at the first battle he won the victory, and overthrowing all them that withstood him, he drave them into young Caesar's camp, which he took. The second battle being at hand, this spirit appeared unto him, but spake never a word. Thereupon Brutus knowing that he should die, did put himself to all hazard in battle, but yet fighting could not be slain. So seeing his men put to flight and overthrown, he ran into a little rock not far off, and there setting his sword's point to his breast, fell upon it, and slew himself: but yet, as it is reported, with the help of his friend that dispatched him.

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GLOSSARY

battle	battalion
bravery	finery, boast
carrer	courier
detest	denounce
easing	eaves
fact	deed
garboil	tumult
let	hinder
pains (<i>sing.</i>)	labour
pass	care, reck
prefer	promote
pretend	plot
puissant	powerful
rampiers	ramparts
ray	array
ruff	riot
slander	offend
sperage	asparagus
tickle	unsteady
treen	wooden

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