

were against him; and he lost all his energy. A strong force of soldiers was sent to attack him. The conflict was short. Gracchus, escaping from the carnage, fled across the Tiber, and finding escape hopeless, was killed, at his own request, by a slave who accompanied him. His head was cut off, and carried to the senate, while his body, with those of his followers who perished with him, was thrown into the Tiber. His property was confiscated, his wife even being deprived of her jointure. The aristocratic party pursued their victory with relentless cruelty, sending to the scaffold many who were merely the personal friends of those who were engaged in the sedition. It is recorded that more than three thousand of the popular party perished in the action on the Aventine hill, and in the executions which followed. The aristocracy were now again in almost undisputed ascendancy.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SOCIAL WAR.

FROM 121 B. C. TO 82 B. C.

CORRUPTION OF THE NOBLES.—RESTLESSNESS OF THE PEOPLE.—DEMAGOGISM OF MARIUS.—SERVILE INSURRECTION IN SICILY.—HEROISM OF EUNUS.—MISERIES OF THE SERVILE WARS.—SUMPTUARY LAWS.—STRUGGLE FOR RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE SOCIAL WAR.—CONTEMPLATED REORGANIZATION OF ITALY.—SYLLA.—WAR WITH MITHRIDATES.—INTERNAL DISSENSIONS AT ROME.—CIVIL WAR IN THE STREETS.—VIBRATION OF THE PENDULUM OF PARTIES.—CINNA.—THE RALLYING OF THE PEOPLE.—MARIUS RECALLED.—SCENES OF ANARCHY.—DEATH OF MARIUS.—RETURN OF SYLLA.—POMPEY ENTERS THE ARENA.—BATTLES AND ASSASSINATIONS.

THE developments of human nature, eighteen hundred years ago, were the same as now. Carbo, one of the most zealous of the popular leaders, abandoned his party, and passed over to those who had become the sole dispensers of honors and emoluments. The Roman nobles were, at this time, plunged into a state of extreme corruption. The government of the empire had passed entirely into their hands. The governors of the provinces rioted in luxury, the means of which were acquired by the most unrelenting extortion. Wars were frequently waged for the sole object of plunder. The line of separation between the nobles and the plebeians was never more broadly marked. The nobles had but little occasion for any intercourse with the plebeians, as their own numerous slaves supplied them with laborers, tradesmen, and even with instructors for their children. The masses of the people were treated by the aristocracy with the most insulting pride and oppression. The people were restless, and at times almost stung to madness and they needed but a leader to rouse them to bloody vengeance.

Such a leader soon arose. It was Caius Memmius. He began by bitterly inveighing against the corruption of the nobility, and claiming for the people a larger share in the administration of affairs. The senate was compelled, by the popular clamor, to appoint a court of inquiry, and five persons, of the highest rank, were punished by fines and banishment. Marius, himself a plebeian of the humblest origin, who, in spite of the scorn of the nobles, had forced his way to the head of the army, was conspicuous in his endeavors to bring the populace into power, and to humble those from whom the lowly in rank had endured so much of contempt and outrage.

The ever vibrating pendulum of parties was again bringing the people into power. Marius had attained the consular chair. Saturninus, one of the most profligate of demagogues, by effrontery which nothing could abash, and by murder, had secured a seat in the tribuneship, and Glaucia, a man of kindred spirit, was one of the pretors. Both parties in the struggle resorted to bribery; and Marius, a successful general, overawed opposition by the presence of his army, who were devoted to his person.

The animosity of the two parties daily increased, and the struggle between them grew more fierce. There were frequent tumults in Rome, and antagonistic mobs swept the streets. At length there was open war—the masses of the people, ignorant, vicious, and degraded on the one side, and the aristocracy, rich, insolent, and hopelessly corrupt upon the other. Marius, as consul, was forced by his position to administer the decrees of the senate, though in heart he was in sympathy with the populace. The people took possession of the capitol, but Marius reluctantly cut off the pipes which supplied the city with water, and compelled them to surrender. The insurgents, thus taken prisoners, and unarmed, were assailed by their foes, and, notwithstanding the efforts of Marius to protect them, were all murdered.

The insurrection of the slaves in Sicily, to which we have

before alluded, and which was quelled about this time, deserves more particular notice; for Sicily was to Italy, what Cuba may yet possibly be to us. Large estates had been purchased by the Romans in this beautiful and fertile island, and these estates were stocked with vast numbers of slaves. Eunus, a slave of Syrian birth, had acquired great influence among his companions in bondage. The slaves on a neighboring plantation, exasperated by the cruelty of their master and mistress, applied to Eunus for counsel. He encouraged them to conspire with the slaves on the several estates in the neighborhood, in an immediate revolt, promising to place himself at the head of the movement. Four hundred men, armed with such weapons as they could suddenly grasp, were speedily assembled to strike for freedom. Their masters were smitten down, the plantations destroyed, and without an hour's delay they marched for the town of Enna. The slaves in the town immediately joined them. Enna was taken by storm, set on fire, and the indiscriminate slaughter of its free citizens ensued, men, women and children, with the exception of such citizens as understood the manufacture of arms, whom Eunus reserved to supply his followers with weapons.

The successful Syrian, thus striking for freedom, and at the head of a small, determined, but rapidly increasing army, now assumed the title of king, and formed a cabinet council, composed of those of his associates who were most eminent for courage and wisdom. In three days six thousand men were rallied beneath his banners, heroically resolved to regain their liberty or perish in the attempt. Every hour the roused captives were rushing from all directions to swell his ranks. The example became contagious. In another part of the island another sagacious man, named Cleon, roused his fellow-bonds-men to arms, and acknowledging Eunus as king, sent to him for orders that he might effectually cooperate in a general movement. The Sicilians had no force to meet the crisis. Rome sent eight thousand of her veterans to crush the insur-

gents. Etnus, with outnumbering bands, urged by the energies of despair, fell upon them and cut them to pieces. Another Roman army was sent, and still another, which met with the same fate.

Several months had now passed away, and the slaves were in possession of many of the principal towns in the island. The insurrection was so successful and had become so formidable, that Rome made a decisive effort to quell it. An overwhelming force was sent to Sicily, which first besieged the town of Taurominium. With great bravery and skill these unfortunate men, who had so nobly struck for freedom, repelled every assault until, at last, reduced to the utmost extremity by famine, they were unable to resist the rush of their foes, and were all mercilessly put to death. The victors with floating banners and gory swords, surrounded Enna, the first scene of the revolt, and the stronghold of the insurgents. The power brought against them was such that their state was hopeless. Cleon was slain in a sally. By famine and the sword, Etnus and all his followers soon perished miserably. Such is usually the end of a servile insurrection. And yet slaves, in their despair, will ever strike for freedom; and though they perish in the attempt, they take awful vengeance upon their oppressors.

The revolt was thus apparently suppressed, yet many years the disturbances continued, and there were innumerable local insurrections, causing great carnage and unspeakable misery. A Roman knight, Titus Minucius, harassed by debt, and annoyed by the importunities of his creditors, through revenge incited an insurrection, and placed himself at the head of three thousand slaves. A bloody battle ensued before he was put down. Soon after this, two very able slaves, Sabrius and Athenio, headed revolts. Their forces were marshaled in well-disciplined bands, and for some time they successfully repelled all the power Rome could bring against them. Several Roman armies were defeated with

great loss, and the whole island was surrendered to blood and violence. The poorer class of the free inhabitants availed themselves of the general confusion to indulge in unrestrained license and devastation. This insurrection became so formidable, that again Rome was compelled to rouse her energies. A consular army was sent, which drove the insurgents into their strongholds, and then subdued them by the slow process of siege. The carnage and misery resulting from these servile wars no tongue can tell. The whole power of the Roman empire was pledged to put down insurrections; and though the captives could avenge their wrongs and sell their lives dearly, it was in vain for them to hope for ultimate success.

A law was now passed prohibiting any slave from carrying a warlike weapon. Rigorously was this law enforced. At one time a boar of remarkable size was sent as a present to L. Domicius, then pretor of the island. He inquired who had killed it. On being informed that it was a slave, who was employed as a shepherd, he summoned the man before him, and asked how he had contrived to kill so powerful an animal. The shepherd replied that he had killed it with a boar spear. The merciless Domicius ordered him immediately to be crucified for having used a weapon in violation of the law. This rigor was pursued so unrelentingly, that, for a long period, there were no more revolts.

The progress of the world to its present state of political intelligence has been very slow. A decided advance was made when a law was passed declaring that every decree should be published on three successive market days, and should then be submitted to the vote of the people, not as heretofore, tied to other enactments, to be voted for in the lump, so that all must be rejected or all accepted, but that each clause should be acted on by itself. A sumptuary law had been enacted in a time of general distress, when Hannibal was thundering at the gates of Rome, which regulated the

amount of ornament which a lady might be permitted to wear, and which forbade the ladies of Rome from using a carriage, except in their attendance upon the public sacrifices. This law was called the Oppian law, from Caius Oppius, who introduced it. It was, however, repealed as soon as the national distress had subsided.

An enactment had also been established some years before, limiting the number of guests to be admitted to any entertainment, and ordering that the doors of the house should be left open during the meal, to guard against any secret violation of the rule. By a similar decree, the principal citizens were obliged to take an oath that they would not expend upon any entertainment a sum amounting to more than about forty dollars; and they were not to use any other wine than that made in Italy; and they were not to display upon their tables more than a hundred pounds weight of silver. Many very unwise and oppressive laws of this kind had been enacted, often descending to the minutest details of domestic expenses.

We now enter upon new troubles, perhaps more replete with calamity than Rome had ever experienced before. The number of Roman *citizens* was at this time very small, nearly all the subjugated tribes of Italy being deprived of the right of suffrage, and of all voice in the government. They were subjects—not citizens—enormously taxed, and these taxes were collected by men called publicans, or farmers of the revenue, who practiced the most atrocious extortion and cruelty. These subjugated tribes sometimes occupied the position of conquered people, who were left to the independent administration of their own local laws, but who were compelled to pay taxes to Rome, and to send contingents of troops in case of war. Thirty-five tribes, in the vicinity of Rome, had, in the lapse of time, and in various ways, become incorporated with the kingdom, and had secured the rights of citizenship. Occasionally this privilege was conferred upon

a stranger, as a great honor, in reward of some signal services.

Discontent had long been fomenting among the numerous tribes of Italy, from whom the political franchise was withheld. Taxation without representation, seems to have been as obnoxious then as now. L. Drusus, a tribune, pleaded their cause at Rome. He was deemed a fanatic and an incendiary, and was assassinated. This outrage threw these remote Italian nations into great excitement. All their hopes were blighted, and henceforth, it was feared, there would be no one who would dare to plead their cause. Thus exasperated, they prepared for that conflict which is renowned in history as the Social War. It broke out in the year 90 B. C. and lasted eighteen years.

The Italian tribes or nations who formed themselves into a confederacy for the redress of their grievances were ten in number—the Picini, Vestinians, Marrusinians, Marsians, Pelignians, Samnites, Trentinians, Hirpinians, Lucanians, and Apulians. The deputies of these nations in revolt, met at Asculum, to prepare for the terrible conflict against all the power of Rome. From the imperial city two legates were sent to remonstrate with them. They were both murdered by the infuriated insurgents, and, in the blind rage of the tumult, all the Roman citizens in the place were put to death. The confederates determined that Rome should be utterly destroyed, and that all Italy should be formed into one republic, with Corfinium for its capital. The government was to be administered by two annual consuls, twelve pretors, and a senate of five hundred members. They chose their two consuls, Marsian and Mutilus, and marshaled their forces for the war.

The Roman consuls, this year, were Lucius Julius Cæsar, and P. Rutilius Lupus. In the first campaign the Roman legions were, in almost every battle defeated, and Rome itself narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Italians. The

city was only saved by the exertions of the powerful Latin tribes, whose fidelity was purchased by extending to them the rights of citizenship. Having obtained these rights for themselves, ignobly they fought against their brethren, to prevent them from securing the same. They acted the part of the slave who pays for his own emancipation, by riveting the shackles upon the limbs of his brother. The law, granting this franchise to the Latins, was called the Julian Law, from its author. The Romans were so severely pressed by the foe, that they were constrained to admit emancipated slaves into their armies.

In the campaign of the next year, the Romans were more successful. The siege of Asculum was conducted to a successful termination. This caused great exultation at Rome, as Asculum had first set the example of revolt. The confederate Italians removed their capital to Æsernia. A new Roman general, Sylla, was now rising rapidly to renown. He was a man whose commanding talents and energy were almost eclipsed by his profligacy. With the sweep of a hurricane he demolished his foes, and in the exultation of success sought and obtained the consulship. The confederates, utterly vanquished, and having lost all their principal cities, were compelled to accept terms from the victor. In this brief but desperate struggle, the Italians lost more than 300,000 of their sons; and many of their most flourishing towns were changed to heaps of ruins. The rights of citizenship were, however, by this conflict, greatly extended; but the embers of war still slumbered in the bosoms of those whose rights were not yet recognized. The newly formed citizens were organized into some eight or ten tribes, and we soon find the total number of tribes, composing the free citizens of Rome, amounting to fifty.

Mithridates was, at this time, monarch of Pontus, an energetic kingdom in the northeast part of Asia Minor. He was a man of commanding abilities, and one of the most illustrious

generals of that day. The Romans, during their lull in the Social War, picked a quarrel with Mithridates, and sent an army, collected from the effeminate inhabitants of Asia Minor, to conquer him. Mithridates trampled them down beneath the feet of his veterans. Thus victorious, he continued his march westward, emancipating subjugated nations from the Roman yoke, while the Greeks, with great enthusiasm rallied around him. With the characteristic cruelty of those times, in one day Mithridates put to death 80,000 Roman citizens, whom he had found in Asia Minor. He then dispatched one of his generals, Archelaus, with an army flushed with victory, into Macedonia and Greece, to drive out the Romans. This was in the year 83 B. C. Thebes, Athens, and most of the important towns of the Grecian peninsula, threw open their gates and received Archelaus as their deliverer.

In the meantime Rome was still ravaged by the most cruel internal dissensions. Sulpicius, one of the tribunes, was urging upon the government the extension of the rights of citizenship to all the inhabitants of Italy. This was eminently a popular measure, though it was abhorred by the aristocracy. Sulpicius, thwarted by the nobles, became more violent in his proceedings, and anticipating that his foes might soon attempt to crush him, by physical force, he organized a band of his determined partisans for his defense. A body of three thousand gladiators were ready to rally at his call; and six hundred young men, of the equestrian order, whom the nobles affected to despise, ever attended him.

Such was the state of affairs in Rome, when the news arrived that Mithridates had overrun all the Roman dominions of Asia Minor. Soon a riot ensued. Sulpicius was victorious, and the government was compelled to place nearly all the Italian nations, whom they had subjugated, on an equality with the Romans in the right of voting. The popular party was thus again triumphant. Thus slowly, in all ages, have popular rights struggled against aristocratic privilege. Sylla,

who had vigorously espoused the cause of the aristocracy, was dismissed from his command in the army, and Marius, a friend of the people, was transferred to the vacant post. The soldiers, attached to their victorious leader, who had rewarded them with plunder, and indulged them in every license, were indignant; many assassinations ensued, and finally the army, consisting of six legions, amounting to about thirty thousand men, in a mutiny, broke up its quarters, and, led by Sylla, commenced a menacing march upon Rome. Sylla was at this time consul, and he was joined by his colleague Pompeius. They approached the city, by stratagem entered the gates, and quartered their troops upon the inhabitants.

Marius and Sulpicius, in their extremity, invited the slaves to join them, with the promise of freedom, the highest reward which can be offered to a slave. With such force as they could raise they threw up barricades, and from the house tops hurled down missiles upon their foes. A woful warfare was now waged in the streets of Rome. Sylla, without scruple, set fire to the houses from whence he was assailed, and swept the streets with his veteran troops. The populace were speedily vanquished, and Marius and Sulpicius, with their principal friends, sought safety in flight.

Martial law was established in Rome. Sylla assembled the senate, and passed a decree declaring Marius and Sulpicius to be public enemies, and offering a reward for their heads. Marius, through numberless romantic adventures and hair-breadth escapes, succeeded in reaching Africa. Sulpicius, betrayed by one of his slaves, was arrested and put to death. The popular party, deprived of its leaders, and overawed by the presence of the victorious army, submitted without further resistance. The laws which had been passed by Sulpicius were immediately annulled, and again the aristocratic party were in the ascendancy. But the struggle for equality of rights, in the human breast, is irrepressible. The people,

though again baffled, were more eager than ever before to resume the conflict.

The next year they succeeded in choosing Cinna to the consulship, one of the most able of the advocates of the popular interest. His colleague was Octavius, a patrician of the aristocracy. Cinna immediately, through the tribunes, threatened Sylla with a prosecution for his assault upon the city. To escape this peril, Sylla rejoined his soldiers, and sailed for Greece, to escape the storm which threatened him, and to arrest, if possible, the alarming career of Mithridates. The popular cause was now altogether too strong to be silenced by any single defeat.

Marius, proscribed and an exile, became the idol of the people. Immediately upon the departure of Sylla for Greece, Cinna reënacted the law of Sulpicius, conferring upon all the Italian tribes the rights of citizenship. Great crowds of those whom this law was intended to benefit, flocked to Rome, to aid, by their swords, should need be, the advocate of their cause. Riots soon broke out again in Rome, and great numbers on both sides were killed. Cinna summoned the slaves to his standard. Octavius, his colleague, headed the senate and the aristocratic party. Cinna was overpowered, and with his adherents, fled from the capital. The senate, by an act hitherto unprecedented, declared that he had forfeited his consulship, and they elected another, Cornelius Merula, in his stead.

The country people regarded the cause of Cinna as their own. They rallied around him in great numbers, bringing with them arms and money. He was soon at the head of quite an army, who acknowledged him as their consul, and took the oath of military obedience to his commands. Multitudes of the popular party in Rome repaired to his camp. The Italian cities, rejoicing at so favorable an opportunity of resuming the contest, espoused his cause with the utmost ardor and energy. So wide-spread was the enthusiasm, that in a short time there