

power. Catiline had as little sympathy for the people, as had those aristocrats in power, whose cause Cicero so eloquently and energetically espoused.

Cicero at length succeeded in obtaining ample and legal evidence against the leading conspirators in the city, and four of them were arrested. Cicero then assembled all the people in the forum, and detailed to them the objects of the conspiracy, and the convincing proof which had been elicited. When the masses learned that the city was to have been surrendered to conflagration and indiscriminate massacre, their indignation was roused to the utmost.

The arrested conspirators were immediately brought to trial and condemned to death as traitors. It is remarkable, in attestation of the theology of those times, that Cæsar advocated confiscation and banishment instead of death; declaring that death was not severe punishment enough, since death was *annihilation*, with nothing more to fear or suffer. This emphatic denial of the immortality of the soul, was received by the assembled senate of Rome without any surprise or dissent, which seems to prove that the mass of thinking men in that day had no belief in a future state. The popular theology was believed only by the ignorant, and it had a *very frail* hold upon them, apparently having but the slightest possible influence upon their conduct. It is the gospel of Christ alone which has brought immortality to light, with all its infinite persuasions to a holy life. The prisoners were, after long debate, doomed to death, and were strangled in their cells.

Catiline was now at the head of twelve thousand men, but his plan of burning Rome had been frustrated, and he commenced a retreat toward Gaul. Antonius, with a consular army pursued him. A battle soon ensued. The insurgents were cut to pieces, and Catiline, sword in hand, rushing despairingly into the thickest of the battle, fell among the slain. Thus terminated this most renowned conspiracy recorded in the annals of history. The eloquence of Cicero has given it immortality.

CHAPTER X.

CÆSAR AND POMPEY.

FROM 59 B. C. TO 50 B. C.

CATO.—RETURN OF POMPEY TO ROME.—CLODIUS AND THE MYSTIC RITES.—DIVORCE OF POMPEIA.—ANECDOTES OF CÆSAR.—THE TRIUMVIRATE.—POLICY OF CICERO.—POPULAR MEASURES OF CÆSAR.—DIVISION OF THE SPOILS OF OFFICE.—PROSECUTION OF CICERO.—HIS BANISHMENT AND RECALL.—DEMOCRATIC TRIUMPHS.—DOMESTIC GRIEFS.—BLOODY FRAY.—TUMULT IN ROME.—DICTATORSHIP OF POMPEY.—ORGANIZATION OF A ROMAN COURT.—ANECDOTE OF CÆSAR.—HIS AMBITIOUS DESIGNS.—SICKNESS OF POMPEY.—POLITICAL CONTESTS IN ROME.—OPEN WAR.—RETREAT OF POMPEY AND FLIGHT TO GREECE.

ANOTHER of the most renowned of the men of antiquity now makes his appearance upon the busy stage of Roman life, Marcus Porcius Cato, a man of illustrious birth and fortune, and of exalted genius. In the early years of childhood, he gave indication of that force of character and resolution which distinguished his whole career. His education was conducted with much care, under the guidance of a private tutor, Sarpedon. His temperament was naturally cold, reserved, and stern. He was seldom seen to laugh, and despising the effeminate and dissolute habits of the young men of his day, he adopted the most singular plainness of dress, and great austerity of manners and conduct. With much energy he coöperated with Cicero to quell the insurrection of Catiline, and in an eloquent speech, which Sallust professes to have preserved, he urged upon the senate the rigorous punishment of the conspirators.

As Catiline had professed to be the friend of the masses of the people, the poorer classes were generally in his favor. Cæsar, whose sympathies were avowedly in favor of popular rights, was understood to lean toward the side of mercy in

regard to the conspirators; but Cato urged that they should be punished with the utmost rigor of the law. The murmurs of the people increased after the execution of the conspirators. They declared, and with justice, that the senate were eager to punish any offenses against aristocratic privileges, while they were utterly regardless of all the wrongs and oppressions to which the people were subjected. Cato, to appease these murmurs, presented a resolve that a large sum of money should be appropriated annually to the distribution of corn among the people. Though this decree was enacted, there was still so much discontent at Rome, and Cæsar so undisguisedly advocated the claims of the populace, that the senate removed him from his office as pretor. But the people immediately rallied around him, with so much enthusiasm, regarding him as a victim suffering for his efforts in their behalf, that he was soon again reinstated in office.

At this time, Pompey, having accomplished all the purposes of his military mission, and acquired great renown, returned to Rome. The people assembled in vast numbers to give him a welcome, and hear from him an address. Both parties were very anxious to know to which side he would devote his very powerful influence. But his speech was non-committal, and, according to Cicero, both patricians and plebeians were alike disappointed. Probably, devoted to his own interests, he was waiting to see which side would prove the most powerful. Cæsar, appreciating the energy of this ambitious young soldier, courted his friendship. Pompey received these advances as merited homage to his own greatness. Each of these distinguished men hoped to avail himself of the abilities of the other in climbing to power. It consequently was inevitable that they would soon come to rivalry, and to deadly conflict.

After the death of Cornelia, Cæsar married another wife, whose name was Pompeia. It was a custom of the times for ladies, in closest privacy, to observe a religious ceremony called the "Mysteries of the Good Goddess." These rites were of

such a nature that all male observers were scrupulously excluded. Even the picture of a man was not allowed to remain uncovered upon the walls. These mysteries were one night to be celebrated at the house of Cæsar. A debauched young noble, by the name of Clodius, who had a very smooth and beardless face, disguised himself in the attire of a woman, and by bribing a female slave of Pompeia, gained admission. To the utter consternation of the ladies, he was discovered in the midst of their rites. The infamy of the crime was such that Clodius was brought to trial. The young nobles generally, debauched in character, were clamorous for the acquittal of their companion, being disposed to regard the offense merely as a good practical joke. After the mockery of a trial, he was dismissed uncondemned, to the extreme indignation of the people. Cæsar proudly took no part in the prosecution; but as it was whispered, during the trial, that Clodius was admitted through the concurrence of Pompeia, he immediately renounced her by a public divorce, haughtily saying: "The wife of Cæsar must not be suspected."

The aristocracy looked upon Pompey with much distrust, and opposed with great determination his attempts to procure grants of land for his soldiers. This brought Pompey and the aristocracy into fierce collision. Cicero rather coldly supported the measures of Pompey, but proposed several amendments to his bill. The conflict raged with much bitterness, and finally Pompey was defeated. Cæsar, in the meantime, had been sent to Spain as second in command in that province. Here he greatly replenished his exhausted purse. It is reported that one day entering the town of Cadiz, he saw a statue of Alexander in the public square. With much sadness he said to an attendant, "Alexander, at the age of thirty, was master of the world. I have lived thirty-five years, and yet how little have I accomplished."

The vast sums of money with which he returned from Spain aided him in his ambitious enterprises at Rome. Com-

bining with Pompey and with Crassus, a man of boundless wealth, the three united, attained such supremacy that they were called the triumvirate, or commission of three. This coalition wielded immense power. Cæsar, without difficulty, obtained the great object of his desire—the consulship. The aristocrats, however, succeeded in associating with him one of their partisans as colleague. Cicero was not popular with either party. His want of noble birth exposed him to the contempt of the nobles. His apparently obsequious advocacy of the interests of the patricians rendered him obnoxious to the people. Finding himself thus deserted by both parties, in chagrin he retired for a short time from any participation in public affairs.

Cato was now the acknowledged leader of the aristocratic party, and he regarded Cæsar with emotions of animosity, which grew stronger and stronger until the end of his life. But powerful as Cato was, he could accomplish but little in antagonism with such formidable opponents as the triumvirate; particularly, since Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus were supported by the whole weight of the popular party.

One of the first measures of Cæsar, in his consulship, was to grant farms to twenty thousand Roman citizens in Campania, one of the most fertile regions of Italy. Bibulus, his colleague, supported by the nobles, exerted himself to the utmost to thwart this measure, but in vain. The opposition of the nobles was silenced by the fierce menaces of the mob. In fact, Bibulus was thus so effectually overawed, that he withdrew into retirement, and Cæsar was left in almost undisputed possession of the consular power. Cæsar was now the idol of the people. The triumvirate made a division of the spoils of office at their disposal among themselves. Cæsar, with a large army, was intrusted with the government of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, and of Illyrium, for five years. Pompey, who had in the meantime married Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, was intrusted with the administration

of affairs in Asia. Crassus, with his vast wealth, and ambitious of being the richest man in the world, remained in Rome, to watch over his pecuniary interests and prosecute his enterprises there.

The wheel of popular parties had, manifestly, again revolved, and the aristocracy were now depressed. A strong disposition was manifested to effect the ruin of Cicero. For some time he had absented himself from Rome. The triumvirate had caused, in the annual election, men who were in their own interests to be placed in the consular chair; and these new consuls immediately commenced the prosecution of Cicero, for the execution of Lentulus, Cethegus, and the other conspirators with Catiline. A law was enacted, reflective in its operation, or *ex post facto*, as it is legally termed, which sentenced to punishment any one guilty of putting a Roman citizen to death without trial. The populace, excited against Cicero, insulted him whenever he appeared in the streets. The distinguished orator, finding his cause hopeless, and conscious that he was already doomed by the decree which had passed, escaped by night from Rome, and retired into voluntary exile. A law was then enacted, in the usual language of a decree of banishment, forbidding him the use of fire and water within four hundred miles of Italy, denouncing any one who should harbor him within those limits, and declaring it a crime to move for his recall, either before the senate or the people. His property was also confiscated, and his house, on the Palatine hill, was burnt to the ground.

Cato denounced these measures of democratic violence. The influence of this illustrious man was so great, that it was not deemed safe to attempt to strike him down. In the greed of annexation, Rome had decided, without the color of justice, to take possession of the island of Cyprus, and Cato, though he inveighed against the criminality of the measure, was sent to bring the island into subjection to Rome. He

was selected for the mission merely as a measure to remove him from the metropolis. The king of Cyprus, knowing his utter inability to cope with Rome, took poison and died.

At the close of the year, new consuls came into power; new influences prevailed, and, with extraordinary unanimity, both the senate and people concurred in a law for Cicero's recall. He landed at Brundisium, where he was received with great kindness. His advance to Rome was almost a constant triumph; and when he reached the gates of the city, nearly the whole population came forth to welcome him. The streets were thronged with the multitudes, who cheered him on his way. Cicero was probably much indebted to Pompey for his recall and his honorable reception.

One of Cicero's first measures, in the senate, after his return, was eminently a popular one. There had been, for some time, a great scarcity of corn at Rome. Pompey, at Cicero's suggestion, was invested with full powers to see that the capital should be amply supplied with corn for a period of five years. This office conferred immense power. The ground upon which Cicero's house had stood was restored to him, and money, from the public treasury, was placed in his hands to enable him to rebuild. Some of the disaffected, however, excited riots, and there were witnessed many scenes of tumult and bloodshed.

While these events were transpiring at Rome, Cæsar was passing the winter at Lucca, on the frontiers of the province intrusted to his command. The senate took advantage of his absence to endeavor to repeal the agrarian law, by which the lands of Campania had been divided among the poorer citizens; at the same time, they made an effort to degrade Cæsar from his command in Gaul. The haughtiness of the aristocratic party, and their insolent bearing toward Cicero, had alienated him from their cause, and he addressed the senate in a very eloquent oration in defense of Cæsar. He seemed now quite disposed to cast himself into the arms of the popular party

and composed a work, highly complimentary to Cæsar, which he sent to him to cement the bonds of confidence and union.

The opposition to Cæsar, stimulated by the aristocracy, was increasing so fast in Rome, that Pompey and Crassus decided to present themselves as candidates for the consulship, hoping thus to be able to sustain their colleague, for the fall of any one of their number, would endanger the authority of the triumvirate. The leaders of the democracy can generally bring forward the mob to aid them. Through such scenes as are often witnessed, when the rabble are roused, in a great city, they obtained their election. The aristocracy had presented Cato as their candidate for pretor; but he was rejected. The whole election was a decisive democratic triumph.

Pompey and Crassus now made rapid strides toward dictatorial power, the people being eager to grant them even more than they asked. By one law, in addition to the consular dignity, the government of Spain was assigned to Pompey, and that of Syria to Crassus, each to hold their command for five years, and to be invested with the power of raising troops, and of making peace or war at their pleasure. They then obtained the prolongation of Cæsar's dominion in Gaul for five years.

Crassus, with an army, embarked for Syria. Pompey remained in Rome, intrusting the command of his Spanish province to lieutenants. Pompey had now attained the height of his ambition. Cæsar was in Gaul; Crassus was in Syria; and Pompey was enthroned at Rome with dictatorial power. As is almost invariably the case, under such circumstances, Pompey, having attained such dignity, became very aristocratic in his tastes and principles, and was disposed to push from beneath him the popular ladder by which he had mounted to his exaltation. He was complaisant to the nobles, and favored them in all things, manifesting an earnest disposition to regard them as the support and ornament of his throne.

Domestic griefs were then as relentless and heart-rending

as now. Pompey was irreproachable in his relations as a husband and a father; and his love for Julia, who, as we have mentioned, was the daughter of Cæsar, was singularly pure, tender, and constant. Her death, at this time, leaving an infant who survived her but a few days, prostrated him, for a season, a heart-stricken man. Julia was universally loved and admired. Her funeral was celebrated by an immense course in the Campus Martius, an honor which had never before been conferred upon a woman. But still more momentous issues resulted from this death. Pompey was passing over to the support of the nobles. He had never been *in heart*, democratically inclined. Cæsar was still the popular leader, looking steadfastly at the people as the supporter of his power. The influence of Julia had bound her father and her husband together. That tie was now, by her death, sundered for ever.

The following incident, which occurred at this time, illustrates the state of society in those days of violence. There were two distinguished men, bitterly opposed to each other in political strife, Clodius, a democrat, and Milo, an aristocrat. On the twentieth of January, Milo, who was a man of great wealth, left Rome on some business, in his carriage, accompanied by his wife Fausta, and attended by a strong retinue of gladiators. As, late in the afternoon, he was ascending the Alban hills, he met Clodius returning from a journey, mounted on horseback, and also accompanied by thirty slaves. The two rivals passed each other with civil recognition. But the attendants, espousing the cause of their several masters, were not so courteous. Blows succeeded jeering words, and the two parties were soon involved in a serious quarrel.

Clodius turned back to interfere, and, addressing one of the retinue of Milo in an authoritative manner, was assailed by him, and severely wounded by a blow from his sword. The fray now became general between the two parties, Milo engaging eagerly in it. Clodius, helpless and bleeding, was

carried into a neighboring inn. Milo, deeming it a favorable opportunity for destroying his rival, made an assault upon the inn, and Clodius was dragged out into the street and murdered. Many of the slaves of Clodius were also slain, a few only escaping by flight. The gory corpse of Clodius was left by the wayside, and Milo, wiping his bloody sword, again entered his carriage, and quietly continued his journey, with the gladiators exulting at his side.

A senator who happened to pass, on his way to Rome, picked up the dead body, and sent it on to the capital, in a litter. It was an hour after dark, when the mangled remains were conveyed to the house of Clodius. An immense crowd of the populace were soon assembled, for Clodius was a prominent advocate of popular rights. Fulvia, the widow of the deceased, fanned the flames of excitement by her shrieks of anguish, and by the frantic manner in which she hung over the corpse, pointing to the wounds, and calling upon the people for vengeance.

Through all the hours of the night, the tumult and throng increased. In the early morning, two influential members of the popular party took the command of the agitated mass, who were waiting for a leader. The body, by their directions, was conveyed to the senate house, placed before the rostra upon a pile, composed of the furniture of the apartment. This was set on fire, and soon the whole senate house was in a blaze—the magnificent and appropriate funeral pyre of one who had fallen a victim to aristocratic violence.

But the lawlessness of the mob kindles flames which it can not quench. A beautiful edifice was in ashes, and Rome was endangered. The tide of public sentiment turned. The populace, who had received a great wrong, were now aggressors. Milo returned to Rome, and with his vast wealth, and the sympathy excited by the destruction of the senate house, rallied a strong party in his defense. The populace also rallied. Tumults, battles, conflagrations, blood, ensued. The next step

was inevitable. A dictator was needed, with a strong military arm, to restore peace to Rome. Pompey was the man for the hour. He was appointed dictator, under the form of sole consul, without any colleague.

With alacrity and energy, he assumed the office, and immediately entered into an investigation of the murder of Clodius. The power of Milo was such, that Pompey was in great danger of assassination. A strong guard surrounded his house by night and by day, and accompanied him wherever he went. With singular sagacity and justice, Pompey made preparations for the trial of Milo. An impartial judge was appointed to preside over a court, composed of the most distinguished citizens. Three days were appropriated to the examination of witnesses. The public accusers, who were the nephews of Clodius, were allowed two hours to plead their cause. Milo was permitted to take three hours for his defense.

Never before in Rome had there appeared regulations so wise for the attainment of justice. Milo endeavored, in every possible way, to frustrate the organization of this tribunal, but Pompey assured him that he would protect the commonwealth, if necessary, by force of arms. The illustrious Cato, of Utica, was one of the members of this court. On the first day of the trial the rabble were so menacing, that Marcellus, one of Milo's advocates, applied to Pompey for protection. A strong military force was immediately sent to the court house, and the trial proceeded without further interruption. Plancus, a demagogue of great ability and no moral principle, harangued the populace of Rome, urging them to be present in all their strength at the conclusion of the trial, and not suffer Milo to escape, should the court adjudge him not guilty.

The decisive hour arrived. It was the morning of the eighth of April. The shops in Rome were all closed. The whole vast populace of the Imperial city thronged the forum. The soldiers of Pompey, with their polished armor and gleaming weapons were drawn up in strong military array, pre-

pared at every hazard, to enforce the laws. Pompey himself was present, surrounded by an ample body-guard. The pleadings were to be heard, and the sentence immediately to be pronounced and executed.

Antonius and Nepos appeared in behalf of the accusers. Cicero plead the cause of Milo. But he was a timid man, and overawed by the popular clamor, did not speak with his accustomed eloquence. There were fifty-one judges to decide the cause. Thirty-eight voted for the condemnation of the accused, and but thirteen for his acquittal. The culprit was sent into exile, and retired a ruined man, to Marseilles, in Gaul. His punishment would doubtless have been more severe, were it not that Clodius was a man of infamous character. The leaders of the mob in burning the senate house, were also tried, condemned, and punished. Pompey conducted this whole affair with so much wisdom and moderation, and yet with such determined, inflexible justice, as to elevate him greatly in public esteem.

Tranquillity being thus restored to Rome, Pompey apparently laid aside his dictatorial power by securing the election of L. Scipio as his colleague in the consulship. The new consul was the father of Cornelia, whom Pompey had recently married. The aristocracy were pleased with Pompey's resoluteness in frowning down, with strong military display, all insubordination of the mob; and as they were in no little danger from popular violence, they supported Pompey's power. The people were also well satisfied with him for securing the trial and condemnation of one of the most powerful of their aristocratic foes. Pompey was now the first man in Rome, and consequently, the first man in the world. Cæsar was still in Gaul. Crassus had died in Mesopotamia, and the wreck of his army had been led back to Syria. At a bound, Pompey had attained the highest round in the ladder of political preferment. He was, as it were, the monarch of the