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AUGUSTVS.

OR,

An Essay of those

Meanes and Counfels,

whereby the *Common-*

wealth of R O M E

was altered, and

reduced unto a

~~Commonwealth~~ *Monarchy.*
(::)

VIRG. Æneid. 6.

Tu regere imperio Populos

Romane memento:

Hæ tibi erunt artes.

LONDON.

Printed by B. A. and T. F. for

Henry Seile at the Tygers head

in St. Pauls Church-

yard. 1632.

Very faint, illegible text on the left page, possibly bleed-through or a ghosted title.

single of 1



TO
MY MUCH
HONORED FRIEND,
THOMAS LEYBT
of Tickfords, in the
County of Rutland,
Esquire.

His follow-
ing Essay,
long since
written by the Au-
thor for his private
A 3 Satisf-

The Epistle

Satisfaction, is now
by his consent made
common, & for pub-
like view. It con-
tains in it, a nar-
ration of the greatest
change, that ever
happened in the
Common-wealth and
state of Rome. Yet
not a naked Story
nor a bare Narra-
tion onely; but a
briefe

Dedicatorie.

briefe touch of all
such Counsailes, and
arts of Empire, by
the meanes whereof
it was effected; Such
as could either be col-
lected out of the Au-
thors of those times,
or gathered vpon a-
ny probable conie-
ctures, or grounds of
State. In which he
is so farre from hope
A 4 of

0004

The Epistle

of satisfying others,
that as yet hee hath
not satisfied himself,
and cannot but be
sensible, that he hath
drawne this Picture
of AUGVSTVS with
too much shadow.
Such as it is, I conse-
crate to you, and to
your perusall.

The many obliga-
tions which you haue
upon

Dedicatorie.

upon the Author,
may make just chal-
lenge for you vnto
any thing of his per-
formance. Were it
not so, that liberall
Humanitie where-
with you haue vouch-
safed for his sake,
to reflect on mee,
is of it selfe suffi-
cient to embolden
mee to this presump-
tion,

A 3

The Epistle.

tion, and to subscribe
my selfe

Your obliged Ser-
vant at Com-
mand,

HENRY SEILE.

AV.



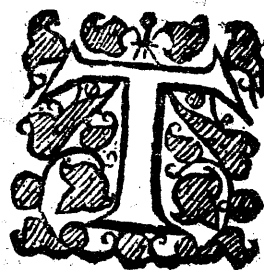
AVGVSTVS.

OR,

AN ESSAY

OF THOSE MEANES
and Counfailes, by which
the *Common-wealth* of
ROME was altered,
and reduced unto a
Monarchy.

I.



HEY which
have hereto-
fore written
of *Common-
wealths,*

wealths, have divided them into three Species: The government of the *King*; secondly, of the *Nobles*; and thirdly of the *People*. Eyther of these is againe subdivided into *good* and *evill*: The *evill* forme being onely the *good* corrupted, The *good* nothing else, but the *bad* refined. So is the government of a *King*, divided into a *Monarchy*, and a *Tyranny*: Of the *Nobles*, into an *Aristocracy*, and an *Oligarchy*: Of the *People* into a *Republike*, and a *Democracy*. All these, as well in generall, as in the severall couplets, have

a secret Inclination to change the one *into* the other, and to make a *Pythagorick* transmigration (as it were) into each others being. I need not stand on many instances. The *Cōmonwealth* of *Rome* (into whose stories whosoever looketh, will judge them rather to containe the acts of the whole World, then a particular Nation) will serve for all. ROMVLVS at the foundation of his City, reserved unto himselfe the chiefe Sovereignty, leaving it entire to his successors. NUMA, ANCVS, TVLLIVS, TARQVINIVS PRISCVS,

PRISCVS, and SERVIVS, governed themselves so moderately, the people so justly: that they affected not *Tyranny*; nor the Commons liberty. They appeared more desirous to fill the *Coffers* of their Subjects, then their owne *Treasuries*: And when necessity compelled them to a *Tax*; they rather seemed to sheere their sheepe, then fleece them.

II.

BUT SUPERBVS, a man of insupportable vices, having by violence enthronized himselfe in that Chayre

Chayre of State, which had not his ambitious spirit beene impatient of delay, would have beene his rightfull Inheritance; made his gouernment answerable to his entrance, cruell and bloody. How many men, eminent as well by their owne vertue, as their Parents Nobility, did hee cut off? How many did he for no cause promote, to make their fall the more remarkable? What part of the *Senate* was free from slaughter? What corner of the City from lamentations? Yet this was not all.

all. The miserable *Romans* were visited with Three plagues at once. *Pride* in the Father, *Cruelty* in the Mother, and *Lust* insatiable in their sonne *SEXTVS*; a true *Copie* of the old *Originals*. Either of these had beene more then enough, to exercise the peoples patience. But meeting all at one time, it seemed that nothing could now bee added to the wretchednesse of the one, and the wickednesse of the other. *BRVTVS*, a man fatall to Tyrants, did easily perswade the *Commons* to shake off this yoake.

yoake. For they, aswell desirous of *Novelties*, as sensible of *Oppressions*, had long since murmured at the present State; and wanted nothing but a head, to breake into actual rebellion. So the people got the *freedome*, and the *Kings* lost the *Dominion* of the City. (*An. V. C. 244.*)

III.

BRVTVS although hee wanted no faire title to the *Crowne*; yet eyther perceiuing how odious the name of *King* was growne;

growne; or perhaps willing to be rather the first *Consull*, then the last *Prince*; instituted a new forme of Government. Wherein the sway of all, was referred to the *Fathers* of the *City*: Out of whom two were annually chosen as chiefe of the rest. Herein certainly hee dealt very advisedly. For had he sought to confirme himselfe in the *Kingdome*, what could men judge, but that, not love to his Country was the cause that stirred him to take Armes; but desire of Rule. Againe, besides that

that secure *privacie*, is to bee preferred before hazardous *Royaltie*; what hope had hee to keepe the seate long, having by his owne example taught the people, both the *Theorie* and *practise* of *Rebellion*. Vnder this new *Aristocracy* the *Romā* affaires succeeded so prosperously, their dominions were enlarged so infinitely: that it may well bee questioned; whether the *Roman* fortune caused their greatnes; or their valour commanded their fortune. For the Governours not seeking wealth but honour, or not their owne wealth,

wealth but the publike; did so demean themselves both in peace and warre: that there was betweene all, a vertuous emulation; who should most benefit his Countrey.

IV.

THIS happinesse was too great to continue long. The people had as yet no written *Statutes*: *Custom* bearing most sway; and the rest of the *Law*, locked up in the breast of the *Judges*. To avoid such inconveniences as might hence ensue, there

there were some men, knowne to be as sound in judgement, as honest in their actions, deputed by a generall Commission to take an abstract of the *Gracian lawes*: according to the tenor whereof, the people framed their *lives*; the *Judges*, their *sentences*. Here followed the *Oligarchy* or *Decemvirate* State of Rome; (*An. V. C. 304.*) but long it lasted not. For these new *Lords* joyning forces together, made themselves rich with the spoyle of the *people*: not caring by what unlawfull meanes, they could

could purchase either profit or pleasure. APPIVS CLAVDIVS, one of the *Decemviri*, was the break-neck of this government. Hee, unmindfull of LVCRETIA and the *Tarquins*, lusted after VIRGINIA; a woman though of lowe Condition, yet such a woman, in whom beauty and vertue strove for the pre-heminencie. She was, in an open assembly to prevent the dishonor of his child, slaine by her Father: APPIVS forced to make away himselfe, in prison; and the rest of that *Magistracie* abdicating

ting their Offices, the *Consuls* were for a time restored.

V.

THE People fleshed with this victory, & calling to minde how their Ancestors had in like manner banished the *Kings*; began to know their owne strength: and stomacked it exceedingly, that they on whose shoulders the frame of the State was supported, should bee so much under the Command of others; that they who were *Lords* abroad, should

should be below the condition of *Slaves* at home. Hereupon they raise a tumult, under the conduct of their *Tribune*, *CANVELIUS*. Nor could they by any persuasions be induced to lay downe *Armes*, till they had obtained a *Decree*, That from thenceforth, the *Nobles* and the *Commons*, might promiscuously be married. And this was the first step to the *Republique*. (*An. V. C. 308.*) The gaining this new *Privilege*, put them in possibility of obtaining greater. They now sue to be capable of
 the

the *Consulship*. The *Fathers* consulting of this demand, wisely fore-saw, that to grant their *Petition*, and to deny it was alike dangerous. For were it utterly dashed, it was to be feared the *People* would againe forsake the *Citty*; and yet make their stay more insolent and insupportable, if it were granted. *C. Claudius*, one who by his honourable behaviour, was by both parties had in an equall degree of *Reverence*; quickly proposed a middle course; whereby the fury of the multitude
 B might

might be appeas'd, without blemish to the *Consular* dignity. He constituted 6. Annuall Officers, equally chosen out of the *People*, and the *Nobles*: calling them *Tribuni Militū Cōsularis potestatis.* (A.V.C. 310). This Office continued, but not without many *Interstitiūms*, the space of 78. yeares. Which time expired, and some experience being had of the peoples government; the *Lords* of the *Senate* did decree, that one of the *Censuls* should frō thenceforth be chosen by, and out of the *Commons*; that they

they should be capable of all *Magistracies*; yea even of the *Dictatorship.* (A.V.C. 388.) So that now vertue was as speedy a Ladder, to climbe unto Honours, as *Nobility of Birth*: and a good man as much respected as a great. A rare felicity of the times.

VI.

The *People* being thus mixt with the *Nobles*, as well in marriages, as honours; one would have

have thought that this *Common-wealth*, being thus equally poysed had been immortall. But as in the *naturall body*, there can be no exact and *arithmeticall* proportion of the humors and elements, without some *predominancie*: So in the *body politique*, can there bee no equall mixture of *Plebeians* and *Patri-tians*, without the supremacy of the one or the other. The *people* had presently after the institution of the *Consuls*, raysed a *Chammotion*; and withdrew themselves into *Mount Aventine*. Nor could

could they bee intreated to returne into the *Citty*, till there were granted unto them peculiar *Officers*, called *Tribuni Plebis*, or *Protectors* of the *Commons*. (*A.V.C.260.*) These being not long after by the common *Councell*, pronounced to bee *Sacrosan-cti*, and inviolable; began to heave the *Popular State* too high, and thrust the *Aristocraticall* too low; not regarding to lose the love of the one, so they might get the applause of the other. In somuch, that matters of judgement were

were devolved from the *Fathers* to the *Commons*; and the authority of the *Senate*, trode under foote by the *People*. Nay they proceeded so farre, That *MARIVS* being *Tribune*, threatned to send *COTTA* the *Consull* unto Prison. And *SVLPIIVS* in the same *Office*, made the *Consuls* forsake the *Senate-house*: and slew one of their sonnes, whose heeles were not nimble enough, to flye away. And now were the *Romans* governed by that forme of *Rule*, than which there is no lower. So that as well

well by an inevitable necessity in *Nature*, as the ordinary course of *Policies*; there must be a Recession to the first, and *Monarchicall* Jurisdiction. For questionlesse it fareth many times with a *Common-wealth*, as with the *sunne*: which runneth through all the signes of the *Zodiack*, till it return to the place where its motion first began. And the *Platonicke* yeare of reducing all things to the same beginning, continuance, and period; how false soever in the bookes of *Nature*, is in some sort true

B 4 in

in the change of Govern-
ment.

VII.

THe way downe Hill
is easie and ordinary
but to ascend unto the top
requireth both wit to
frame steps, & courage to
give the attempt. So was
it here also with the *Romās*.
They had naturally, & al-
most insensibly falne from
a *Menarchy*, to a *Populacy*,
or *Democracy*. But to ascēd
frō a *Populacy* to a *Monar-*
chy, required many steps &
degrees in many, much in-
dustry

dustry in al. *Marius & Syl-*
la, well skilled in feeding
the humors of the *people*,
were the first that attempt-
ed, & severally mounted
to such a height of *Cōmād*,
as never durst any promise
to thē, nor they hope for
themselves. *Marius* was of
an harsh & sterne nature, e-
qually cruel to the *enemies*
in war, & the *people* in peace:
one whose birth the *Rom.*
might have had just cause
to curse, had hee not saved
thē from the *Cimbri*. *Sylla*
was one whose cariage
none could enogh cōmēd
before, or sufficiently cō-
demn after his prosperity.

A man, whose *Peace* was farre more bloody than his *Warres*; a better *Subject*, than a *Prince*. These two gave way each to other, and both to death.

VIII.

NExt these, as wel in faction and designes, as bloud and alliance, succeeded *CÆSAR* and *POMPEY*: Two men never truly paraleld, since their owne times. *CÆSAR* had a wit to invent so pregnant, a heart to execute so

so stout, and to both a Fortune so favourable; that hee durst undertake what no man dared, and his performances commonly were answerable to his undertakings. *POMPEY*, a man greater than his owne or his friends wishes; had triumphed over all the parts of the knowne world: and could hee but have brooked an equall, hee had never met superiour. Had these two lived in divers Ages, or exercised their valour on the common Enemy; the world had beene too little to yeeld them employments.

ment. But turning their forces one against the other, POMPEY overthrowne in the *Field*, was basely murdered in *Agypt*: and CÆSAR victoriously Conquerour in *Theſalie*, was barbarouſly maſſacred in the *Capitol*. And though none of theſe foure Worthies, could ſettle the *Monarchie* in himſelfe; yet this ſhall bee to their eternall memory recorded, that they firſt opened the paſſage to others, and firſt mooved the ſtone, which rowling along tumbled the *People* out of the *Government*.

IX.

IX.

AFTER the overthrow of POMPEY, & death of CÆSAR, the *Commonwealth* might have recovered *Liberty*, if either CÆSAR had left no heire, and POMPEY no Children: or rather if ANTONIVS, a man of an unquiet and turbulent ſpirit, had not begun new troubles. For hee, knowing the affection of the *Common people* unto young OCTAVIVS, CÆSARS heire: and

and hearing the continu-
all report of his approach
to *Rome* for his Inheri-
tance; did by *Decree* of
Senate restore *SEXTVS* the
sonne of *POMPEY* to his
blood and honours. Ho-
ping that they two, inhe-
riting their Fathers ha-
treds, would like Pellets
in a Boyes Pot-gun, drive
out each other; and so he
might remaine *Lord* of
the whole. But young
OCTAVIVS, was too old
to be so fetcht over: and
had moreover more de-
sire to revenge his Fathers
death on *BRVTVS* and
CASSIVS, than turne
him-

himselſe upon an enemy,
that neither had done, nor
could doe him any hurt.
At his first entry into
Rome, hee declared him-
selse *CÆSARS* heire;
though some regarding
more his welfare than his
honour, diſſwaded him
from it. His retinue at
his entrance was but
small, his behaviour gen-
tle and courteous: So
that all had cause to love
him, none to feare him.
His first businesse was to
ANTONIVS, then posses-
sed of all *CÆSARS* estate.
His words as modest, as
his Petition just. *ANTO-*
NIVS

NIES answered somewhat churlish, forbidding him to meddle in matters of *State*, that hee was too young to take upon him the *Name* of *CÆSAR*, and so dismissed him unsatisfied.

X.

AVGVSTVS (for by that name wee meane to call him, though hee was not yet so called) perceiving that ANTHONIES answer, though in shew but a *Delay*, was in effect

a *Deniall*: insinuated into the acquaintance of *CICERO*, then potent among the Senators, and a capital Enemy of ANTHONY; by meanes whereof the *Lords* of the *Senate*, began to cast great affection towards him. Next in a *solemne Oration* to the *People*, he let them know, how he intended to have distributed his *Fathers* wealth among them; and how ANTONIUS did unjustly detain it from them both. Certainly there is not any thing prevaileth sooner with the ignoble men, than hope of *gaine*. No sooner

fooner had he finished his speeches, and given away that to them which hee thought impossible to get for himselfe; but all was in a tumult. None was so sparing of his words, but hee had some curse in store for ANTONIVS: Every one vowing the destruction of that man; whom they supposed to deprive them of AVGVSTVS Donative.

XI.

XI.

IN this hurly burly ANTHONY quits the Towne, and is by the generall voyce of both houses, declared an enemy to the State. An army is given to HIRCIVS & PANSAS then *Consuls*: AVGVSTVS aged but xvij. yeres, being proclaimed *Imperator*, and made head of the League against the common foe. AVGVSTVS, as he loved not to bee absent from a necessary warre; so

so hee alwayes used to reserve himselfe from the dangers of it: and therefore he committed the whole enterprize unto the *Consuls*. Well knowing, that though the Officers and soldiers took most paines to get the Victory; yet would the honor of it be referred to him, as *Imperator*. Whereas, if any thing fell out to the Army, not well; his being a *Non-agent* in the busines, would bring his honor off without staine. The *Consuls* therefore proceed in the warre against *Anthony*: who seeing little possibility

ty of prevailing, resolved to sell the losse of his own liberty, and his soldiers lives at a deare rate. And indeed the fortune of the day was so equally shared, that as the *Consuls* might boast of the vanquishment of *ANTONY*; So *ANTONY* might triumph in the death of the *Consuls*.

XII.

AVGVSTVS now had as much as he could desire, more than hee expected; a populous Army

at

at his service. He therefore applies himselfe so to them, that giving that among them which he had in present, and promising them greater favours, according as his fortune and their valour should advance him: he bound them unto him in an eternall bond of allegiance; and made them the first step by which he ascended the *Royalty*. The *Lords* of *Rome* hearing of the young mans fortune, thought it best to strangle these hopes even in their Cradles: and to that end, Decree the honour of overcoming

comming ANTONY, not to belong unto AVGVSTVS, but to D. BRVTVS; for whose defence (being besieged by ANTONY in *Mutina*) their Army had bin levied. Nor did they thinke this frost of unexpected unkindnesse, sufficient to nip the blossome of his hopes: but they denied him the *Consulship*. These harsh proceedings compelled AVGVSTVS, his honour now lying at the stake, to enter *Rome* as *Conquerour*; and force the *Fathers* to grant him his desires. Having thus gotten what for the time
hec

he aymed at, he generally shewed himselfe gratefull to all, and particularly to some of the Souldiers: paying them what was behind by promise; and openly protesting that without their ayde hee durst not have adventured into the *Capitoll*. So by keeping his day with the *Military men*; and shewing his Noble and generous Nature, in a thankfull Commemoration of their service, hee added stronger bonds to such as were already his owne; and won many dayly to his side, which before were eyther

eyther *Neutrall*, or *Adversaries*.

XIII.

ANTONY in the meane time was not idle; but knowing that *LEPIDVS* was beyond the *Mountaines* with a puissant Army, he posted thither: and so farre prevailed with the Soldiers, that he was admitted into the *Campe*; where the *Generall* entertained him with all expressions of love and welcome. AN-

C TONY

TONY perceiving the facile nature of *Lepidus*, soone perswaded him to leade his forces into *Italy*: promising him no lesse than the Lordship of the world, if he durst but shew his face to the *Romans*. *Augustus* having continual newes of this combinatiō, and fearing much the prowesse of *Antony*, now strengthened; conceived no cause so fitting and convenient to his ends, as to joyne friendship, and to enter into confederacy with them. (A. P. C. 710.) And this he did, not for any good will to eyther, but

but because being destitute of meanes to resist them, and also to revenge the death of his Father *IULIUS*, which hee much laboured; he might with their forces oppresse *CASSIUS* and *M. BRUTVS* and after as occasion fell out, deale with them being severed.

XIV.

This League was solemnly confirmed by a bloody *Prescription*, immediately following. Wherin

C 2 to be

be revenged on their *enemies*, they betrayed their *friends*. A lamentable and ruthfull time, good and bad, rich and poore, being alike subject to the slaughter. Now was the time of IVLIVS CAESARS Government, thought to be the golden age: and every one began to curse BRVTVS and CASSIVS as the Authors of these present miseries: whom they but lately honoured as the Restorers of the *Commonwealth*. Nay the very *Kings* were deemed tolerable; and such as lived in their dayes, happy. The

poore

poore *Romanes* had not changed the *Tyranny*, but the *Tyrants*. Yea they had three for one into the bargain. Such is the quality of us men; we know not our owne happinesse in the *fruition*, but the *want*. Two of these *Triumviri* glutted themselves with bloud, taking pride in hearing the lamentable cryes and groanes of the *people*. AVGVSTVS on the contrary, shewed himselfe much grieved at this barbarous cruelty: so that his consent seemed rather forced than voluntary.

XV.

This *Proscription* in it selfe, though cruell & tyrannicall, yet produced some good and profitable effects in the *Republike*. For when by this *Proscription* and the ensuing *Civill warre*, the stoutest of the *Nobles* and *Commons* were made away; few being left which durst endeavor to recover the old *Liberty*: *AUGUSTVS* did the more easily establish his *Monarchy*, and restore

restore peace to the *City*. Moreover the prosecution of this cruelty so incensed the people against *Anthony* and *Lepidus*; that *Augustus*, whom most held excusable, found them alwayes his fast friends; if not for love to him, yet in spight to them. I cannot here omit the like effect springing from the like cause, in our *Rich. 3.* Who (though far enough from conceiving any such happy event) made riddance of so many in the then factious *families*: that leaving a Male in the one, and a female in the other, surviving;

C 4

this

this *Kingdome* by a marriage betweene them grew well settled, which might otherwise have beene againe indangered by some new competitors. So unsearchable are the judgments of **G O D**, and his wayes past finding out. But to proceed. *Antony & Augustus* leaving the guard of the City to *Lepidus*, and with joynt forces march against **BRVTVS** and **CASSIVS**, both overthrowne by **ANTONY**: whom therefore did **AVGVSTVS** put upon that service, as well to diminish **ANTONVS** forces; as to keepe his

his owne, entire. As for himselfe, eyther he in policy suffered himselfe to be driven out of the field by **BRVTVS**, to make **ANTONY** more worke; or else indeed durst not abide the battell. Such end had **BRVTVS** and **CASSIVS**: Two men, whom Fortune seemed to be in love with on the suddain, and did as suddainly forsake them. **BRVTVS** the more accomplished man; **CASSIVS** the more expert soldier. (A. 2. c. 11.)

advantage ; greater than which was never offered to a discontented and ambitious person. This I am sure of, that he afterward repented it ; and could have wished that hee had hearkened to the voyce of MENAS his old servant ; who had perswaded him to make his best of that opportunity. The Kings of *France* and *Arragon*, of old enemies made new friends, had the like interview at *Savona* : which that notable Historiographer , and States-man *GVICCIARDINE*, describeth with much wonder and

and Commendation. Yet in the like case, have many, and as I thinke, worthily, condemned LEVVIS the II. and CHARLES of *Burgundy*, the Archpoliticians of those dayes: in that LEVVIS at *Peronne*, put himselfe into the hands of CHARLES his Enemy ; who also after a short restraint , dismissed him.

XVII.

THESE solemne expressions of amity betweene

tweene the three *Generals*, being thus ended; and ANTONY gone for *Egypt*: AUGUSTVS then began to contrive his establishment in the *State*, though with the ruine of his *Colleagues*. Hee beginneth first with SEXTVS, having by gifts and promises drawne MENAS unto his side; who by reason of his inwardnesse with his Master, knew most of his designs. By the directions of this MENAS, and the assistance of LEPIDVS, he quickly overthrew SEXTVS: who flying death in *Europe*, by the hand of AUGUSTVS: found

found it in *Asia*, by the command of ANTONY. After this victory, AUGUSTVS eyther having or pretending a quarrell against LEPIDVS; entreteth into his Campe, seifeth his person, and depriving him of all honours, confineth him to *Rome*. A man that halfe against his will, stumbling upon the Government; had beyond any desert of his, enjoyed ten yeares continuance of Empire and prosperity.

XVIII.

AVGVSTVS durst not have beene so venturous, if ANTONY had beene in *Italy*. He therefore advisedly removed him out of his way, before he would attempt this action. It hath beene ever a chiefe *Maxime* in *Court-policy*, to remove that man out of the way, under pretence of some honourable charge: whom we intend cyther to cast from his present honours; or

or else to make lesse potent with *Prince* and *People*. For which cause did AVGVSTVS also perswade ANTONIES absence from the *City*; to bring him at the last into discredit, and contempt. His dotage on CLEOPATRA, could not but draw him into many inconveniences. Neyther could his neglecting the *State*, to Ryot with his *Lemman*; bee other than distastfull to the *Lords* and *People*. Next, he commanded his Sister OCTAVIA, to leave her Husband ANTONIES house, yet privately hee perswaded her to

to live there still, & bring up his children: that so the *ROMANS* seeing her noble demeanor and love to her Husband; might the more heartily detest him; who so ignobly and unkindly had rejected her. to adde more fuell to this flame of hatred, he readeth *ANTONIES* will unto the people: in which many of the *ROMAN* Provinces were bequeathed to *CLEOPATRAS* children; and other things ordained to the common prejudice. *ANTONY* likewise preferred many Bills against *AVGVSTVS*; as that he had deposed

posed *Lepidus* from the *Triumvirate*; that he had divided *Italy*, amongst his own soldiers only; that he had not restored the ships, borrowed to make warre against *SEXTVS*.

XIX.

THose discontents seconded with an ambitious hope of prevailing; made them both resolute to refer all to the decision of a Battell. *Antony* had a fleet consisting of 500. Ships, high built, and trimmed up rather for a Triumph, than

than a fight. His Land forces consisted of 100000. foot, and 12000. Horse. AVGVSTVS had the like number of Horsemen, 80000. foot, and 250. good Men of Warre, snug and close, built more for use than ostentation. The *Rendezvous* is *Actium*, a place seeming to be marked out for notable designs: Here being fought also in our fathers dayes, that famous battaile; wherein the *Venetians* gave the world to understand, that the *Turkes* forces by Sea, were not invincible. ANTONY was on the

the Offensive side, and therefore much doubted whether it were better to give the Onset by Sea or by Land. CLEOPATRA whose words were *Oracles*, perswaded him to the Sea-fight: not that shee thought it more safe, but that if ANTONY lost the day, she might with more facility escape.

XX.

TO this resolution, when most of the Captaines had for feare agreed;

greed; one of the old sol-
 diers thus bluntly gain-
 sayd it. "What a mise-
 rable security art thou
 possessed withall, most
 noble Emperor? Where
 is that ancient fore-
 fight, wherewith thou
 hast formerly preven-
 ted all disasters; and tur-
 ned the enemies devises
 on their owne heads?
 Consider with thy selfe
 Noble *Generall*, what
 uncertaine friends the
Wind and *Sunne* are?
 To how fickle an Ele-
 ment thou dost trust thy
 fortune. Let the *Agypt-*
tians and *Phanicians* old
Mermaides, borne and

nursed up in the Sea, fol-
 low this kind of war-
 fare. But let us thy true
Roman spirits, try our va-
 lor on the firme land; &
 there fight for thy *Empire*
 and our owne *lives*. Per-
 haps thou dost mistrust
 our faith. Look here *An-*
tony (with that he opened
 his bosome) & thou shalt
 see many an honbl. scar,
 got in thy service. Wee
 are now too old to learn
 new treasons. Alter thy
 resolution; & to please a
 woman cast not away so
 many: certenly, the powers
 of heave whē they decree
 a mans destruction over-
 throw those Coun-

Counsels by which hee should escape it. ANTONY turneth a deafe care to this Souldiers wholsome advice: and borrowing frō CLEOPATRA two or three kiffes, as if from the fountaine of her lips hee had derived all his courage; without any more ceremony, prepareth himselfe unto the battaile.

X XI.

AVGVSTVS on the other side, seeing a necessity of a Sea-fight, was yet

yet in this comforted; that his Vessels were more useful and better manned, though fewer than his enemies. That his men to him were faithfull, and by reason of their many Victories, in good heart. But from ANTONY there daily revolted some Kings and Captaines of note, to the great encouragement of the one side, and disheartning of the other. The whole charge of the warre hee committed to M. VIPSANVS AGRIPPA, who failing in no duty of a good Captaine, tooke from his Galleyes
D what-

whatsoever might be im-
pediments to the valiant,
or shelter to the Coward-
ly; all that was comber-
some to his owne men, or
advantagious to the ene-
mie.

XXII.

THings thus ordered;
and the battaile ready
to joyne, AVGVSTVS CAE-
SAR standing where hee
might see and bee seene of
all, is sayd to make this or-
the like Oration. Fel-
lowes and Companions

in

“ in Armes, I suppose it
“ needlesse, to hearten you,
“ which never were ac-
“ quainted with feare; or
“ bid you overcome, weh
“ never yet knew what it
“ was, not to vanquish.
“ Conquest hath alwayes
“ fate upon the edges of
“ your swords, and victo-
“ ry beene written in your
“ fore-heads. Be not now
“ backward to adde this
“ one to your other try-
“ umphs. When after the
“ death of my father *Iulius*,
“ of famous memory, I first
“ dealt in matters of warre;
I rather found, than made
“ you good soldiers. And
during D 2 this

" this twelve yeares ser-
 " vice under me, neyther
 " have you beene wanting
 " in the duty of faithfull
 " followers; nor I (I hope)
 " of a vigilant and grate-
 " full Leader. Sure I am,
 " I expressed my selfe as
 " farre as I could; and
 " more I would, had I
 " beene able. Let not the
 " number nor the great-
 " nesse of the adverse
 " Gallies, any way af-
 " fright you. The huge-
 " nesse of the Bulkes, ma-
 " keth them unapt for im-
 " ployment: and the mul-
 " titude over-clogging &
 " hindring the others; may
 as

" as much further our
 " victory as theirs. They
 " exceed us in multitudes
 " of *Men*; wee them in
 " number of *Soldiers*. The
 " meaning of the word
 " *Pilot*, is unknowne a-
 " mong them. And for
 " their *Mariners*, the best
 " of them are but *Carters*,
 " *Reapers*, and *Harvestmen*,
 " raked out of the field;
 " the rest the excrement
 " of common prisons:
 " wherewith their Vessels
 " are loaded, not manned.
 " The *Generall* is indeed a
 " fit *Captaine*, for such a
 " selected company. It is
 " the same ANTONIE
 D 3 whom

" whom you once drave
 " out of the Field before
 " *Mutina*. I perswade my
 " selfe, that neyther hee
 " dares thinke of recove-
 " ring, or you of losing,
 " your former glories. It is
 " the same *Antony* who be-
 " ing shamefully chased
 " out of *Parthia*; onely in
 " that he was not *vanqui-*
 " *shed*, proclaimed him-
 " selfe *Victor*. It is the
 " same ANTONY, who in-
 " tendeth to make *Rome*
 " subject to the *Egypti-*
 " *ans*; and to distribute
 " the *Provinces*, purcha-
 " sed with the bloud and
 " treasure of our *Ancestors*;
 amongst

" amongst *Itas*, and her fel-
 " low Chamber-maides.
 " Nay indeed, it is not *An-*
 " *tony* at all; but the sha-
 " dow onely of that sub-
 " stance, which now is hid
 " in *Cleopatra's* Cabbin.
 " Courage then brave men
 " of Armes; Bee, as you
 " have still beene, *Conque-*
 " *rors*. To speake more,
 " were to deteine you fro
 " Victory. Onely this, call
 " to minde your ancient
 " valour. Remember that
 I AM CÆSAR, you Ro-
 mans.

XXIII.

THis speech animated the new Soldiers, and confirmed the old: So that with a generall acclamation, they give the assault. Death, wounds, and blowes dished in divers fashions, and served in by severall men, were the best delicates prepared for these unwelcome visitants. **CLEOPATRA** beholding the battaile, and doubting the successe; through the thickest of
AN-

ANTHONIE'S fleet, made away with the 60. Gallies appointed for her Guard. This disorder made the breach at which the victory entred. *Antony* seeing her flight, left his squadron also: and being taken into her Galley, hoysed sayle for *Egypt*. Herein playing the part of a cowardly Soldier; whilst each of his Soldiers executed the Office of a couragious *Generall*. For they so obstinately persisted in the fight, that **AVGVSTVS** was faine to offer them mercy sooner than they would demand
D 5 it;

it; and divers time, before they would accept it. At last they all sware Allegiance unto him. (*An. V. C. 723.*)

XXIV.

AVGVSTVS no loser of advantages, speedeth into *Egypt*, which he reduceth into the forme of a *Province*; making the people pay for fine 20. Millions of gold. By receiving this money he so weakned them, that they had no ability to raise an
after

after warre; and by distributing part of it among his soldiers, he confirmed them in obedience. As for ANTONY he seeing his fortunes desperate, redeemed the honours lost in his life, by a noble and heroick death. And *Cleopatra* ended her life, also not long after; a woman more well favored than faire; well spoken, rather than either. *Antonies* Courtiers had seene many Ladies more lovely, none more prevailing; men being cheyned to her by the eares, rather than the eyes.

XXV.

XXV.

I Willingly omit *AUGUSTVS* entry into *Rome*; as also the state and Magnificence of his *Triumph*. His victory he used so justly, that none felt the fury of the warre, but such as were slaine in the *Battaile*. To assure himselfe of *Antonies* adherents, was his first care: burning in the *Common-Forum*, the Coffers of *ANTONIE*, unopened; wherein all his Letters
from

from his friends in *Rome*, had beene inclosed. Well knowing that as long as any thought themselves suspected adversaries, they would neuer shew themselves true friends. To the *Senators* and *Magistrates*, he made sumptuous feasts. To the *Common-people*, hee exhibited magnificent and pleasing stage-playes: and with all varietie of pleasure banished from both, aswell sorrow for the old *Proscription*, as feare of a new.

XXVI.

XXVI.

There were two men most deare unto him, and privy to his Counsels; *MECENAS* and *AGRIPPA*: which in the object of their love differed onely in this; *Mecenas* was a lover of *AUGVSTVS*; *Agrippa* of the Emperor. *Mecenas* was of the ranke of *Knights*, a man of good and bad parts equally compounded. When his businesse required care, vigilant and circumspect; at lei-

leisure times, excessively vertuous. *Agrippa* was the first of his house, a man alike fit for Campe and Counsell; one neither carelesse of a good name, nor covetous of a great. For although hee onely was the man, which vanquished *Sextus* and *Antony*: yet well skilled in the humours of Princes, he gave *AUGVSTVS* the honor of all his Conquests; making the vertue, not the reward, the end of his actions. So by doing nobly, and speaking modestly of it, he was without envy, but not without glory.

XXVII.

XXVII.

With these two AVGVSTVS withdrew into a private Closet, and then brake unto them in this sort. Hee made first unto thē a long discourse of the Civill warres. Then added, That having by his owne fortune, and the valor of his soldiers, put an end to the troubles; he was unresolved what to doe; Whether to resigne the *Empire*, to the *People*; or retaine

taine it still in his owne owne hands. That in a businesse of such importance, he durst not relye altogether on his owne wisdom. That hee had made them his judges, as men that could speake soundly, and durst speake freely: That he knew thē to haue more care of his honour, than profit; but of the *Common-wealth*, more than both: That his Counsels, which course soever he tooke, would not bee by them eliminated. Hee therefore intreated them to consider what was to be done,

done, and to give up their
verdicts.

X XVIII.

AGRIPPA after a short silence thus began. I know thou canst not but marvell, O CÆSAR, that I, who under thine *Empire*, am sure to be beyond precedent exalted; should perswade thee to live private. I esteeme more thy honor, than my profit; the publique good, than my particular preferment.

And

And yet perhaps my Counsell shall be as profitable, if not applausible as the contrary. I know thee to be no way delighted with lyes & flattery; and will therefore deale with thee freely and plainly. Thou hast indeed put a period to the *Civill warres*; but to what end, unlessse thou dost restore unto the *Common-wealth* the liberty for which the wars were raised? What benefit can the people reape frō thy *Victory*, if thou dost use it only as an instrument for their greater bōdage? Dost thou think that the

Romans

" *Romans* having so many
 " hundred yeares maintai-
 " ned their liberty; will
 " now be willing to fore-
 " goe it? No CÆSAR, NO.
 " Flatter not thy selfe
 " with these hopes. *Mari-*
 " *us* the younger, and *Ser-*
 " *torius*, were quickly cut
 " off when their ends were
 " once knowne; and I V-
 " LIVS thy Father of hap-
 " py Memory, did not
 " long live, after his acti-
 " ons seemed to bring the
 " *Common-liberty* in ha-
 " zard. And shall we think
 " that there is no true *Ro-*
 " *man* spirit surviving;
 " No BRVTVS living, to
 attempt

" attempt the like against
 " thee? Believe mee CÆ-
 " SAR, believe me, it is far
 " better not to meddle
 " with the *Empire* at all;
 " than to bee forced to a-
 " bandon it. But say, Di-
 " vine Providence will so
 " protect thee, that thou
 " mayst out-live such pra-
 " ctices; & shalt thou also
 " not out-live thy glories?
 " This present age per-
 " chance will not censure
 " their actions, because it
 " dares not. But Posterity
 " free from all respects of
 " love or hatred, cannot
 " but call them into que-
 " stion; and brand thy en-
 ter-

" enterprife with *ambiti-*
 " *on*, and perhaps *Tyranny*.
 " If thy *designes* prosper,
 " they will judge thee to
 " have risen unjustly; if
 " otherwise, to have *falne*
 " deservedly. How much
 " better then were it, now
 " when thine honour is
 " without blemish, and
 " thy reputation unstai-
 " ned; to resigne thy au-
 " thority? Inded when
 " *SEXTVS* lorded it over
 " the Sea, and *ANTONY* o-
 " ver *Agypt*; it might
 " have been thought want
 " of spirit, to have depo-
 " sed thy selfe from the
 " Government. But now
 to

" to doe it, when thou art
 " without *Rivall*, in thy
 " *Empire*; now, when
 " thou art sole *Com-*
 " *mander* of the worlds
 " forces; now when the
 " *People* and *Senate*, lye
 " prostrate at the feet of thy
 " mercy; were to strike
 " dumbe detraction, and
 " to make the world ad-
 " mire thy *Temper*.
 " Thou art at this present
 " the joy and comfort of
 " the world; there is wan-
 " ting to thee neyther
 " wealth nor fame. Heere
 " then fix thy foot. For go
 " but one step beyond this
 " *Non ultra*, and thou wilt
 run into a bound.

“ boundlesse Ocean of pe-
“ rils, which have no end,
“ but the end of thy life
“ and reputation.

XXIX.

“ **N**ot so, excellent A-
“ GRIPPA, replied
“ MECENAS. I never hard
“ good *Pilot* finde fault
“ with *Sea-roome*; or of
“ more Vessels cast away
“ in the *Ocean*, than in the
“ Streights and narrow
“ passages. Our *Republicke*
“ is a Ship, fraught with
“ divers Nations: Shee
“ hath

“ hath beene long tost on
“ the Waves of *Civill dis-*
“ *sensions*, long driven up
“ and downe with the
“ Wind of ambition: and
“ there is now no place
“ so fit for her safety, as
“ the unlimited *Ocean* of
“ one mans power. This
“ *Empire* at first rising, see-
“ med not to require a
“ *Monarch*; but it is now
“ grown too unweedly, to
“ be without one. Take
“ then upon thee, O CÆ-
“ SAR, this Empire; or to
“ say better, doe not for-
“ sake it. I should never
“ thus advise thee, did I
“ conceive any possible
“ E incon-

"inconueniences. The Se-
 "nate doth allow thee a
 "competent guard of va-
 "liant and faithfull soldi-
 "ers; whō then shouldest
 "thou feare? Nay ill may
 "I prosper, if I see any
 "cause of feare, were thy
 "Guard cashiered. Ene-
 "mies thou hast none. For
 "such as were, are either
 "already slaine by thy va-
 "lor, or made fast friends
 "by thy bounty and cle-
 "mency. To omit *Mari-*
 "*us* and *Sertorius*. I will a-
 "litle touch at thy Father
 "*Iulius*. He too good a sol-
 "dier to be a *Statist*, was
 "too heady and violent in
 "esta-

"establishing his govern-
 "ment. Nor could he cun-
 "ningly temporize, and
 "suffer the *people* insensi-
 "bly, and by degrees, to
 "drop into bondage; but
 "oppressed thē all at once.
 "Againe he committed a
 "great *Solecisme* in *State*,
 "when discharging his
 "*Guard*, he sought to retain
 "that *Emp.* by faire means,
 "wh^{ch} he had gottē by vio-
 "lence. I know thee O *Ce-*
 "*sar*, to be of a more wary
 "and cunning behaviour.
 "Learn also to worke out
 "thine owne safety, by
 "POMP^{EY}S misfortunes.
 "Hee after the finishing
 "E 2 of

" of the *Ponticke warre*,
 " at *Brundisium*, disbanded
 " his Army: and thereby
 " merited to bee accoun-
 " ted an honest and mode-
 " rate man. Certainly; he
 " shewed himselfe in the
 " course of this action, ra-
 " ther vertuous than for-
 " tunate and politicke.
 " For presently he began
 " to be contemned, and by
 " this improvident weak-
 " ning of himselfe, made
 " an open passage to his
 " owne ruine. I commend
 " his modesty more than
 " his braine; Neyther did
 " hee himselfe on better
 " considerations, approve
 his

" his owne doings; and
 " therefore hee resolved,
 " had he beene Victor in
 " *Pharsalia*, never to have
 " committed the like O-
 " versight. So is it, and so
 " will fall out with thee,
 " O *CÆSAR*, if in this acti-
 " on thou propose him
 " to be thy Patterne. It is
 " not safe *AGRIPPA* saith,
 " to take the *Empire*:
 " lesse safe is it to refuse
 " it. A settled & innative
 " vice it is in man, never
 " to endure that any man
 " above our owne rancke,
 " should overtop us. *Romes*
 " second founder *Camil-*
 " *lus*, *Scipio*, that scourge
 E 3 of

of *Carthage*, were disgraced; and *M. Coriolanus* banished by our Ancestors: only because their worth had lifted them above the ordinary pitch of subjects. Doe not thou hope to fare better than thy Predecessors. Heretofore perchance, thou mightest have sought the *Empire*, to satisfie thy *ambition*. The *Empire* must now be thy refuge and *Asylum*. Credit me, the *Lords* of the *Senate*, after so many yeares obedience, know not how to governe: neither canst thou, having so long beene a
 Gover-

Governor, learne *Obedience*. Truth is, in matters of domesticall businesse, a man may stop and desist where he will. But in the getting of an *Empire*, there is no meane between the death of an *Enemy*, and the life of a *Prince*. Thou hast already gone too farre to retire. Now thou must resolve to be *CÆsar* or nothing. To say more were superfluous. Thine owne discretion will suggest unto thee, better Arguments. Only this, I know that thou hast in thee too much *In-
 lius*, not to governe.

XXX.

AVGVSTVS, seemed to
 incline to this latter
 opinion ; whether moved
 with MECENAS Oration,
 especially his instance in
 POMPEY ; or that he was
 before resolved to follow
 that course, is uncertaine.
 Howsoever, seeming with
 great attention to observe
 their speeches, and gather-
 ing their severall reasons
 and motives together, he
 made this Reply. A most
 hard thing it is, for a di-
 vided

“ vided minde, to make a
 “ well-joyn’d answer. Di-
 “ vided I am, and troubled
 “ between your two opi-
 “ nions ; loath to follow
 “ eyther, sithence in so
 “ doing I must offend one.
 “ Yet sithence there is a
 “ necessity of Resolution,
 “ I intend, though I like
 “ well of thine advice, A-
 “ GRIPPA ; to follow
 “ thine MECENAS. In
 “ doing which, I am but
 “ an instrument of the
 “ Destinies, to put their
 “ will in execution. Often
 “ have I heard my Father
 “ OCTAVIVS report, how
 “ Nigidius, famous for his
 E 5 skill

“ skill in *Judiciary Astro-*
 “ *logie*, told him once in o-
 “ pen *Senate*, That he had
 “ gotten an Emperor for
 “ the *Romans*. As also, how
 “ *M. Cicero*, so reuowned
 “ for wit and eloquence,
 “ dreamed that he saw *Iu-*
 “ *piter* place me on the top
 “ of the *Capitoll*, with a
 “ Whip in mine hand.
 “ Certainly, if the powers
 “ of Heaven promise me
 “ so great an *Empire*; I
 “ will not bee wanting to
 “ my selfe: but will adde
 “ by my *wisdome*, to their
 “ *influence*. To further my
 “ *designes*, I doe desire
 “ you; nay I conjure you
 both:

“ both: that as you have
 “ been ever ready in your
 “ Counsels; so you would
 “ not now be backward,
 “ in any necessary assi-
 “ stance. This said, they
 presently enter into a new
 conference, how to ma-
 nage a businesse of this
 weight; what *Senators* to
 acquaint with their in-
 tent; how to dispose of
 the *Army*, not yet cashie-
 red; with what *Plummet*
 were best to sound the
 minds of the common
 people.

X X I.

THis Consultation ended, AVGVSTVS continued his affability to the *People*, and respect to the *Nobles*. An opportunity he had to expresse himselfe to both. There was at that time a Famine, which shrewdly raged among the *Commons*. To the poorer sort, hee distributed Corne, *Gratis*; to others, at a meane price. Riches and honours he communicated to both sorts; the bet-

better to wipe out of their memories, the ancient *freedom*. Such parts of the *Citty*, as were destroyed by casualty of fire, ruined by length of time, or defaced during the *Civill-warres*; he re-edified. Houses of *Common-assemblies* he repaired; Temples consecrated to the Gods, hee spared no cost, to adorne and beautifie. And finally so freely diffused his bounty, that there was no part or member of the *Citty*, which had not some taste of it. Next, he dismissed his soldiers, assigning them Lands and habi-

habitations in divers parts of *Italy*. That so the *Lords of the State*, might conceive his *Resignation* to be reall; and yet if need were, his forces might bee quickly reassembled. Nor were *AGRIPPA* and *MECENAS* wanting for their parts, to promote the cause: but carefully acquainted some of the *Senate* with it, who stood well affected to them; and cunningly prepared others.

XXXII.

XXXII.

THE foundation thus layd, and the *Senate* late, *AVGVSTVS* rose frō his seat, and spake to this or the like effect. When
“ I consider with my
“ selfe, the infinite extent
“ of the *Roman* Empire;
“ I protest I stand at a
“ maze: Marvailing how
“ such, as heretofore
“ have raysed combusti-
“ ons in State, durst un-
“ dertake the sole admini-
“ stratiō of it. What Natiō
in

" in the world, hath not
 " eyther begged their
 " Peace at our Gates; or
 " felt the fury of our wars
 " at their owne? What
 " Countries have not wee
 " hurried with fire and
 " sword, making the rising
 " and setting of the Sun, the
 " bounds of our Domini-
 " ons. It must questionlesse
 " proceed from an over-
 " weaning conceit in the,
 " of their owne abilities;
 " who thought themselves
 " so fit to undergoe that
 " burden, which none but
 " the immortall Gods can
 " carry. Of my selfe I will
 " not say much. Onely I
 am

" am not inferiour to *Cin-*
 " *na*, nor it may be, to *Syl-*
 " *la*. Yet have I found in my
 " selfe, by late experience,
 " how unable I was to ma-
 " nage the affaires of State;
 " even then when I had
 " two *Coadjutors*. There
 " is no *Atlas* of strength
 " sufficient to beare up this
 " *Heaven*: No *Starre* of
 " influence sufficient to a-
 " nimate this *sphere*; No
 " one forme of vertue suf-
 " ficient to actuate this
 " *matter*. Neyther indeed is
 " it fit, that the *Republique*
 " wch ought to be immor-
 " tall, should depend only
 " on the life and well-fare
 of

“of one man. There never
 “was, since the beginning
 “of time, a City repleni-
 “shed with greater store
 “of worthy and able
 “men; eyther to consult
 “or execute. Never was
 “there seene so grave and
 “discreet a *Consistory*. Ne-
 “ver so many of both
 “sorts, so fit to governe.
 “I have by your Directi-
 “ons, and the valor of
 “your soldiers, put an end
 “to al homebred quarrels.
 I have beene your instru-
 “ment, to reduce peace in-
 “ternall and externall, to
 “your City: and desire
 “now no other Guerdon
 or

“or recompence for any
 “former services, than a
 “quiet and a private life;
 “free from all such dan-
 “gers and inconveniences,
 “as are inseparably annex-
 “ed to the *Principallitie*.
 “Now therefore, and may
 “my action bee auspicious
 “and fortunate to my
 “Country, doe I resigne
 “my authority: commit-
 “ting my selfe, and the
 “*Commonwealth*, into the
 “hands of the *Senate* and
 “people of *Rome*.

XXXIIII.

XX XIII.

THis Oration ended, there followed a soft and silent buzzing in the house. Some supposed this speech, not to have so much truth, as art and cunning, yet smothered their conceits, for feare of after-claps. Others were Creatures of his owne making, and they hoping to *rise* in the *fall* of theyr Country, would not heare of a Resignation. Some few of the wiser
fort

fort, thought it not expedient, to put the Reines againe into the hands of the *Multitude*. The rest out of a sluggish and phlegmaticque Constitution, chose rather the present estate with security; than to strive to recover the old, with danger. All therefore with a joynt consent proclaime him sole *Emperor*: and solemnely intreat him to save the *Commonwealth*, otherwise running to inevitable ruine. He for a while, as vainely denyed to accept the Government, as they vainely persisted to desire him. At
last,

last, wearied with the clamours of all in generall; and importance of some in particular; he by little and little yeelded to their requests, taking upon him the *Empire* for ten yeares, with this Proviso, that if before that time expired, hee could fully settle & order the present State, hee would give up his charge. (*AN. V. C. 725.*) This hee gave out, not with a purpose of performance. (For at the end of every *Decennium* hee renewed his lease of the Regiment:.) But that the people seeing a high possibility

sibility of regaining their *Liberties*, might not practice against him. Whereas, had hee for tearme of life, received the supream authoritie; hee had no doubt hastened his owne overthrow.

XXXIV.

Not the title of *Dictator*, but the Epithite, *Perpetuall*; was the destruction of *CÆSAR*; Yet also great respect was to be had in the choyce of the title. The name of *King* he

he refused, as beeing odious to the *Citizens*. Neyther would he be called *Romulus*, though he much desired it; lest they should suppose that he did affect the *Tyranny*. When the people called him *Dictator*, he rent his Garments, desiring them to discharge him of a name so hated: and being once called Lord, (*Dominus*) hee forbade also that title by publique Edict. *Princeps Senatus* was the onely title he admitted. Well knowing, that the like glorious attributes were heaped on his Father *Ivlivs*, by them

them which least loved him; onely to this end, that growing more and more into hatred, hee might the sooner bee dispatched. Nor was he ignorant, that the *Common-people* led more by appearances, than truth; discerned names more plainly than executions: and that the onely course to make greatnesse stand firmly, was to receive extraordinary Jurisdiction, under a Title not offensive. The name also of *AVGVSTVS*, put upon him by the *Senate*, as if there had beene something in

F him

him more than mortall, he denyed not: as a title expressing more dignity and reverence, than authority.

XXXV.

When first at the hands of the *Lords of the Senate*, he had for 10. yeares received the Government; there was appointed unto him two *Cohorts of Prætorian Soldiers*, for the guard of his person; to whõ the *Senate* allowed the double wages
of

of a *Legionary* souldier, to make them the more vigilant and heedfull in their charge. Over these, he appointed two *Prefects or Governors*, (*Captaines of the Guard* we may best tearme them.) To commit the charge to one onely, might breed danger; to more, confusiõ. *Agrippina*, to settle *Nero* in the *Empire*, prevailed with *Claudius*, to make *Burrus*, whom she had at her devotiõs, the sole *Captain*: and *Nimphidius*, false from his hopes of setting *Galba* besides the quishiõ; desired the cõmãd of the *Guard* as the next step

to the Sovereignty. In choice of these Captaines, he observed two Rules. First, he ever chose them, *Ex ordine Equestri*, not *Senatorio*; lest that so high a dignity, joyned to so high a Birth, might startle their resolutions to some designs against his quiet. Secondly, he made choice of two such, which were of contrary humors, and somewhat at oddes: That so the ill intents of one (if they should harbour any) might be thwarted and revealed by the other; and both in a noble emulation should contend

tend, to be most forward in his service. The next course w^{ch} he took for his owne security, was a law he made to curbe the very wills and attempts of the *great ones*. For whereas it had beene formerly unlawfull, to question a *Bondman*, in matters concerning the life and death of his *Lord*: AVGVSTVS passed an Act, that all such *Bondmen* should bee first sold to him, or the *Common-wealth*. By meanes wherof he kept the *Lords*, before presuming on the secrecie of their *Slaves*; from all close and private

Conspiracies against him.

XXXVI.

HAVING thus strengthened his person, he assumed to himselfe the *Imperiall, Censoriall,* and *Tribunitian* authority together with the *Sacerdotall* dignity. As *Emperor* and *Generall* of the men of Warre, hee could presse Soldiers, raise Taxes, proclaime wars, make peace; yea and put to death the very best and stoutest of the *Senators*: as *Censor*, it was

was in his power, to reforme corrupt manners, inquire after mens carriage, to take in and put out of the *Senate*, whom he listed; to place and displace the people from an honorable tribe to a lesse honorable. Yet would he not be called *Censor*, as a name too inferiour: but accepted the *Prerogative*. After the surrendry of *MANVIUS* and his associate; two men so unfit for that *Magistracie*, that they could object no crime to old or young, of which themselves were not guilty. The

F 4 *Tribu-*

Tribunitian authority, enabled him to hinder any thing attempted against his liking: It preserved his person from all contumely and injury; Giving him liberty to punish as an execrable person, yea and without any formality of law; whosoever had offended him eyther in word or deed. As for the *Pontificiall Dignity*, it made him a little more revered, not more potent. Onely it added to his title, the stile of *Pontifex Maximus*; or *Chiefe Bishop*; and made him of authority amongst the Priests, and in sacred mat-

matters, things that concerned *Religion*. The light of Reason taught him, that it was convenient for him, beeing a *Prince*, to have command on all his people. He had beene else but halfe a *Monarch*. Such as some Princes are with us, who quit their *Clergy* to be governed by a *foreign head*. These severall Prerogatives annexed together, seemed not yet sufficient: and therefore he so cunningly dealt with the *Senators* that they gave him a generall Exemption from the *Coactive power* of the law. Which once

F 5 effe-

effected, he seriously and totally bendeth his Studies to settle the *Commonwealth*.

XXXVII.

TO what *Republique* hee should conforme the *Roman*, was his next care. The forme described by *Plato*, rather sheweth how a *Citty* ought to be, than how it may be governed. *Aristotle* bred in the *free State* of *Greece*, was no friend to *Monarchies*: and therefore no fit
In-

Instructor. *Solon* afforded the *people*, too much authority, the *Nobles*, too little; the *King*, none. The old *Carthaginian Legislator* attributed too much to *Riches*; too little to *virtue*. The *Persian* Law-makers allotted to the *King* too much, and nothing to the *Subjects*, *Zaleuchus* was rather an *Author* of some particular *Lawes*, than the framer of a *Republique*: *Phaleus* and *Hippodamus* was as unimitable as *Plato*. *Lacedaemon* onely, and her *Lycurgus*, were found fittest for his purpose. For
Lycur-

LYCVRGVS a man of a deepe reach; and brought up under the most able *Politicians* of all *Crete*, well understanding that the unmixt forme of Rule was mutable, and by consequence pernicious: framed his *Spartan Commonwealth*; out of the perfections of the three good formes: their imperfections rejected. Reserving to the *King*, absolute Majesty; to the *Nobles*, convenient authority; to the *People* entire *Liberty*; all in a just and equall proportion. AVGVSTVS as hee neglected the peculiar

Cu-

Customes of that State, Community of Women, Equality of Possessions, and the like; So in the maine *Platforme*, hee was a diligent follower of his Constitutions. So mixing the *Soveraignty* of one, with the *Liberty* of all; that both the Lords and people without feare of bondage or sedition, enjoyed their hereditary freedome. The *Consuls* and *Nobles* of the Citty assembled, as formerly they used; Matters of *State*, they handled by themselves: *Ambassadors* of forreine Nations, they heard and dif-

dispatched. The *Commons* assembled in the *Comitia*, to enact Lawes, and elect Magistrates; as in the *free Common-wealth*. Yet so that nothing was done without the consent and privity of the *Prince*; who for the most part, nominated the successive Magistrate: leaving the confirmation of him to that *people*. So that the change, as hee contrived it, was not violent and at once, but by degrees, and by the silent approbation of both the *Estates*: as seeming to

consist more in the alteration of the *Magistrate*, than of the *Lawes*.

XXXVIII.

BVt to proceed particularly: the first care he tooke, was to confirme *Religion* in the same state he found it. I meane *Religion* as the *Romans* used the word, for those particular though idolatrous formes of *Worship*; which to their severall *Gods* had beene used among them. This, though hee might have changed

changed, as the *Pontifex Maximus*, or chiefe Bishop of the *Citty*; yet very wisely he forbare it; It is not safe for Princes that are settled in a long descent of *Government*, to be too active in such changes; But it is dangerous to attempt it in a *Greene State*, and in an *Empire* not well quietted, & inured to bondage: Men are more sensible of the smallest mutations in the *Church*, than greater changes in the *State*, and rayse more frequent troubles about it. The *Romans* specially were exceeding tender in this point. The

ancient

ancient *Aediles* formerly received it into their charge, that they permitted no externall, cyther *Gods* or *Ceremonies*, to bee introduced into the *City*. And by *ÆMILIVS* it was enacted for a Law, That none should offer sacrifice in any publike place, after a new and forraine fashion. Excellent therefore was the counsell that *MECENAS* gave him, when hee first undertooke the *Empire*. That hee should follow constantly the *Religion*, which he found established, and compell others also to doe the like:

" like: For forreigne and
 " strange rites (sayth he)
 " will offend the people,
 " worke many inconve-
 " nient alterations in the
 " State, yea and most like-
 " ly will occasion many
 " both seditions and con-
 " spiracies: Words which
 " he spake not to the ayre,
 " but to a Prince exceed-
 " ing apprehensive of the
 " best advice; Nor did AV-
 " GVSTVS ever shew him-
 " selfe more carefull in any
 " one *Arca* of the Empire;
 " than in this. That which
 " *MECENAS* noted, we find
 " true in these later Ages, in
 " times more skilfull of o-
 " bedience,

bedience, than the most
 quiet houre of AVGVSTVS
 Gouernment. No one
 thing more hath caused so
 frequent, and so generall
Rebellions in the States of
Christendome, than altera-
 tions of this Nature; I
 cannot therefore but com-
 mend it, as a pious *Resolu-
 tion*, in a late mighty *Mo-
 narch*. Better some few
 corruptions should be suf-
 fered in a Church, than
 that a change.

XXXIX.

Religion thus established; In the next place the welfare of the whole *Empire*, consisted chiefly in reforming of the *Citty*; From which as from the heart, life was conveyed to all the *Provinces*: And in the *Citty* the corruption was most apparant, in the *Senate*. With them therefore he beginneth, well knowing that crimes in men of eminent place end not in themselves:

selves: but by degrees become diffused among their *Clyents* and followers. Now in the *Senate* were many and desertlesse men, who had been taken into the *Consistorie* during the *Civill* wars: as they could court the people, and humor such as were most potent. Of these he expelled none by his own power: but making a speech to them in the *Senate*, of the ancient order and present Confusion of the house; he first exhorted them to looke backe on their former lives, and to judge of their owneabi-

bilities and merits, for so honourable a roome. Then he desired some of them to picke out such among them, as were in disposition *factions*, and in life *faulty*, but loath to conceive so ill of their owne actions; Which they did accordingly. Yet as it often happeneth, that *the great Thiefe leadeth all the rest to the Gallowes*; and as *Commynes* observeth, that after the Battell of *Monthillery*, Offices were taken from many for flying away, and conferred on such as ran ten Miles
be.

beyond them: So remained many in the *Senate*, neyther lesse vicious, nor lesse violent; onely more potent to maintaine their doings, than some others whom they had removed. AVGVSTVS. therefore joyning to him AGRIPPA, proceedeth to a new review. And certainly, it much concerned him in the setting of his affaires, that none should have a voyce in that famous Councell; but such as were of able judgments, honest repute,
and

and well affected to the Prince. An enterprize which hee esteemed so dangerous, that permitted entrance to no *Senator* till he were searched; himselfe wearing a *Brigandine* under his Gowne; and being enuironed with 10. of the most couragious & best beloved of the whole company. Such as hee found in eyther kind inexcusable, he discharged frō their attendance; electing such into their places, which were eyther ennobled for their wisedome, of noted moderation, and strong in their dependants.

Yet

Yet so that greatnesse of *Revenue*, was esteemed neither a fit *Patronage* for any if they were offensive; nor a just cause to challenge interest in the *house*. Those of them which were rich rather in the gifts of the minde, than fortune; he relieved with honourable *Pensions*: and finally he bestirred himselfe so resolutely, that all confessed that they had need of such a wise *Physitian*, to cure that dull *Consumption*, whereinto the *Commonwealth* was falne.

XL.

IN other things he seldom did proceed against them as of himselfe: But when that any of them had conspired his Ruine, he referred them to the Iudgement of their fellowes. And this hee did partly to reserve unto the Court, the ancient Prerogative; partly, not to be Iudge and party in his owne cause: but principally following the example of his father IVLIVS, who counter-

terfeiting a wretchlesse contempt of his aduersaries, used when he was least suspected, under-hand and by publike Officers to worke their destruction. Many also of them, whom the *Senate* had condemned, he would freely pardon. Conceiving truly, that the questioning of me of high calling, would produce as much terrour; though it argued not so much rigor as the punishment. Yet if extremity of Law was used towards some few, it was to settle quietnesse in the whole; and as it were a particular
G 2 blood-

blood-letting for the generall health. Those who had followed the factions of BRVTVS and ANTHONY, he forgave freely. And not so onely, but by manifesting his words by his deeds, and adding trust and honours to his pardons: he made his Chayre of State more settled, and immoveable. So CÆSAR by erecting the fallen and broken Images of POMPEY, made his owne statues stand more firmly.

XLI.

XLI.

But the chiefe Act by which he brideled the Nobles, was an Edict by him promulgated, forbidding any of them, his leave not granted, to travell out of *Italy*. For well he knew that in an Empire unsetled, and Provinces not quieted, the presence and authority of men of that ranke, might rayse greater troubles, than could be easily suppressed. Examples he wanted

G 3 not;

not; that especially of *Ca-*
to, who after the over-
 throw of *Pompey*, stirred
 such a warre against *Caesar*
 in *Affricke*: that he ne-
 ver bought Victory at a
 dearer rate. Yet not alto-
 gether to imprison them,
 he licensed them at their
 pleasure to visite *Sicilia*,
 and *Gaul Narbonoyse*: Pro-
 vinces close to the conti-
 nent of *Italy*, altogether
 unfurnished for warres;
 and indeed such, as by rea-
 son of the variety of plea-
 sures in them used, were
 more likely to weaken
 their minds, than to arme
 their bodies.

NOW to give the *Se-*
nate some sweet meat,
 to their sower sawce;
 he as much honoured and
 revered the *Order*, as
 ever it was in the *free-*
state: submitting himselfe
 to their Iudgements; and
 appearing of his owne ac-
 cord, at most of theyr
 dayes of Session. Out of
 those he chose 15. altera-
 ble every halfe yere, to be
 of his privy Councell, but
 the chāging the for others

that so all of them might participate that honour; and yet none of them bee acquainted with too many of his secrets. At his entrance into the *Senate*, he used courteously to salute the *Lords*; and so likewise at his departure. Hee knew full well that it was noted for great pride in his father *Ivlivs*, so much to sleight the *Lords* of that *House*, as he alwayes did: never making to them any obedience, no not then, when they came to tel him what honors were decreed unto him.

XLIII.

XLIII.

THIS Reformation of the *great Ones*, soone made the *lower sort* more carefull; both to observe good order, and to learne obedience. Yet did not AVGVSTVS referre all to *President*; but somewhat to *Precept*. The *Roman Knights* he enforced to yeeld an account of their lives: an Ordinance full of health: Idlenesse being the root of all private vices, and publike

G 5: dif.

disorders. To the *Commons* in their *Comitia* and other meetings, he prescribeth *Laws* and *Orders* as himselfe listed. The old authority of the *Tribunes*, dashed in the *Dictatorship* of *SYLLA*, he would not restore. He suffered them to intercede for the *people*, but not to preferre or hinder any *Bill* to the advancement or the prejudice of the *Third estate*. Without this *Curbe*, the *Common sort* would never quietly have suffered him to sit fast in the *Saddle*. For had the *people*

ple had their *Tribunes*, and had the *Tribunes* had their ancient dignity and power, which they had usurped: there had beene little or no hope, of altering the forme of *Government*. So different are the ends of the *Common-people*, especially if nuzled in a factious *Liberty*; from the designs of soveraigne *Princes*.

XLIV.

XLIV.

THE City thus reformed in the principall errors and defects of it; he againe exhibiteth unto them divers pleasures: As Shewes of Fencers, Stage-playes, Combates of wilde beasts, publique dancings, with variety of other delightfull spectacles. And this as well to breed in them a good conceit of the change; as fearing lest their cogitations, for want of other objects, would

would fixe themselves upon his actions, and the old *freedome*. Horse-races, Tilts, and Tournaments, he gladly cherished; but he permitted them only to the Inhabitants of *Rome*: That so that City being the Seat-Towne of his Empire, might be stored with good *Horses*, and expert Riders. Such of the *Commons* as were behind hand, he relieved: and when that any of them had made him Heyre to their goods; hee well knowing that no good Father did appoint to his Heyre any *Prince* but a
Ty-

Tyrant, presently restored to the Children of the deceased, the whole Patrimony. An action truly worthy of *AUGVSTVS*; as true a *Guardian* of *Orphanes*, as a Father of his *Country*. Such Princes as gape covetously after other mens possessions, seldom enjoy the benefit of their owne. The treasures of Kings are then greatest, not when their own *Coffers* are full onely, but their subjects rich.

XLV.

XLV.

YET one thing more he seemed to leave unto the people, which they thought most pleasing; Liberty of speech. Wherein sometimes they were so licencious, that they spared not *AGRIPPA* himselfe, so potent with the Emperour. But hee good man, never using the Princes favour to the prejudice of any, seemed not to marke their taunts

taunts and slanders: whether with greater moderation or wisdom, I cannot tell. Neyther did AVGVSTVS scape their foolish *Pasquils* and infamous *Libels*. All which he winked at, knowing, that Cōtumelies of that Nature, slighted & cōténed, soone vanish of themselves: but if repined and stormed at, they seeme to be acknowledged. A temper which he learnt of his Father IVLIVS, who was perfect at it. And certainly it was a notable poynt of wisdom in both of them. It is the misery of
the

the best *Princes*, even when they doe well, to be ill spoken of. And therefore many times such follyes, are with more policy dissembled than observed, by the greatest *Kings*.

XLVI.

AS for this Lavishnesse of the *tongue*, it is an humour that springeth for the most part, rather from a delight in prattling, than any malice of the heart: and they which
use

use it are more trouble-
some than dangerous.
Iv L I V S feared not the *fat*
men, but the *lean* and
spar. And so AVGV-
STVS thought, that not
men liberall of speech,
but silent, close, and
sparing of their words,
were most likely to rayse
tumults. Moreover, as
long as the *Common-peo-
ple* retained *Liberty of
speech*, they were the lesse
sensible of the losse of
Liberty in State. Where-
as in the dayes of DOMI-
T I A N, when not onely
they were prohibited to
commune together, but
even

even their secret sighes
and teares were *Registred*;
then began they to looke
with a serious eye, backe
on the old and *Common
Liberty*: *Neglect* is the best
remedy for this *Talking
veine*. When the hu-
mour is spent, the *People*
will cease on their owne
accords: till then, no for-
ces can compell them. *Ta-
citus* taxeth *Vitellius* of
great folly, for hoping by
force to hinder the conti-
nuall reports of *Vespations*
revolt; that being the on-
ly way to increase, not di-
minish the *rumor*. And as
much he extolleth (I will
not

not say how fitly the Reigne of *Prince NERVA*; wherein it was lawfull for the Subject to thinke what hee would, and speake what he thought.

XLVII.

THese courses though he tooke to rectifie the Senate, and content the people, yet he stayed not here. There were too many of both sorts, dangerous and unquiet spirits, who stomacked his proceedings: and under the

the pretence of the *ancient Liberty*, were apt to any bold attempt, and so-daine alteration. These as he winked at for the present, so he employed them as occasion served, in his forreine warres. Wherein he followed the example of his father *IVLIVS*, who when his soldiers had displeased him, in their *Mutinies* and tumults; would lead them presently unto some desperate and dangerous service. So weakning both his *foes*, which lay next unto him, and punishing those *Soldiers* which had
difo.

disobeyed him. For though AVGVSTVS had thrice shut the Temple of *Ianus*; and cherished peace, no Emperor more, of so large a Territory: Yet when he saw his times, and that mens minds were active, and their thoughts disquieted; he could find presently occasion for some new employment. In this a *body politique*, may be compared most fitly, to the *body Naturall*. when we are full of bloud, and our spirits boyling, there is not any *Physicke* better than *Phlebotomie*. But if a
veyne

veyne be broken in us, and we bleed inwardly; our estate commonly is dangerous, and almost incurable. So *Princes*, when their people are tumultuous, and apt to mischief; or that their thoughts are working, and hearkening after action; doe commonly employ them in some service farre from home; that there they may both vent their *Anger*, and employ their *Courage*. For let them stay at home, to confirme their practises, and grow at last into faction:
the

the State will suffer in it ; if it be not ruined. We cannot have a fairer instance of this truth than the proceeding of the 5. HENRY, and of the times next following. Whose forreine warres kept us all quiet here at home ; wasted those humours , and consumed those fiery spirits : which afterwards , the warres being ended, inflamed the Kingdome.

The Soldiers some of them he dispersed as before I sayd, all about Italy, in 32. Colonies: as well for the defence of the Country, as for their more speedy reassembly, if need should require. Abroad amongst the Provinces, were maintained upon the common charge, 23. Legions with theyr aydes, besides 10000. of his Guard, and those which were appointed for
H the

the bridling and the safety of the Citty. As to all of them he shewed an excellent thankfulness, for their faithfull services: So in particular to **AGRIPPA**, and to one other, whose name the Histories of that age have not remembered. This latter had valiantly behaved himselfe at the battell of *Actium*: and being summoned to appear before the *Lords* of the *Senate* in a matter which concerned his life, cryed to **AVGVSTVS** for succour; who assigned him an Advocate. The poore fellow

low not contented with this favour, baring his breast, and shewing him the markes of many wounds; These (quoth he) have I received, **AVGVSTVS**, in thy service, never supplying my place by a Deputy. Which sayd, the *Emperor* descending to the *Barre*, pleaded the Souldiers cause, and wonne it. Never did *Soveraigne Prince*, or any that command in *Cheefe*, lose any thing, by being bountifull of favours to theyr men of war. For this act quickly spreading

H 2

ding it selfe over all the *Provinces*, did so indeere him to the military men; that they all thought their services well recompenced, in that his graciousnesse to that one man.

X LIX.

AN D now were they so farre given over to him, that the honours conferred on **AGRIPPA**, could not increase their love; well it might their admiration. **AGRIPPA** was of a meane and

and common *Parentage*, but supplying the defects of his *Birth*, with the perfections of his *minde*; he became very potent with **AVGVSTVS**, who not onely made him *Consull*, but his companion in the *Tribunitian authority*, and *Provoost of the Citie*. So many titles were now heaped on him, that **MECENAS** perswaded the *Prince*, to give him his *Daughter IVLIA* to wife; affirming it impossible for **AGRIPPA** to live safe, considering how open new *Creatures* lye to the attempts of *Malicious men*; unlesse

lesse he were ingrafted into the royall Stemme of the CÆSARS. On which cause questionlesse, for the stronger establishment of his new honours; SEIANVS afterward attempted, but not with like successe, the like march, with LIVIA, TIBERIUS Daughter in Law.

L.

L.

THE Senate, People, and Men of Warre, thus severally reduced to a Mediocrity of power and content: The next labor is to alter the old, and establish a new government of the Citty it selfe. To effect which, hee dashed all former Lawes, by which the Allyes and Confederates of the State, were made free Denizens of the Towne. That hee conceived to be a way, to

H 4 draw

draw the whole *Empire* into one *City*; and by the monstrous groweth and increase of this, to make poore the rest. Therefore this *Priviledge* he communicated unto a few onely: partly that in the times of dearth, the *Citty* might not so much feele the want of sustenance; and partly that so ancient an honour might not be disesteemed; but principally left *Rome* replenished with so huge a multitude of stirring and unruly spirits, should grow too headstrong to be governed in due order.

The

The greatest and most populous *Cities*, as they are pronest unto *faction* and *sedition*; so is the danger greatest, both in it selfe, and the example, if they should revolt.

L. I.

THis provident course notwithstanding, there were in *Rome* men more than enough; and among them not a few malecontents, and murmurers at the present state; such as contemned the *Consuls*,

H 5 and

and hated the *Prince*. To keepe these in compasse, AVGVSTVS, it being impossible for him to be still resident at *Rome*, and dangerous to bee absent; constituted a *Provost of the Citie*, for the most part chosen out of the *Senators*: assigning him a strength of 6000. men, called *Milites Urbani*, or the *City Souldiers*. To him he gave absolute and Royall authority, both in the *Towne* and *Territory* neare adjoyning, during his owne absence. To him were appeales brought frō the *Magistrates*. and finally
to

to his *Tribunal* were referred, all causes of importance, not in *Rome* onely; but the greatest part of *Italy*. *Mesalla* was the first *Provost*, but prooffe being had of his insufficiency, the charge was committed to *AGRIPPA*: who did not onely settle and confirme the *City*; but speedily freed *Italy* from *Theeves*, and *Robbers*, and stopped the courses of many other troublers of the *State*.

LII.

IT is recorded that in the Civill warres of MARIVS and SYLLA, one PONTIVS VELESINVS of the MARIAN Faction, told his Generall, that he did well to scoure the Country; but *Italy* would never want Wolves, as long as *Rome* was so fit a Forrest, and so neare to retyre unto. The like might have beene spoken to AGRIPPA; That he did well, to cleare the Com-

mon

mon Rodes and passages: but *Italy* would never want *Theeves*, whilst *Rome* was so good a place of Refuge. For though he did, as farre as humane industry could extend, endeavour a generall Reformation, both within the *City* and without: yet neither could he remedy nor foresee all mischiefes. Still were there many and those great disorders, committed in the night season; when as no eye, but that to which no darknesse is an obstacle, could discern the Malefactors. For in the first *Proscriptio*,

many

many men used to walke the Streets well weap-
ned; pretending onely their owne safety. In-
deed it was to make their best advantage of such
men, as they met eyther in unfrequented Lanes
and passages; or travel-
ling, as their occasions
did direct them in the
Night.

LIII.

LIII.

TO repreffe therefore
the foule insolencies
of these *Sword-men*, *AV-*
GVSTVS did ordaine a
Watch consisting of 7000.
Freemen: their *Captaine*
beeing a *Gentleman* of
R O M E. In the day
time, the Guard of the
Towne was committed to
the *Provoft* and his *Citie*
Sol-

Soldiers : These *Vigiles* resting in their standing *Campes*. In the Night season , one part tooke their *Stations* in the most suspitious places of the *City* : another, in perpetuall motion traversed the Streets, the rest lying in the *Corps du Garde*, to relieve their companions. By which meanes, he not onely remedied the present disorders , but preserved the *City* from danger of fire also ; Yea and secured himselfe from all night tumults, which carry with them (though but small) more terror and affright-

affrightment ; than greater Commotions in the day. Never till now were the *Common people* Masters of their owne, both lives and substance. And now was travell in the night , as safe ; though not so pleasant as at Noone.

LIV.

THe *People* and *Cittie* thus settled, his next study is to keepe the *Provinces* in a liking of the Change. But little *Rhetorique* needed to win their li-

liking, who had long desired the present forme of *Government*: mistrusting the peoples Regiment, by reason of *Noblemens* factions, Covetousnesse of *Magistrates*; the *Laws* affording no security, being swayed hither and thither by ambition and corruption. These *Provinces*, when he first rid the *Government*, he thus divided. *Asia, Africa, Numidia, Betica, Narbonensis, Sicilia, Corsica, Sardinia*, all *Greece, Crete, Cyprus, Pontus*, and *Bythia*, being quiet and peaceable *Provinces*, of knowne and

and faithfull obedience; he assigned unto the *Senate*. But the new conquered Regions, such as had not digested their losse of liberty, with whō any rebellion or warre, was to be feared, he retayned under his owne command. Such were *Tarracensis, Lusitanica, Lugdunensis, Germany, Belgica, Aquitanica, Syria, Cilicia, Egypt, Dalmatia, Mysia, Pannonia, &c.* This hee did as hee gave out, to sustaine the danger himselfe alone, leaving to the *Senate*, the sweete at theyr ease: but

but the truth was, to keep them without armes, himselfe alwayes strong and in a readinesse. Questionlesse the *Casarean Provinces*, growing so strong; and perceiving the *Consular* so weake: assumed to themselves the creating, and establishing the future *Princes*. *Galba* was made Emperour by the *Spanish* and *French* Legions; *Vitellius*, by the *German*; *Vespasian* by the *Syrian* and *Pannonian*: The *Consular Provinces* never stirring, eyther to prevent their attempts, or to revenge them.

L V.

L V.

These *Provinces*, the better to manage the affaires of the *Empire*, he had peculiarly specified in his *Register*, what *Tributes* they payed, what *Presents* they sent in, what *Customes* in them were leuyed. That booke also cōprehended, the wealth of the publike *Treasury*, and necessary charge issuing out of it: What number of *Citizens* and *Allies*, there were in *Armes*; What

What strength there was by *Sea*, with all other circumstances concerning the extent, strength, riches; and particulars of his *Estate*. *William* of *Nor-mandy* did the like, at his first entrance into *Eng-land*: when he composed that *Censuall Roll* of all this Kingdome; which we call *Doomes-day Booke*, or the *Roll of Winton*: according unto which, *Taxations* were imposed, and *Aydes* exacted. The greatest *Princes* have not thought it a disparagement to be good *Husbands*; to know the riches

ches of their *Crownes*; and have an eye to theyr *Intrado*.

L V I.

Britaine was left out of this *Bead-roll*, eyther because from hence there neyther was much hope of profit, nor much feare of hurt: or else because, being more desirous to keepe than inlarge the *Monarchy*; he thought it most expedient to confine it within the boūds appointed by Nature. *Dannibus*,
on

on the North; Mount
Atlas on the South; *Euphrates*, on the East; & the
 maine *Ocean* on the West:
 did bound his *Empire* and
 defend it. Some *King-*
domes have their limits
 layd out by Nature: and
 those which have adven-
 tured to extend them fur-
 ther, have found it fatall.
 The *Persians* never did at-
 tempt to stretch their
Territory beyond *Oxus*,
 but they miscarried in the
 action. And what was
 that poore *River*, if com-
 pared unto the *Ocean*?

ed by Nature. Dardanes
 within the bounds of
 no LVII.

LVII.

MAny who loved ac-
 tion, or expected
 preferment by the *Wars*,
 incited him unto the con-
 quest and plantation of
 these Countries. Affir-
 ming that the barbarous
 people were naturally
 bad neighbors; & though
 for the present not very
 strong nor well skilled
 in Armes; yet might a
 weake Enemy in time
 gather great strength:
 That he ought to pursue
 I the

' the warre, for his Father
 ' *Iulius* sake, who first
 ' shewed that Iland to the
 ' *Romans*: that it yeelded
 ' both refuge and supply
 ' to the Malecontents of
 ' *France*, and enemies in
 ' *Germany*: That he would
 ' lose the benefit of a weal-
 ' thy *Country*, stored with
 ' all manner of provision;
 ' and the command of a
 ' valiant Nation, borne as
 ' it were unto the warres.
 ' That it was an Apostacy
 ' from honor, to lye still
 ' and adde nothing to the
 ' conquest of his ance-
 ' stors: that he was in alle-
 ' quity bound as farre as
 in

' in him was, to reduce to
 ' *Civility*, from *Barbraisme*
 ' so many proper and a-
 ' ble men.

L VIII.

TO these motives *Au-*
gustus replied, That
 ' he had already refused to
 ' wage warre with the *Par-*
 ' *thian*; a more dangerous
 ' neighbour, and far worse
 ' enemy than the *Britaines*:
 ' That he had wast and de-
 ' sert ground enough, in his
 ' own *dominions* for many
 ' a large *Plantation*; when
 I 2 he

' he saw it needfull; that
 ' he had constantly refu-
 ' sed, though with great fa-
 ' cility he might, to con-
 ' quer any more of the
 ' *barbarous Nations*: That
 ' as in the *Naturall body*, a
 ' surfeit is more dange-
 ' rous thā fasting; So in the
 ' *body Politique* too much is
 more troublesome than a
 litle. That the *Roman Mo-*
narchy, had already excee-
 ded the *Persian & Macedo-*
niā: & to extēd it further,
 was the next way to make
 it totter and fall by its
 owne weight: that he had
 ' learned in the *Fable*, not
 ' to lose the *substance*, by
 cat-

' catching the *shadow*:
 ' That many puissant Na-
 ' tions lay in, and about
 ' *Britany*, against whom
 ' *Garrisons* must be kept;
 ' and he feared the *Revenue*
 would not quit the *Cost*.

LIX.

FOr the assurance of the
Provinces already con-
 quered, he dispersed into
 them 23. *Legions* with
 their *Aydes*: whose pay
 onely, besides provision
 of Corne and Officers wa-
 ges; amounted to five
 I 3 Mil-

Millions and an halfe of our *English* pounds, and somewhat more, were so sodainly payd unto the *Armies*, that we read seldom in the Histories of that *Empire*, of any *Mutinie* amongst the *Soldiers* for want of pay. An happinesse whereof these ages have beene little guilty. For the amassing of his treasure, and defraying of this charge; *AVGVSTVS* made not use onely of his owne revenue. *Warres* which are undertaken, and *Soldiers* that are levied for the *Common safety*; ought in all reason to be maintained on the *Common-*

purse. Grandour and security of an *Empire*, concerns in all respects, as much the people as the *Prince*. For which cause, he erected an *Exchequer* in the *Citsy*, which was called *Aerarium militare*, or the *Soldiers Treasure*, whereto the xx. part of every mans estate, was brought; according to the true and perfect valuation. This was esteemed an heavy burden at the first, and indeed it was: but that the people felt the sweetnes & effects of it, in the common safety. In that respect, the interest was

I 2 grea-

greater than the *principall*.
Subiects that have a care ei-
 ther of the common
 peace or honour; will not
 repine at payments and
 taxations, though more
 thā ordinary. It is a poore
 conceit to thinke that
Princes eyther are able or
 obliged, to maintaine the
 warres without assistance
 from their people: or that
 the treasures, which in
 these respects they give
 the *King*; they doe not
 give unto themselves. I
 may perhaps repute him
 for a cunning *Sophister*,
 but never for a faithfull
 Subject; which coyne
 di-

distinctions betwixt the
 welfare of the *King*, and
 the weale of the *King-*
dome.

L X.

THESE Legions he em-
 ployed as occasion
 was, eyther to curbe the
Natives, or secure the *Bor-*
ders. The *Roman Empire*
 seldome had such perfect
 peace but that there were
 employments alwaies for
 the *soldiers*. If that they
 had in any place a short
 Cessation from the wars;
 I 5 yet

yet they were not *idle*.
Idlenesse doubtlesse is the
 greatest enemy to *Martiall Discipline*. Therefore
 he kept them at such times
 perpetually busied: ey-
 ther in paving *Bogges*, or
 in dreaning *Marishes*. By
 meanes whereof, he made
 not onely many of the
barbarous Countries, both
 fruitfull in themselves,
 and profitable to the *Che-*
quer: but thereby also he
 secured his owne affaires,
 and disarmed his enemies.
 For many times the *Bar-*
barous people trusting to
 such advantages; were
 apt too often to rebell:
 and

and having got them selves
 within those *Myres* and
Fastnesses, stood on theyr
Guard; as in some fashi-
 onable or defensible *For-*
tesse. The surest meanes
 to keepe a conquered
 people, from all occasion
 of revolting, is to lay
 waste their *Wood-lands*,
 and make all parts *pas-*
sable. The opportunity
 of a safe retreat, makes
 not more *Theeves*, than
Rebels.

LXI.

Those whom he placed over his *Provinces* and *Armies*: hee neyther would remove under 3. yeares government; nor yet continue after five. A longer stay might teach them too much of the nature of the people; and perhaps prompt them, to worke into the favour of the Natives, and the men of warre; and so at last to establish in themselves a *Soveraignty*. *Cesars* long stay

stay in *Gaul*, (a second 5. yeares being added unto that, which was first allowed him;) made him so potent with the *people*, and gracious with the *Soldiers*; that in the end hee brought the *Romã Empire* under his subjection. And on the other side, to take them from their charges, under 3. yeares continuance, were to have called them home, before they were well learned in the *Customes* and the nature of the *Provinces*: so making them unable, to instruct their *Successors*. As for the men whom he employ-

employed in those *Com-
mands*; he called them al-
ways out of the most
valiant and upright, in
Campe, and *Senate*. A *Prince*
more willing and desirous
not to imploy men likely
to offend; than after the
offence to punish and cha-
stise them.

LXII.

BESIDES his forces by
Land, he also maintai-
ned at Sea two *invincible*
Armadoes. The one lay at
Anchor neare *Ravenna*,
in the up *Sea*, to awe and
defend

defend *Dalmatia*, *Crete*,
Greece, *Cyprus*, *Asia*, &c.
The other at *Misenum*,
in the lower *Sea*, to pro-
tect and keepe under
France, *Spaine*, *Africa*,
Egypt, *Syria*, &c. Ney-
ther was this the onely
use of two such puissant
Fleets. But in all probabili-
ty, they were to cleanse the
Sea of Pyrates; to have a
care to the conducting of
the *Tributes & Customs* in-
to the *Exchequer*: and ser-
ved also for transporting
Corn, and other neces-
sary provisions, for the
sustenance, and reliefe of
the *Citty*. In the ensuing
Ci-

Civill warres, these two Navies proved to bee of great importance: The revolt of them giving as great a blow to the one side, as a comfort to the other. The principall assurance of *Otho* in the wars, was the immoveable fidelity of the *Misenian Fleet*: and the siding of th'other with *Vespasian*, brake the hearts of *Vitellius* best followers.

LXIII.

AVGVSTVS as hee strengthened the *Provinces* in generall, so did he cast an especiall eye on 3. particulars: viz. *Italy*, *France*, and *Egypt*. *Italy* rounded *Rome* the *Metropolis* of the *Empire*; and therefore he ought to be well assured, of its good faith and allegiance to him. Nor was he ignorant, that the *Bellum Sociale* raised by the people of that *Country* in the *free-
State,*

State, more shooke and endangered the *Empire*; than the Invasions of *Pyrrhus*, or *Anniball*. Therefore as formerly he planted in it 32. *Colonies*, of old and trusty soldiers, to keepe it sure unto himselfe: So now he did divide it into eleven *Regions*; each having peculiar *Magistrates*, and under *Officers*. This not so much to ease the *Citty Prator*, although hee had imployment enough at *Rome*: but because it was thicke set and as it were overlayd with *People*, whose rising might endanger the *Commonwealth*.

wealth. So by his *Colonies* he kept a *Garrison* upon them as it were, that they could not *re-volt*: and by his *Officers* and *Iusticiers* (as I may call them) he set so strait a *Watch* about them; that they durst not *practise*.

LXIV.

F*Raunce*, then called *Gaul*, was both a large and fertile *Country*: stored with a people, valiant in all attempts, and in many

many desperate. A people with which the old *Romans* fought rather to maintaine their owne liberty, than to increase their Dominions. A people whose *Progenitors* had sacked the *Citie*; and finally with whom the *Romans* durst not make warre, till they had almost all the residue of the world in subjection. Remembrance of their ancient Reputation, and store of money might occasion many desperate practises against the quiet of the *Empire*. The readiest

est way to keepe them in *Obedience*, was to keepe them poore, for without wealth, high *Stomacks* may well feed on the hope of *Liberty*, but digest it neuer. *Licinius* his freedman, was the fittest fellow for such an Office: who is presently made the *Taske-master* of the *Province*. The *French* used to pay a Monthly Tribute, which he much inhaunced (besides private and petty meanes of prevailing) by making foure-teen Moneths in a yeare. The *French* Solicitors at *Rome* make complaint to
AV-

AVGVSTVS. He sometimes yeilded unto them, sometimes excused his *Freed-man*; some things hee would not know, many he would not believe; others he dissembled. *LICINIUS* to make up his peace, sent to the Emperour all his *treasure*, and that huge Masse of gold and silver by those unlawfull meanes, heaped up together: which hee not onely willingly received, but his turne being served and the *French* not a little impoverished; he recalled *Licinius*, and sent *Tiberius* to settle the *Province*. So
old

old and common a thing it is with great *Princes*, to suffer their *Vice-Roys*, and *Vnder-Officers*, to sucke like *Sponges*, the *Wealth* of the *Subiect*, till they are quite full; and then o *squeeze* them into their owne *Coffers*.

LXV.

BVt the *Province* whose ruition and defence he principally regarded, was *Egypt*: not so much for the valour and animositie of the *Inhabitants* as the naturall strength & scituatiō
of

of the place. *Alexander* of *Macedon* having annexed it to his *Empire*, never committed the entire government and Jurisdiction thereof to one man: fearing least he presuming on the wealth of the *People*, and site of the *Country*, would settle the possession in himselfe. And so *AVGVSTVS* calling to minde aswell the multitude, as the levity and inconstancie of the *Natives*; that it was very rich in coyne, and the *Roman Granary*, (as serving the *Citty* foure Moneths yearely with *Corne*) not onely

onely trusted not the rule thereof into the hands of any of the *Senators*, but expressly forbad any of that order, without his especial permission, to sojourne there. It is a principle in *State*, never to licence men of great houses, and credit among the *people*, to have free access into that *Country*, whose revolt may endanger the whole *Empire*. Wherefore it was a weakness doubtlesse, in the Councell of *K. Henry* of that name the 6. to suffer *Rich. D. of York*, to passe at pleasure into *Ireland*; where he had harbour and
K reliefe,

reliefe, and whence hee brought supply both of *men* and *money*. But to return to *Egypt*, *Germanicus* entring once into *Alexandria*, onely to see the *Antiquities* of it, and returne; stirred such suspicions & distractions in the jealous head of *Tiberius*, that hee spared not sharpely to rebuke him for it. *Vespasian* also being by the *Syrian Legions* chosen Emperor, first assured himselfe of *Egypt*; as the key of the Sea and land, with a small power against a strong host, easily defended. This place he resolved to make his

his *Sanctuary*, if his designs succeeded not luckily. And to this place hee hastened, after the defeate of the *Vitellian* army: that so detaining the ordinary provision of victuals; hee might by famine compell the City of *Rome* to stand at his *devotiō*. The government of this *Province* was by *Augustus* alwaies committed to some one of the *Romane* Gentry; as lesse able, by reason of his low fortunes, to worke against the *Princes* safety neyther would he allow his *substitute* the glorious attributes of *Lieutenant*, *Legatus*
 K 2 *Vice*

*Vice-Roy, or Proprator. Cap-
taine or President of Egypt,*
was their highest Title:
their being even in *Titles*
no small motives to *Am-
bition.*

LXVI.

Augustus having by
these meanes reduced
both the *Citty* and *Provin-
ces*, under his absolute com-
mand: and being now de-
clining in strength, by rea-
son of a sodaine & violent
sicknesse; began to call
his wits to Council, how
to dispose of the *Estate* af-
ter

ter his decease. *Male-child*
he never had any. His
Daughter *Iulia* a woman
of immodest carriage, ne-
ver made further use of
her Fathers greatnesse,
than that she satisfied her
lusts with the grtater in-
solence. *Marcellus* his Si-
sters sonne, and *Iulias* hus-
band was a young man of
an ingeuuous disposition;
and seemingly capable of
the fortunes which atten-
ded for him. Him being
yet young, *Augustus* pre-
ferred to the *Pontificiall*
dignity, and *Edileship*;
yet once upon his sicknes,
he privately determined,

to choose a successor in the *Common-wealth*, rather than his owne family: & not to leave the Empire, unto *Marcellus*, whom he held unable to undergoe it; But to his companion in armes, *Agrippa*, a man daunted neither with adverse, nor altered with prosperous fortunes.

LXVII.

This *Marcellus* afterwards so stomacked, that hee beganne to grutch at *Agrippas* greatnes; and to beare a vigilant eye on his plots and actions. Contrary *Agrippa* unwilling to offend

offend him, under whose future government hee was in all likelyhood to end the rest of his daies; with much adoe obteyned leave to retire unto *Lesbos*; that so his absence eyther might allay, or remove the displeasure, conceived against him by the young *Prince*. An action full of wisdom & magnanimity. For though *Augustus* cheef end was, to discourtenance the popular dependancies of his *sonne*, by the favours heaped upon his servant: Yet did *Agrippa* know, that a Favorite ought to have so much

in him of the *Persian Religion*; as to worship the *Rising Sunne*, and that hee should resemble old *Ianus* with the two faces; with th'one looking on the *King Regnant*; with th'other, on the *Prince successive*.

LXVIII.

M Arcellus being dead, *Agrippa* returning married his Widdow; and on her begat two sonnes, *Caius* and *Lucius*, whose actions after ward afforded such variety for censure, that

that there was wanting neither much reaso to commend, nor little to reprove them. On these two, or at the least one of them, *Augustus* now growne aged, resolves to settle the estate, and if they failed, upon such others, as by the liberty of the Lawes, he might adopt: *Adoption*; in the estimation of the *Roman Lawes*, being indeed *an other nature*. Posterity whether it be *naturall*, or onely *legall*, is the best supporter of the *Armes Imperiall*, Such as both fortifies the Prince, and

and assures the subject. Yet
 this he did not without
 much reluctancy & a great
 cōflict in his mind. Some-
 times his thoughts sug-
 gested to him, that the de-
 signed *Successors* draw to
 them all the attendance,
 and respect, from the
Prince in possession: that
 they have alwaies a lin-
 gering desire, to be actual-
 ly seated in the *Throne*:
 That they suppose the
 life of the present *Prince*,
 too tedious; not caring
 by what means it were
 shortned: That sometime
 it is pernicious, yea e-
 ven to the appointed
 Successor himselfe also.

On the other side, his bet-
 ter thoughts prompted
 him to consider, in what a
 miserable distraction he
 should leave the *Empire*;
 if sodaine death should
 take from him an ability
 to nominate his heyre:
 The feare conceived in
 the whole *City*, at his last
 sicknes: that *Pyrrhus* of
Epirus, was of all hands
 condemned, for leaving
 his *Kingdome* to the shar-
 pest sword; That the *Com-
 mō-wealth* fallne into dif-
 sentions, could not be set-
 led againe without a la-
 mētable war, & a bloudy
 victory: That the people
 seeing him

' him and *childish*, would
 ' not only contemne him,
 ' but perhaps, endeavor to
 ' recover the old *liberty*;
 ' though with the ruine of
 ' the *State*: That it was
 ' the custome of *Tyrants*,
 ' to desire the eternizing
 ' of their deaths, by the
 ' downfall of their *Countries*.

LXIX.

His minde thus distra-
 ' cted and perplexed,
 ' at last he brake, in this mā-
 ' ner. ' Thou hast *Octavian*
 ' a Wolfe by the eares;
 ' which to hold still, or to
 ' let

' let goe, is alike dange-
 ' rous. Many inconveni-
 ' ences may ensue, if thou
 ' dost not declare thy *Suc-*
 ' cessor; More, if thou
 ' dost. The good of the
 ' *Republique*, consisteth in
 ' knowing the future *Prince*
 ' Thine owne welfare de-
 ' pendeth on the *conceale-*
 ' ment. The *Common good*
 ' is to be preferred before
 ' any *private*; Yet ought
 ' *Charity to begin at home*.
 ' No, *Octavian* no; As thou
 ' hast receiv'd, so shew thy
 ' selfe worthy of, the title
 ' of *Pater Patria*. Yea, and
 ' perhaps this designation
 ' may secure thine owne

Estate. For what will it
 profit the people, to
 contest with thee when
 they shall see a successor
 at hand, eyther of thine
 owne body, or thine own
 appointment, ready to
 take thy place, and re-
 venge thy wrongs?

LXX.

THus resolved, he a-
 dopteth *Caius* and
Lucius; desiring, though
 he made shew to the con-
 trary, they should be *Con-
 suls Elect*, and called
Princes of the Youth. Yet
 wisely fore-casting the dan-

gers incident to himselfe,
 if they should make their
 abode in *Rome*, he sendeth
 them with honourable
 charge, into the Provin-
 ces abroad: as well to ex-
 ercise them in *feates* of
Warre, as to take away all
 cause of faction in the
 Court, and sedition in the
 City. Which *mystery* of
State as it was anciently
 practised by most *Princes*,
 so at this day by the *Grand
 Seigneur*: who alwayes
 sendeth his eldest sonne
 unto *Amasia*, as Gover-
 nour thereof; from
 whence, till the death of
 his Father, he never retur-
 neth. In

In these journeyes dyed the 2. young *Princes*, a mishap which *Augustus* bare Nobly: neither banishing griefe, with a *Stoicall Apathy*; nor spending the time in womanish lamentations. having performed due rights to the dead, he adopted his Wives sonne *Tiberius*: A man for the conveniency and ripenes of his age, not *unfit*, in feates of *Armes* not *unexpert*; in humane learning not ignorant: but withall suspected to be cruelly given, and possessed with the hereditary pride of the *Claudian* family: A
strong

strong medley of vertuous and vicious qualities. *Tiberius* such was the will of his Father, to establish the succession, with more stayes than one, adopted *Germanicus*, his brother *Drusus* sonne; Then commanding over 8. Legions in *Germany*, which done, he speedeth to his charge in *Illyricum*: This man, *Augustus* appointed to be his heyre, as it was afterwards, & not improbability conjectured: neither in care to the State, nor in love to the party: but to win honour to himselfe, and to make the *Ro-*

man people, againe with for him; whē they should see that infinite disproportion in all royall and Kingly qualities, between the old and new *Emperors*. A fetch after imitated by *Tiberius*, in the adoption of *Caius Caligula*.

LXXI.

THe last (though not the least) helpe of the *Empires* establishment; was the long life and reigne of our *Augustus*: as having ruled the State 16. yeares before, and 44. yeares after his confirmation, in the *Soveraignty*; by

by the *Senate* and people. All the young men in the *City*, were borne after the first *Decennium*, of the *Monarchy*. Most of the old men during the *Civill* wars. Few had seene what was the ancient forme of *Government*; in the free *Commonwealth*; Many did not desire it. For at the present, enjoying peace both at home & abroad, & hearing what sad & tragical reports their fathers made of the former troubles and *proscriptions*: they contented themselves with the new government; as more esteeming a secure and

and happy *subiection*, than a dangerous and factious *liberty*. By which long time of *Empire*, and the policies already recited, besides many others, which I can neither learne by *Relations*, nor gather by presumptions; did *Augustus* so firmly settle the *Roman Monarchy*: that it continued many hundreds of yeares, immovable & vnaltered; though all his immediate successors were in a manner Monsters, incarnate diuels, and indeed any thing rather than men. *Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, Nero, Galba*
Otho,

Otho, and *Vitellius*, both by their owne *Tyrannies*, and their Bondmens extortion, would haue ruined any *Monarchy*, not founded by *Augustus*.

LXXII.

TO speake concerning the domestical affiures of this *Emperor*, is beyond my *Theme*. As either how farre he suffered himselfe to bee ordered, by his Wife *Livia*; or whether hee used variety of women, not so much to satisfie a disordinate appetite,
 as

as by so many women to
 fish out the secret de-
 signes of many men. Hee
 was too exact a States-
 man to be perfect in *Sol-
 diery*: and in all his wars,
 was prosperous by for-
 tune rather than by valor,
 or his *Captaines* valour,
 than his owne. The *Com-
 mon-wealth* which hee
 found weake and in *Rub-
 bish*; he left *Adamantine*,
 and invincible. In behavi-
 our he was affable, and
 gracious; in his discourse
 sentencious: to the good,
 of a most sweet dispositi-
 on; to the lewd and dis-
 honest, harsh and unplea-
 sant.

sant, *Friendship* he con-
 tracted with few, and that
 slowly; but to them,
 whom hee once loved,
 constant and bountifull to
 the last. Finally such a
 one he was, of whom I
 will only say what I find
 spoken of *Severus*. It
 had beene an ineffable
 benefit to the *Common-
 wealth of Rome*, if ey-
 ther he had never
 dyed, or never
 beene borne.

FINIS.

Novemb. 5. 1631.

Perlegi hunc Tractatum
 cui titulus est (An Essay
 of the Meanes and Coun-
 sailes). Vnâ cum Epistolâ
 Dedicatoriâ ad Thomam
 Levet. Ar. qui quidem liber
 continet folia 64. in quibus
 nihil reperio, bonis moribus
 aut sana Doctrina contra-
 rium, quo minus cum utili-
 tate Imprimatur, modo intra
 septem Menses proxime se-
 quentes typis mandetur.

GVILIEL. HAYVVOOD;
 Epis. Lond. Cap.
 domest.

21117