GEO ADDL MSS 32
2299

Sallust

Sect. V. Lucius Catiline was born of a noble family, he was a man of great strength of mind & of body, ~~but~~ of a bad & mean disposition. He was from his earliest age fond of intestine wars, of slaughter, of rapine, & of civil discord: & in these things he exercised his Youth. His constitution was patient ~~when~~ of fasting, of watching, & ~~body~~ ~~[illegible] weak will food, when he [illegible] & [illegible], he [illegible] was [illegible]~~ cold, more than is credible. He was of an audacious, deceitfull, & changeable ~~variable~~ turn of mind, & could pretend what was not & dissemble what was really he was greedy of what belongd to other & profuse of ~~what was his own~~ ~~[illegible] he had a~~ he had a comman of words but no judgement ~~[illegible]~~ He had an extensive

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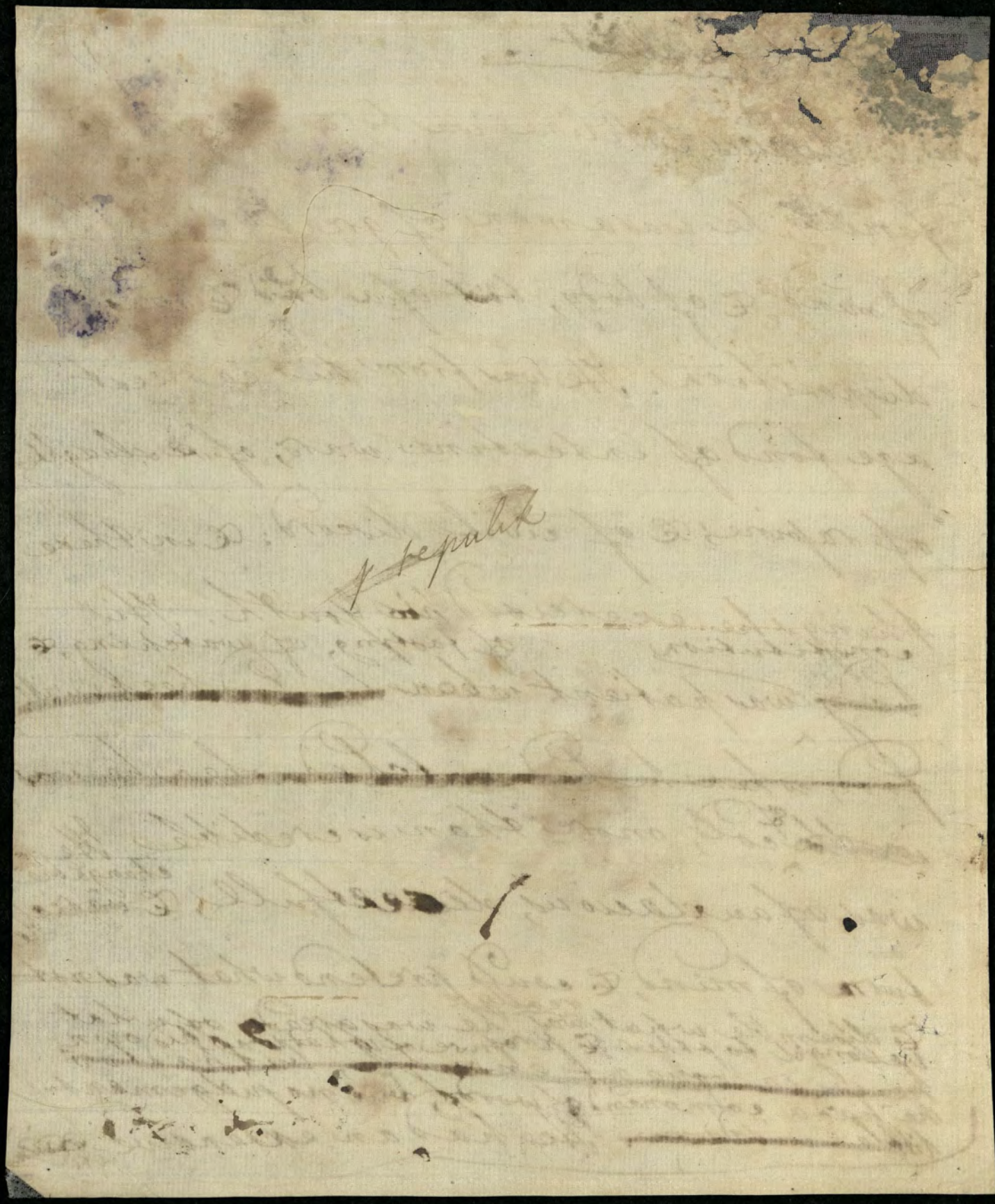

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GEO. ROYAL MSS 32 (2300)

After Lucius Sylla's ~~command~~ tyranny he was fire
with the desire of getting the command
over the Republick: neither ~~could he get~~ cared he
~~by any means~~, by what means, provided he got it.
~~whilst~~

His audacious mind was agitated more
& more every day by the want of money,
& by the consciousness of his wickedness:
both of which, ~~as I have said before~~, the word way I have mentioned
which created ~~encreased~~ ~~by hisarts~~: besides being
~~encouraged~~ by the corrupt manners
of the citizens, which were by luxury & avarice,
both of which are extreme bad & different
vices. The thing itself seemed to
because the times admonished the

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GEO ADD MSS 32 2301

manners of the citizens; we will go back, & in as few words as possible explain the institutes of our ancestors, how they behaved in peace & in war, in what manner they carried on the Republick, how great they left it: that we may see how it was changed, from the most beautiful & best, to the worst & most flagitious.

VI. I have heard, that Rome was built & inhabited, in the beginning, by the Trojans, who, Æneas being their leader, wandered about without having any intention to go to any particular place; & with these ~~from the beginning~~ the Natives a kind of ~~country~~ wild people, without

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had in vain offerd.

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GEO ADDL MSS 32 (2302)

laws, without government ~~recommended~~, free & unaccountable

These after that they lived together in one city they were the ~~the~~ of different nations, of different languages, living all after different customs, it is hardly to be believed, how torn and how easily they united.

XX. Unless I had been sure of Your courage & fidelity; ~~least we had slipt~~ this opportunity; The great hope of having the government in our own hands would have been in vain: ~~if~~ least you cowardice, or levity, I had ~~thought~~ through ~~ignorance~~, ~~or a false judgement~~, & had taken uncertain things for ~~certain~~ certain. But, because I know upon many & great ~~dangers~~ occasions that you are brave men, & faithful to me; ~~that your~~ my minds ~~dare do~~ is encouraged

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GEO MAIL MSS 32 (1303)

undertake this greatest & most ~~beautiful~~ desirable act; and because I have found from you separately that you wish the same as I do. For to wish the same & to be against the same that is the strongest bond of friendship. ~~But~~ But ~~I being agitated by~~ to what I have found in my mind, ~~which~~ I have told you all separately. Wherein my mind ~~was~~ is every day more & more agitated, when I consider, ~~how~~ what our condition of life will be, unless we assert our own liberty. For after the Republick fell into the hands of a few, powerful men ~~always there~~ kings and Princes have been tributary, ~~chiefs~~ ~~make the~~ people, & the nations pay them ~~taxes~~: all the rest ~~are~~ ~~a herd~~ altho' stout, good, noble & ignoble whether or have been look'd upon as the rabble, without favour or authority.

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GEO ADDL MSS 32
2304

Therefore they have the all favor, power, honor, & riches
or else wherever they have a mind: they to place them
have left us dangers, reputes, judgements,
& poverty. How long will great men will
you bear it? Had not you rather die
~~through vator~~ bravely, than ~~to~~ lead so miserable,
& dishonest a life, in which you are
the pride & sport of others?

XXI. But indeed, I call Gods & men to witness! the Victory
is in our hands. We are in the vigor of
our age & understanding. On the contrary
they are old in years & enfeebled by luxury
& extravagance. We need only make a beginning:
the rest will follow of course. For what
mortal, who has the spirit of a man, can

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GEO. ADDL. MSS 32 (2305)

bear, to see them roll in riches, which they squander away in buildings upon the Sea, & in levelling mountains, whilst we are in want of the common necessities of life? They lay two or more houses together; whilst we have no place we can call our own? whilst they are buying pictures, Statues, & chased plate, they pull down their new houses & build up others; & lastly whilst they waste, & squander their money in all kinds of pleasures extravagance; yet with all their pleasure & luxury they cannot exhaust it. But as for us, we are in want at home & in debt abroad: our affairs are very bad & our prospects much worse. Lastly what is left us, except a poor, dejected mind? But why don't You

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GEO ADDL MSS 22
2306

bestir Yourselves? Behold that, I say that liberty, which You have so often wished for, besides riches, honor, & glory, are placed before You. All these are proposed by fortune for the conqueror: The situation of affairs, the season, the danger, the want, & the magnificent spoils of war, will animate You more than my speech. You may either use me as Your commander, or as Your fellow Soldier, I will assist You, both in forming, & in executing Your designs. But, I hope we shall treat together of these matters, when I am Consul: Unless I am deceived in You, & that you prefer slavery to command.

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GEO ADDL MSS 32 (230)

XXIV. But Quintus Curius was in this conspiracy, he was born of an ancient family, covered up in flagitiousness & in all other crimes: whom the Censors removed out of the Senate. There was not was not less vanity in this man than audaciousness. he could not be silent about what he had heard, nor could he hide his own wickedness; neither could he ~~altogether~~ in the least what he said, or did ~~do say nor do what he had already promised~~. There was with him one Fulvia a noble woman, with whom he had for a long time criminal conversations; with whom when he had less favor, because he was not in a situation to give her so much money, on a sudden he

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GEO ADDL MSS 32 (2308)

began to talk big, to promise her ears & mountains, sometimes to threaten her that he would kill her if she did not give way to his passion: lastly he grew more ~~furious~~ furious, than he had been accustom'd to be. But Fulvia knowing the reason why ~~he~~ Curius was so insolent, did not think fit to conceal a danger ~~which~~ of so much importance to the safety of the Republick; but sinking her author, she told to many, whatever she had heard of Catiline's conspiracy. The consideration of this danger first engaged the inclinations of all to choose M. Tullius Cicero, Consul. For before, the greatest part of the nobility being fired with envy, & thought it as it were polluting the Consulship if ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible]

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GEN ADDL MSS 32 (2309)

to let a man whose parents had never had any office of dignity, altho' he was an excellent man, be Consul. But as soon as there was any danger, hatred & pride as it were fled away.

XXVI. But among these was Sempronia, who had often committed many ~~merely~~ masculine audacious actions. This Woman was of a noble family & very beautifull, besides she was very fortunate in having ~~a~~ a good husband & good children: she was learned in the Greek & Latin languages; she sang & danced more elegantly than was necessary for an honest woman: & she was well versed in many other things which are the instruments of luxury. But all these things were

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more agreable to her that what ~~is becoming~~ & than Modesty. It is difficult to say whether she was more lavish of her money or of her reputation; she was so fired with lust, that she oftener asked than was asked by men. But besides these things, she often broke her word, she forswore ~~her belief~~ ~~she knew of many murders~~ and betrayed what she knew, ~~she was acquainted with the~~ trust. She was very clever: she could make verses, she could put about ~~the~~ joke; she could express herself either modestly, or ~~scoffingly~~ tenderly, or satirically, or ~~obscenely~~. Lastly she was very facetious, & very entertaining. ~~funny~~.

XXXIV. Whilst these things were done at Rome, Caius Manlius sent some of his Lieutenants to L. Marcius Rex, with this speech:

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GEO ADDC MSS 32 (2311)

O. General

~~That we~~ call the Good & men to witness,

~~that neither we nor our companions have~~ that we have not

taken up arms against our country, nor

~~that we don't~~ intend ~~to make any hurt~~ any hurt or danger to

any;

but only to keep ourselves safe from injuries

who being miserable & in want, by the violence & cruelty

of ~~bailiffs men~~ usurers, we are void of ~~either~~ most of us ~~that ~~

~~which~~ ~~necessary~~ ~~allow~~ ~~food~~, & all of

us are without reputation or fortune:

neither has any one of us been able to enjoy

as usual, the benefit of the law, nor having

lost our wealth, to have our persons free:

so great has been the cruelty of the usurers

& Praetors. Our ancestors have often taken

pity of the Roman people, & by their

decrees have afforded them relief: &

very lately within our own memories

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GEO. ADDL. MSS. 32 (2312)

on account of the greatness of their debts,
& all good men wishing it, they compound
& paid five shillings in the pounds. These
same People have often been moved
either by the desire of governing, or by the
pride of the magistrates, to leave the
Fathers. But we neither desire command
nor riches; which have always been
the causes of war & of strifes among
men; but liberty, which no good man
can loose, unless with his life. We beseech
You & the Senate that You will take
into Your consideration the case of
us miserable Citizens; that You will
restore the protection of the laws,
which the wickedness of the Prætors
has taken away; nor lay us under
the necessity, of seeking to loose our lives
in way the most expensive to those who have
the our blood.

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GEO MAGL MSS 32 (2313)

~~XXV~~ V. To which L. Marcius answered: That if they had any thing to ask of the Senate, they should lay down their arms & go in a supplicant manner to Rome: that the gentleness & pity of the Senate & of the Roman people had always been so great, that nobody ever begg'd a petitane ~~of them in vain~~ ~~Cat. Catiline~~ ~~yet he was one~~ of them in vain. But Catiline when he was on his journey ~~wrote~~ sent letters to most of those who were of Consular dignity & besides to most of the men of worth: That he, was surrounded by his enemies whose factions he could not resist, that they alledged false crimes against him; that he must give way to his fortune; that he was going to retire to Marsilia: not that he was conscious of any crime; but for the sake of leaving the Republick quiet, & least by sedition should arise on his account.

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in the Senate

Q. Catulus read ~~very different~~ letters of a very different import; which he said were put in his hands from Catiline. Of which this is a copy.

XXXVII. L. Catiline sends health to Q. Catulus.

The excellence of your fidelity ~~to me~~ which I have experimentally ~~to me~~ ~~been~~ known, is very agreable to me, & adds courage to this address.

Wherefore I had not ~~[illegible]~~ thoughts of preparing my defence ~~[illegible]~~ the new measure which I am taking. I have declared my innocence ~~[illegible]~~ which you may depend upon not ~~being [illegible] of any fault. [illegible]~~ from any consciousness of guilt, being ~~[illegible]~~ provoked by ~~the~~ injuries & ~~[illegible]~~ contumelies ~~because~~ ~~the~~ & deprived of the fruits of my labors & industry, I have not obtained ~~[illegible]~~ the dignity, ~~I have [illegible]~~ which I sued for. I have now agreably to my constant practice, undertaken the common cause of the miserable

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Not that I am not able to pay my own debts, for by the liberality of Orestilla & of her daughter, I can discharge the debts of those who have made in my name

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GB ABDN MSS 22 (2314)

~~Not that~~ ~~my own debts, which I have to~~
~~but, I cannot pay the debts of others which~~
Not that I am not able to pay my own debts
have been made under my name; which
have been ~~paid~~ paid & at the expence
~~feed for~~ by the liberality of
Orestilla & of her daughter; but, because I saw
unworthy men enjoying the most honorable
places, & found myself falsely suspected: for this
reason I have pursued ~~reasons~~ methods sufficiently
reasonable in my case for preserving the little
I would write more to You, but I am told
remains of dignity I have left. I would write more
to You, but I am ~~told~~ they are preparing to take
~~I must prepare~~ ~~take~~ me by force. I now recommend
Orestilla to Your care, & deliver her up
to Your fidelity. I entreat You by the
love You have for Your children, to
defend her ~~for~~ from any injuries. Farewell.

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REC ADDL MSS 32 (2315)

But Cæsar when it came to his turn to be asked his opinion by the Consul, spoke to this effect.

I B! Conscript Fathers, all men who are to give their opinion upon doubtful things, ought to do it without either hatred, friendship, anger, or pity. The mind with difficulty discerns truth where any of these passions obstruct, nor has any one at the same time obeyed any unreasonable passion & real utility at the same time. When you honestly imploy your judgement it will do its office: if any unreasonable passion Lords it over you, your reason will be quite useless: I could produce

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GEO ADDL MSS (2316) 32

numberless instances of Kings & nations
who have acted ~~[illegible]~~ wrongly, because
they have been biassed ~~by~~ either by anger or by
pity: but I had rather enumerate the
instances where our ancestors acted rightly
& regularly against the passions of
their own mind. In the Macedonian
War which we carried on against King
Perseus, the City of Rhodes, which had
grown great & magnificent by the help
of the Roman People, proved unfaithful
& an enemy to us: but after the war
was finish'd, ~~when~~ it was consulted what
was to be done to them, our ancestors dismiss'd
them unpunish'd, ~~because~~ for fear it might be objected that they had begun
the war ~~not~~ for the sake of acquiring

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GEO ADDL MSS 32
(2317)

riches, ~~but because they had receive an~~ instead of revenging the
injury they had received. Also in all the Punick wars,
when the Carthagineans had ~~[illegible]~~ acted
~~[illegible]~~ deceitfully both in peace & when there
was a truce, they would never do so altho'
they could: they rather sought what was
worthy of them, than what they could
justly do. O Conscript Fathers the same thing
is to be provide by You, least the
wickedness of P. Lentulus & of the rest
should prevail with You more than Your
own dignity; least you should consult
rather Your anger ~~rather~~ than Your
reputation. For if punishment worthy of their crime could
be found, I would approve of it: but as
the greatness of their wickedness surpass

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ARO ADDL MSS 32 (2318)

all invention of punishment: It is my opinion that they should be used as the laws direct. Most of those who have spoken before me, have pitied in an elegant & pathetick manner the state in which the Republick now: they have enumerated the many cruelties of war, what number of slaughters, the deflouring of virgins & of boys: the taking away children from the embraces of their parents, mothers suffering for their families, whatever pleased the conquerors; the robbing of Temples & of Houses, slaughter; burnings lastly all places filled with dead bodies,

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with blood, & with bewailing. But by the
Immortal Gods, what does these speac
mean? was it to intenc you against these
~~[illegible]~~ conspiracy? truly, ~~[illegible]~~ can a speech
~~make~~ move You, when so great & so atrocious
an action did not move You? It is
~~not so: neither are [illegible] the injuries you~~
~~[illegible] seem so small [illegible]~~
not so: nor do the injuries any one
receive seem so small: oftentimes
much greater than they really are.
But O! Conscript Fathers greater
allowances are made to some than
to others, those who pass their lives
in an obscure & low way, if they commit
an fault through anger, few know it;
their reputation & fortune is alike to them

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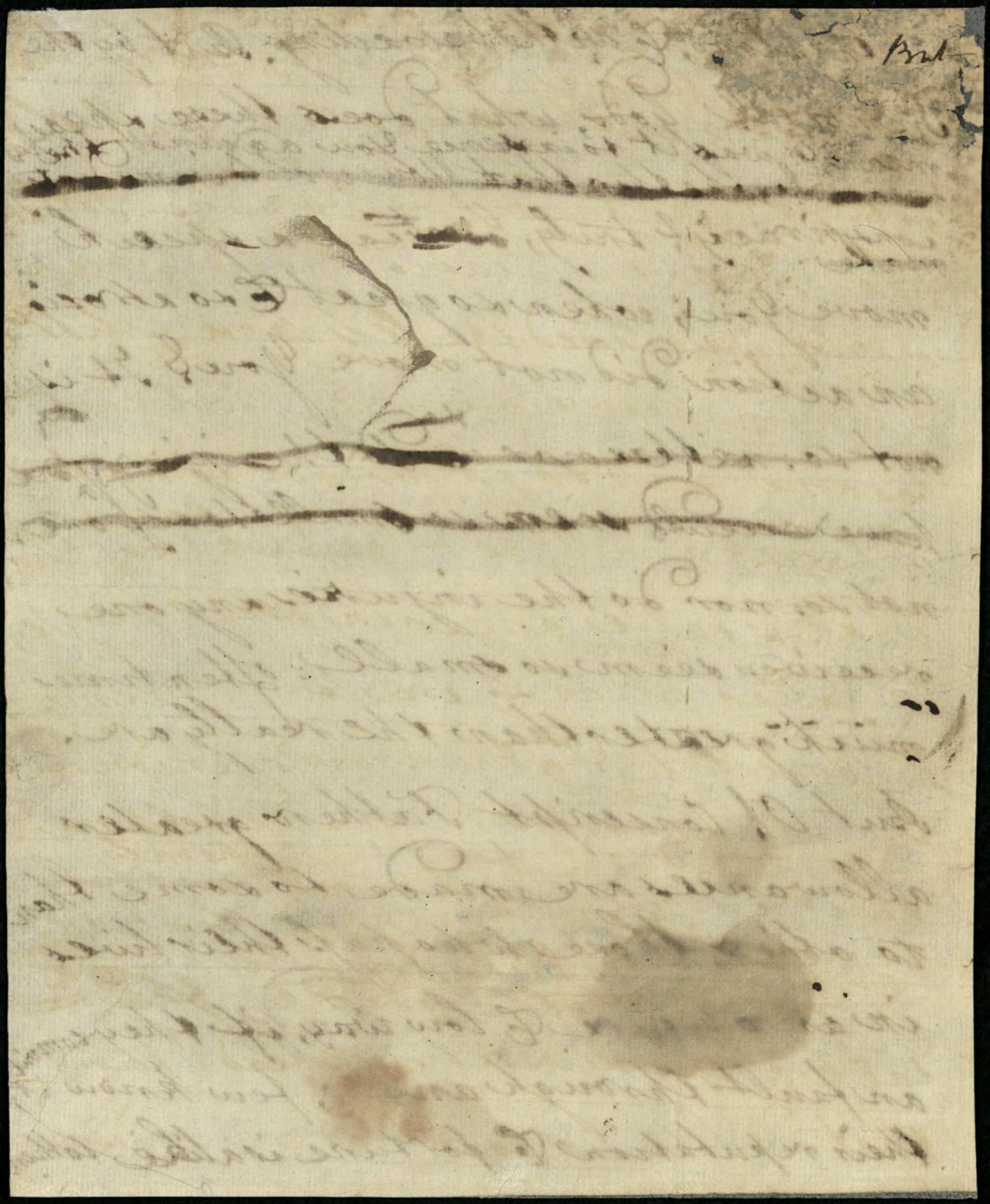

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GEO ADDL MSS. 32 (2320)

those who are invested with great commands are placed before the eyes of all, & all their actions are known by every one. So that the higher the station is in which a man is placed the less room is left him for licentiousness. Nor does it become him to favor nor to hate but least of all to be influenced by passion. what is called anger in other people, is called pride & cruelty in them.

O! Conscript Fathers my opinion is that all kinds of punishment are less than their crime, but most people remember what is done last, & with regard to wicked men they will forget the crime, & will talk of the severity. Indeed I know that D. Silanus is a brave & good man,

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GEO. MAOL MSS 32 (2321) 24

& that what he said proceeded from his love & attachament to his country, nor that he was not biased either by favor or by hatred. I know his manners & moderation to be such. Indeed his opinion did not seem cruel to me, for what can be cruel to such men? but contrary to the laws of our republick. For truly O! Silanus either fear or some injury forced you, who are designed to be our next Consul, to decree this new kind of punishment. It is superfluous to speak about fear, since as by the diligence of our most worthy Consul there are guards placed all around us

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GEO. ADDL. MSS 32
2322

In regard to punishment, I can say what is the true state of the case; in grief & misery, death is a respite, not a torment; it removes all our cares; beyond that, there is no room for care, nor for joy. But, by the Immortal Gods, wherefore did you not make it a part of your opinion, to have them scourged? was it because the Dorian law forbids it? but other laws, don't give leave that citizens should have their lives taken away, but they may be exiled. Was it because scourging is more grevous than death? but what is cruel, or too grievous against men who are convicted of so great a crime?

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GEO ADDL MSS 32 (2323)

~~but, or a lighter~~;
but was it because it was a lighter punishment? where is the consistency to observe the law in a lesser, & broke it in a greater instance? for who will blame what is decreed against the destroyers of their own country? ~~the~~ Times, some particular juncture, fortune, who at her humor governs Kingdoms. Whatever happens to them will happen as they deserve: O! Conscript Fathers, whatever You decree against them, let it be done considerately. All bad examples arise from domestick examples: but when the command is in the hands of the bad, or of the less good; this new

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example is transfered from worthy, & fit persons, to unworthy, & unfit persons.

LI. The Lacedemonians, having conquered the Athenians, gave the government of it to thirty men, who were to manage the Republick. They at first began to punish the worst of men unconderme those who were generally hated which the people rejoiced, & said that they had done rightly. Afterwards, when licentiousness begun to grow by degrees, they wantonly killed the good & bad alike, & terrified the rest. So the state, being oppressed by slavery, they suffered great punishment for their foolish joy.

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GEO. ADD. MSS 32 (2325)

In our memories Sylla the conqueror, when he commanded Damasippus & the rest who had enriched themselves at the expence of the Republick, to be strangled; who did not praise this action? & they said that wicked & factious men, who stir up seditions in the Republick, are deservedly punished by death. But this affair was the beginning of a great slaughter. For whoever coveted another house, or villa, lastly even another plate or cloaths, took pains to have him put among the proscribed. So they, who were rejoiced at Damasippus's death, a little after those very men were dragged to punishment, nor was there an end put to this

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GRC MOOL MSS 32. (2-32b)

slaughter, till Sylla had enriched his partizans.
All this
~~But~~ I don't fear this in M. Tully, nor in these times. ~~But~~ Yet in a great City, there are many people & of very different disposition. It may happen at another time & when there is another Consul, who may have an army in his power, who may believe something that is false is true. ~~The Consul has only drawn~~ ~~Who by this example~~ When the Consul shall have once drawn his ~~of the decree of the Senate~~ sword, by this example & by the decree of the Senate; who shall stop it or who shall govern it?

LII. O! Conscript Fathers our Ancestors never wanted either counsel, or audaciousness: nor did pride hinder them from imitating the laws & customs of other nations provided they were just & honest.

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