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MACHIAVELS
DISCOURSES.

upon the first Decade
of *T. Livius* translated
out of the *Italian*;

With some marginall *ani-*
madversions noting and
taxing his errors.

By *E. D.*



LONDON

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and at the Rainbow neere
the Inner Temple.

1636.

TO
THE MOST
Noble and Illustri-
ous, JAMES Duke of
Lenox, Earle of March, Bar-
on of Settrington, Darnly, Ter-
banten, and Methuen, Lord
great Chamberlaine and Ad-
mirall of Scotland, Knight of the
most noble order of the Garter,
and one of his Majesties most
honourable Privy Coun-
cell in both King-
domes.

I Offer here to
your Graces pa-
tronage my best
endeavours, dis-
covering at large their
imperfections, in what I
A 3 can

The Epistle

can claime mine in this worke. For vvhich how- ever I may have incurr'd the blame of some, as un- able to doe the Authour, I have undertaken, his full right, but rather by my rude stile wronging his originall lustre, yet perhaps, with others more moderat, I may find favour and good accep- tanc, aswel for my choice of the Author, whose worth will somewhat beare me out, as because I have contributed here- unto what I ought, which
can

Dedicatory.

can bee no more then what I could. Mine Au- thour was a Florentine, whose nationall attribute among the Italians is sub- tility, and whose particu- lar eminence in cunning hath styld the most cun- ning, as his Sectaries, *Ma- cchiavillians*. Nor hath this workman taken in hand a worke unproper for his skill, being the discovery of the first foundations, and analyzing of the ve- ry grounds, upon which the Romane Common- wealth was built, and af- terwards rose to such glo-

The Epistle

ry and power, that neither before nor after all the ages of the world ever afforded the like example.

This booke I concei'd, I might not unfitly present your Grace with, as unto whose service I owe my selfe and what I can, and whom as well for neerenesse of bloud, as affection and favour, his Sacred Majestie may most probably imploy in this our ship of State neare the helme; to the end it may in some part

Dedicatory

part serve for your experience, as a good sea card, whereby you may become able and expert, as well in the entrances and passages into all creekes and harbours of quiet, as in the discovery and avoidance of all rocks and shelues; for as at sea it is alwayes seene, that in a stormy and tempestuous time, the master dares not trust the rudder in the hand of others then such, as are the best approved and experienced Marriners, so in all States we

The Epistle

we finde, that however in time of peace and quiet, allyance, bloud, and favour have a maine stroke in matter of preferments and employments too, yet when the times grow perplex'd with perills and difficulties, true worth and experience are sought after, and then of value. No climate is so benigne, as to afford a perpetuall calme, and therefore your Grace may doe well to inable your selfe for the service of your Prince
and

Dedicatory.

and Country, that being cald for into the steerage in turbulent times, not favour onely may give you a place there, but use find you necessary, wherunto if I could contribute a poore mite, I had done enough.

Notwithstanding however my Author in what he hath done well, hath farre excell'd others, yet is he not without his blemishes and errours too; which, as well as I was able to discover them, I have markt, and thereunto

The Epistle, &c.

to added some observations taxing (as I thinke) all his notorious errors in this booke. Wherein I may have committed faults too, which you may be pleasd to passe over, as no strange thing, but accept rather the duty of

Your Graces

humblest servant

EDWARD DACRES.

A

The Table.

A Table of the arguments of each severall Chapter.

WHAT were in general the beginnings of every city, and especially that of Rome. Chap. 1.

How many kindes of Commonwealthes there are, and what was that of Rome. Chap. 2.

Vpon what occasions the Tribunes of the people were created in Rome whereby the Commonwealth became more perfect. Chap. 3.

That the disagreement of the Senate and people of Rome made the Commonwealth both free and mighty. Chap. 4.

Whether the people or the Nobility are the better guardians of liberty.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Romans Religion.

THough Romulus were Rome first founder, and hee was to acquire knowledge from him her birth and bringing up; notwithstanding the heavens judging, that Romulus his lawes were not sufficient for such an Empire, put it into the Romane Senates mindes to elect Numa Pompilius to succeed Romulus, that what he left unfinished, the other might supply. Who finding a very fierce people, and being desirous to reduce them into civill obedience by peaceable wayes, applyed himselfe to Religion, as a thing wholly necessary to preserve civility, and obtain'd it in such a sort, that for many ages, there was not such a feare of God, as in that Commonwealth. Which facilitated much any enterprize whatsoever, eyther the Senate, or those brave Romane courages did undertake. And whosoever shall discourse of the innumerable actions of the people of Rome jointly, and of many of the Romans by themselves in severall, shall perceave that those Citizens fear'd more to break an oath, than the lawes; as they that

made more account of the power of God, than of man; as it appeares manifestly, by the examples of Scipio and Manlius Torquatus: for after that Anniball had given the Romans an overthrow at Cannæ, many Citizens assembled together and being affrighted, resolv'd to quit the country and goe into Sicily: which Scipio understanding, went and found them out, and with his sword drawn in his hand, compelled them to sweare, they would never forsake their native countrie. Lucius Manlius, that was afterwards call'd Torquatus, was accus'd by Marcus Pomponius Tribune of the people, and before the judgement day came, Titus went to find Marcus, and threatening to kill him, if he swore not to take the accusation off from his father, bound him by his oath: and hee though by feare compell'd to sweare, yetooke the accusation off: and so those Citizens, whom neyther the love to their countrie, nor the lawes thereof could reteine in Italy, were kept by force of an oath, they were constrained to take: and that Tribune layd aside the hatred he bore to the father, the injury he receiv'd of the sonne, and his owne reputation, to keepe the oath heooke: which proceeded of nothing else, but the Religion Numa brought in among them. And it is manifest, if a man consider well the Romane histories

ries of, how much avayle their Religion was for the commanding of armies, to reconcile the common people, to preserve good men, and to thame the lewd. So that, if we were to dispute, to whether Prince Rome were more oblig'd, *Romulus* or *Numa*; I beleve *Numa* would be prefer'd; for where Religion is, military discipline is easily brought in; and where they are already warlike, and have no Religion, this hardly follows. And it is plaine, that *Romulus* to order the Senate, and frame certaine other civill and military ordinances, had no need of the authoritie of a God, which to *Numa* was necessarie, who feign'd to have familiar conversation with a Nymph, who instructed him wherewith continually to advise the people, and all sprung from this, because he desiring to settle new orders and unaccustomed in that City doubted that his owne authority was not of full force. And truly never was there yet any maker of extraordinary lawes in a nation, that had not his recourse to God, for otherwise the lawes had not bin accepted. For many severall goods are knowne by a wiseman, which have not such evident reasons in themselves, that he by perswasion can quickly make others conceive them. Therefore the wise men, that would free themselves of this difficulty, have recourse to a God.

God: so did *Licurgus*, so *Solon*, so many others whose designe was the same with theirs. Thereupon the people of Rome admiring his goodnesse and wisdome, yeelded to all his purposes. But it is true, because those times were then full of Religion; and those men rude and grosse, on whom hee spent his labours, this much facilitated his designs, being thereby able to mould them into any new forme. And without question, if any one in these dayes, should frame a Republique, he should find it easier to deale with rude mountaineers, who had never knowne any civility, than with those, who had bin accustomed to live in Cities, where the government is corrupted: and a carver will cut a faire statue out of a rough marble, than out of one that hath bene bungl'd upon by another. Therefore having well considered all, I conclude, that the Religion introduced by *Numa*, was one of the principal occasions of that cities happinesse; that caus'd good orders, good orders brought good fortune, and from their good fortunes grew all the happy successes of their enterprises, and as the observance of divine worshipping occasions the greatnesse of a Commonwealth; so the contempt of it destroyes it. For where the feare of God is wanting, it must needs be that either that Kingdome

dome goes to ruine, or that it be supported by the awe it stands in of the Prince, who may supply the defects of Religion: and because Princes are but short liv'd, that Kingdome must needs have an end quickly, according as the vertue thereof fayles: from whence it comes, that governments, which depend upon the vertue of one man, abide but a while, because that vertue ends with his life, and it seldome chances that it is renew'd by succession, as well sayes the Poet *Dante*.

*Rade volte discende per li rami
Lhumana probitate
& questo vuole,
Quel che la da per-
che da lui si chiami*

Vertues continue fel-
dome by descent.
And this to shew
their spring the gi-
ver men
And that his gifts be
term'd, and by him
sent

Therefore the safety of a common-wealth or kingdome consists not wholly in a Prince, that governes wisely while he lives, but in one that so orders it, that he dying, it can preserve it selfe. And although it be easier to worke rude and untaught people, to a new course and frame, yet argues it not therefore an impossibility, to prevaile with men that have liv'd in a civill government, and presume somewhat to understand them-
selfe

ves. The Florentines thinke not themselves either ignorant or rude, yet were they perswaded by Frier *Ierom Sarnarola*, that he talked with *GOD*. will not judge, whether it were true or not, because we ought not to speake of such a great personage, but with reverence. But truly I say, that very many believ'd him, not having seene any great matter to perswade them thereto: for his life, doctrine, and the subject, he spake, were sufficient to make them credit him. Wherefore let no man be discouraged, as if he could not reach, to that another hath heretofore attained; for men as we said in our preface, were borne, liv'd and dyed, under the same laws of nature.

CHAP. XII:

Of what importance it is to hold a worthy esteeme of Religion, and that Italy, for having fail'd therein, by meanes of the Church of Rome, hath gone to wracke.

Those Princes or those Republ: which would keepe themselves from ruine, are above all other things

things, to preserve the ceremonies of their Religion incorrupted, and maintaine it alwayes venerable. For there is no greater signe of a countries going to destruction, then to see in it the contempt of divine worship. And this is easy to be understood, it being once knowne, upon what ground the Religion is built where a man is borne. For every Religion hath the foundation of its being upon some principall thing. The life of the Gentiles Religion subsisted upon the answers of the oracles, and upon the sect of the conjectures and southsayers: all the other ceremonies, sacrifices, and rites depended on these. Because they easily beleev'd, that God, that could foretell thee thy future good or evill, could also send thee. From hence came the temples, the sacrifices and supplications, and all other ceremonies in their veneration: for the Oracle of Delos, the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and other famous oracles held the world in devotion and admiration. As they afterwards began to speake in imperious manner, and their falshood was discover'd among the people, men began to be incredulous, and apt to disturbe all good orders. Therefore the Princes of a Republ: or Kingdom should maintaine the grounds of the Religion they hold; and this being done, they shall easily keepe their

Common-

Commonwealth religious, and consequently vertuous and united. They might also to favour & increase all those things that advantage it, howsoever they thinke them false, and therefore should they be wiser than the wisest, they are and understand the causes of all things. And because this world hath bin taught by many wise men, hence grew the opinion of miracles which are celebrated even in the Religions, for the men augment in what beginning soever they are, and their authority afterwards gives them credit. Of these oracles there was a great quantity at Rome: and among these there was one; the Roman souldiers sacrificing the venientes, some of them went into the temple

of

Ammiratus taxes him, saying it was rather the opinion of a cunning & crafty man, then of one that had either any religion or morality in him, whose plaine and simple conditions, ought to be free from all fraud and falshood, and howsoever the Romans were deceiv'd herein, which cannot be deny'd, yet without doubt they never did this, thinking to deceive themselves or with intention to deceive others. Thus *Ammi.* And indeed it favours of Atheisme, bringing the mistress to serve the handmaid.

of Juno, and coming to her image ask'd her, wilt thou go to Rome? some thought, she nodded, another thought, she said yes. For those men being very religious (which *T. Livius* shewes, for their entry into the Temple was without tumult) all devout and full of reverence, imagined they heard that answer, which peradventure they presuppos'd before hand would be made them; this opinion & believe was altogether favour'd & augmented by *Camillus* and the other principall men of the city. Which Religion if it were maintained among the Princes of the Christian Republ: according as by the institution there of it was ordain'd, Christian states and Republ: would farre more in unity, and enjoy happinesse farre, then now they do:

maid religion to serve policy, as the seasons of the yeare ought to commodate themselves to men, rather then men to commodate themselves to the seasons; not considering that Religion propounds to *mana* further then policy profit at. A Prince therefore should be ware of such will devices, believing constantly that the true Religion hath no need of helpe from any strength lyes.

es any thing give us so shewd a con-
 fecture of the declining of it, as to see,
 at those people that are neereft neigh-
 ours to the Church of Rome, head
 our Religion, are the most irreligious.
 and whotoever would well consider the
 originall grounds thereof, and looke
 on the present use how much this
 differs from those, without question
 would judge the ruine or scourge
 thereof were neare at hand. And be-
 cause some are of opinion, that the
 welfare of Italy depends upon the
 Church of Rome, yet the contrary might
 rather be proved, considering those that
 in the very Church of Rome observe
 not the precepts they ought, but ra-
 ther adulterate the holy and catholike
 ordinances which were wont to be kept.
 Moreover this comes to passe, because
 the Church hath alwayes held, and still
 holds this country divided: and truly
 never was any Province either united or
 happy, unless it were wholly reduc'd to
 the obedience of one Commonwealth
 or Prince, as it befell France and
 Spaine. And the cause that Italy is not
 in the same termes, nor hath not one
 Republ: or one Prince to governe it,
 is only the Church; for having inhabi-
 ted there and held the temporall govern-
 ment, it hath never bin so potent, nor
 of such prowesse, that it could get the
 best of Italy into its hands, and be-
 come

come Lords thereof. And on the other side, it was never so weak, that for feare of loosing the temporall dominion it could not call in a powerfull friend to defend it against him, that were growne too puissant in Italy; as anciently it hath bin seene by sundry experiences, when by meanes of Charles the Great, it drove out the Lombards who had, as it were, the absolute power of all Italy; and when in our days it tooke the Venetians power from them by the Frenchmens ayd, and afterwards chased away the French by helpe of the Swisses. Therefore the Church being not powerfull to subdue all Italy it selfe, nor yet suffering any other to master it; hath bin the cause, that it could never be brought to have but one head: but hath alwayes bin under more Princes and Lords wherupon is growne such a disunion, and so much weaknesse, that Italy hath bin made a prey not only of powerfull Barbarians but of any the next assylant. For which we other Italians are beholding to the Church and none else. And whosoever would readily see the truth by certaine experience, it were needfull he were of such power, as to send the Court of Rome, with the authority it hath in Italy, to dwell in the Switzers country who at this day are the only people that live, for their religion and milita-

discipline, as their ancestors did: and should find that in a short time the ill orders and customes of that court would need more disorder in that country; than by accident else could, that should engrow there.

CHAP. XIII.

In what manner the Romans avayl'd themselves of their Religion, in ordering the civitie, in undertaking their designs, and in stopping of tumults.

Thinke it not out of purpose, to bring some example, wherein the Romanes serv'd themselves of their Religion for the reordering of their civities and the following of their enterprises. And though many there are in *Livyus*, yet I will content my selfe with these. The people of Rome having taken their Tribuns of Consular power, and except one, all Plebeyans, and calling out that yeare, that there was plence and famine, and certaine other prodigies, the nobilitie of Rome took hold of this occasion, at the Tribunes new creation, to say that

that Gods were angry, because Rome had abus'd the Majestic of their Empire, and that they had no other means to appease them, then to reduce the election of the Tribuns to the former course. Whence it came, that the people, frightened by this superstition made the Tribuns all of the nobility. The law was also in their conquest of the Veientes Citie, that the commanders of their armies did serve themselves of the Religion, to keepe them in heart for enterprise: for that yeare the Alban-lake being miraculously sweld, and the Roman souldiers wearyed of the long siege, and intending to returne to Rome, the Romanes found, that *Apollo* and certaine other Oracles told them, that the yeare the Veientes Citie should be taken, that the water of the Alban-lake should be powr'd out: which thing made the souldiers endure the tediousness of the warre and the siege, perswaded by the hope they had to take the towne, and were contented to continue the enterprise, so that *Camillus* being made Dictator, subdued the Citie after six yeares siege. And so the accustomed Religion help'd well, both for the keeping in of that towne, and for the institution of the Tribunship to the Nobility, for without the ayde thereof the one or the other had hardly had their success. And this other exam

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ple also adde to this purpose. There was in Rome a great many tumults raised upon the occasion of *Terentillus* a Tribune, he desiring to make a law for the Tribunes, which hereafter we shall declare in their place. Among the first remedies which the Nobilitie serv'd themselves with was the Religion, whereof they made use two wayes: In the first, they made the Sibils bookes be searcht, and as it were to the Citie, that by means of civill discord, they should avoid the losse of their liberty that was: which thing, though the Tribunes had herein discover'd their subtlety, yet it so frightened the people, that it tooke off their eagernes in the pursuit. The other way was, that when *Publius Herdonius* with a great number of outlawes, and slaves, neare upon a thousand men, having posses'd themselves by night of the Capitoll, so that it might be fear'd, that if the *Alban* or *Volsi* the Romins sworn enemies, had approacht the towne, they might have taken it: the Tribunes notwithstanding for all this to continue in their obstinacie, and to enact the law made by *Terentillus*, saying this assault upon theirs was feigned, and not true, one *Publius Valerius* a grave citizen, and of good authority went out of the Senate, and told them partly in friendly words, and partly in threatening, the

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Dangers

dangers in which the citie stood, and the unreasonableness of their demands, and thereby brought the people to swear, they would not forsake the Consuls command. Whereupon the people being return'd to obedience, recover'd the Capitoll by force. But the Consul *Publius Valerius* being slain in this conflict, there was forthwith another Consul made, one *Titus Quinctius*, who, to keepe the people from the necessity, and to give no space to the againe of *Ferentillus* his law, commanded them to goe forth of Rome against him against the *Volsci*, saying that the oath they had taken not to abandon the Consul, they were bound to follow him; whereunto the Tribuns opposed saying, that oath was made to the Consul now slaine, not to him. Yet *Livius* shewes that the people in necessity to their Religion, would obey the Consul than beleve the Tribuns, saying these words in favour of the auncient Religion: *Men did then adayes so little reverence to Gods, as now; nor people wrest their oaths, nor the lawes to their ends.* Whereby, the Tribuns don't then to loose their whole dignitie, agreed with the Consul to submit to obedience, and that for a whole year they would treat no more of *Ferentillus* his law, and the Consuls for a year

Nondum
hæc quæ
nunc tenet
seculum
negligen-
tia Deum
venerat,
nec inter-
p. etando
sibi quis-
que jusju-
randum et
leges ap-
tas facie-
bat.

did not draw the people out to warre; thus the Religion gave the Senate power to overcome that difficulty, without it, they could never have master'd.

CHAP. XIV.

Romans interpreted their necessities, as necessity requir'd, and with discretion made a shew to observe their Religion, yet upon occasion they neglected it; but if any did rashly contemne it, they punisht them.

The Southsayings were not onely (as before we have discours'd) for the most part, the ground of the Romans auncient Religion, but they also the occasions of the Romanes publique welfare. Whereupon the Romans had more regard of them, than any other order else, and made use of them in their Consular assemblies, in the ordering of their enterprises, in drawing forth their armies into the field, in the laying of pitch battells, and in any action of theirs of importance civill or military. Nor ever would they have undertaken any expedition,

till first they had perswaded the
 diers, the Gods had promis'd them
 victory. And among the other orders
 Southfayers, they had some in
 Armies, they call'd *Pollarij*.
 whensoever they intended to be
 battell with the enemy, they would
 have the *Pollarij* to make their con-
 jectures: and when the chickens pecked
 they went to fight with good Advantage
 and not pecking, they forbore to fight.
 Notwithstanding when reason
 something was to be done, those
 divinations were averse, yet were
 not scarr'd from it: but they turn'd
 it into good with such termes and
 so properly, that it appear'd, that
 it was not with any contempt of Religion.
 Which course was us'd once in a
 by *Papirius* the Consull, which was
 of great importance with the Samnites,
 after which they were much wor-
 broken. For *Papirius* encountering
 the Samnites, and perceiving a
 skirmish that the victory was sure,
 and hereupon to fight a full battell
 and therefore commanded the *Pollarij*
 they should make their conjectures
 the chickens not pecking, and the
 Southfayer seeing the forwardness
 army to fight, and the opinion of
 all and all the souldiers had of
 victory, that he might not take
 occasion of well doing from the

take to the Consull, that the
 Southfayers answer'd well, so that while
Papirius was ordering his squadrons,
 one of the *Pollarij* having told certain
 things, that the chickens had not
 pecked, they told it to *Spurius Papirius*
 the Consuls nephew, and he againe to
 the Consull, whereto he suddenly re-
 solv'd that he should take a care to per-
 form his owne duty well, and that for
 the life and the armes the conjectures
 were true; and if the Southfayer had
 pecked, it would turne to his owne
 damage, and that in effect it should suc-
 ceed according to his prognostication.
 He commanded the Livetenants to place
 the *Pollarij* in the forefront of the bat-
 tle. Whereupon it chanc'd that going
 to fight against their enemies, one of
 the Roman souldiers threw a dart, and
 kill'd, slew the principall South-
 fayer, which being come to the Con-
 sull, he said that all things went
 prosperously, and with the Gods fa-
 vour for the armie by the death of
 the Southfayer was purg'd of all crime, and
 free from the wrath conceiv'd against
 him. And thus by knowing how to
 accommodate his designs to the divina-
 tions, he chose to fight, the armie ne-
 ver receiving, that he had any whit
 neglected the rites of their Religion.
Pulcher went a contrary course
 in Sicily in the first Carthagi-

nian wars; who desirous to fight with the enemy, caus'd the *Pellarij* to make their divinations; and they answering that the chickens did not feede, he said, let us see then if they will drinke, and so made them be throwne into the sea, and then fighting, lost the day. And thereupon he was afterwards condemn'd at Rome, and *Papirius* honour'd, not so much the one for having won, and the other for having lost, as the one for having crost the southsayers with much discretion, the other very rashly. Nor was there any other end of this manner of southsaying, then to incourage the souldiers to fight, for boldnesse alwayes wins the victory: which thing was not onely in use with the Romans, but with foreiners also, whereof I have a purpose to bring an example in the Chapter following.

CHAP. XV.

The Samnites, for the extreame remedy to their broken State, have recourse to Religion.

THE *Samnites* having bin sundry times routed by the Romans and at last overthrowne in *Tulcany*, their armies and their Captaines slaine, and their confederates overcome

who

who were the *Tuscans*, *French*, and *Umbrians*: They could not subsist, neither by their owne, nor their friends forces, yet they would not quit the war, not regarding though they had but ill successe in the defence of their liberty; but had rather be overcome, then forbear to trie if they could get the victory. Whereupon they put it to the last prooffe: And because they knew the obstinacy of the souldiers minds would helpe the victory well forward, and to induce them hereto, there was no better meanes then Religion, they advis'd to renew an old sacrifice of theirs by the helpe of *Ovius Patrius* their Priests which they order'd in this manner; the solemne sacrifice being made and amidst the slaine beasts, and the altars set on fire having caus'd the cheife of the army to swear never to forsake the fight, they cal'd the souldiers one by one, and in the midst of those altars enclos'd by many Centurions with their swords drawne, first they made them swear, they should not disclose any thing they either heard or saw: afterwards with words of execration, and verses full of horreur made them vow and promise to the Gods, to be ready in whatsoever their Generall should command, never to abandon the fight, and kill whomsoever they saw fly, which if they fail'd in, might it light upon their family

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and

Nec tuis nec exter- nis viribus jam stare poterant tamen bello non ab stinebant adeo ne infelicitèr quidem de fensa libertatis tædebat, & vinci quã tentare victoriam malebant.

and kindred, And some of them being amaz'd, and refusing to swear, were presently slaine by their Centurions, so that the rest that followed them, frighted by the fiercenesse of the spectacle, swore all. And to augment the magnificence of their meeting being 60 thousand men, halfe of them were clad with white clothe, with plumes and feathers upon their helmets, and thus array'd they incamp'd themselves at *Aquilonia*. Against these came *Papirius*, who in his speech to encourage his souldiers said, *Surely their plumes could make no wounds, nor their painted and golden shields defend the blowes of the Roman Pikes*. And to take away the doubt his souldiers had of their enemies because of the oath taken, said, it was rather a discouragment to them then otherwise; for they were afraid of their owne people, the Gods, and their enemies. And when they came to the fight: the *Samnites* were overthrowne, for the Roman vertue, and the feare conceiv'd by reason of their former losses, overcame what ever obstinacy they could have resolv'd on by force of their Religion or oath taken. Yet it is plaine, how they thought they could have no other refuge, nor any other remedy, that could give them hope to recover their lost vertue. Which fully shewes, how great confidence Religion

Non enim
cristas vul-
nera face-
re, & pi-
sta atque
aurata scu-
ta transire
Romanum
pilum.

well us'd can give. And though happily this part would be fit rather to have place among the extrinsecall matters, yet depending upon one of the most important ordinances of the Roman Republique I thought better to insert it in this place, that I might not be driven to interrupt my discourse, and have need to returne hereunto many times.

CHAP. XVI.

People accustomed to live under a Prince, if by any accident they become free, have much a doe to maintaine their liberty.

HOW hard it is, for a people, us'd to live in subjection to a Prince, afterwards to maintaine their liberty, if by any accident they get it, as Rome did upon the *Tarquins* banishment, very many examples shew us, which we read in the memorialls of ancient histories. And not without good reason: for the people is nothing different from a brute beast, which (though fierce of nature and wilde) hath bin bred alwayes in a den and under

command