

and fill the slave marts of the proud city. Such in general was Rome, mistress of the Mediterranean and dictator of the world.

In the Roman state the rights of citizens were of two kinds public and private. The private rights were; (1) the power of legal marriage with the families of all other citizens; (2) the power of making legal purchases and sales and of holding property; (3) the right to bequeath and to inherit property. The public rights were: (1) the power of voting wherever a citizen was permitted to vote; and (2) the right to be elected to any office. For some time the plebeians were excluded from all these privileges. The patricians were the *Populus Romanus*, the citizens. The plebeians were free; but they had no political rights and no social standing in the eyes of the ruling class. But they gained one after another of the above named rights until they fought their way to full political and social recognition, to full citizenship in the state. The inhabitants of municipal cities (*municipia*) and of Roman colonies could exercise the full rights of citizens when at Rome; while the inhabitants of municipal cities of a lower rank, and Latin colonies possessed the private right of citizens. The first general assembly of the patrician citizens was called the *Comitia Curiata*.

The people were divided into thirty districts called *curiæ* and each district into ten families or *gentes*. The *Comitia Curiata* elected the kings and afterwards the consuls. The senate represented the *gentes* or families; and at first was made up of the fathers of the families, the oldest representatives of the different *gentes* and probably numbered three hundred. The consuls, however, seem to have had the power of giving citizens a seat in the senate; and soon the number was increased by the initiation of other patricians; and after a time, wealthy plebeians were thus honored in return for their aid or influence. A senator held his office during life. The senate discussed measures, made laws, and formed an advisory council to the consuls. In the last days of the republic it numbered about six hundred; and was chiefly charged with legislation on foreign affairs, religion and finance. But according to the Servian constitution, given by Servius Tullius, who was elected king in 578 B. C., a new division of the people was brought about. The *equites*, or knights (the cavalry,) which before had consisted of six patrician companies, were increased by the addition of twelve companies of wealthy plebeians. The infantry was reorganized without reference to rank. The soldiers were graded according to the amount of landed property they possessed. The whole people who owned any taxable land were thus divided according to the aristocracy of agrarian wealth into five classes; and when they came together, formed the *Comitia Centuriata* or assembly of hundreds. In Cicero's time there were three hundred and fifty centuries. This assembly ever long acquired the right to elect the consuls, to hear appeals from the consul's verdict in capital cases, and accept or reject bills laid before it. This gave the land owning plebeians a recognition and was the first step in the direction of plebeian citizenship. But in the assembly the vast majority of votes was given to the highest classes so that the patricians were able to control affairs to suit themselves.

Another division brought about a little later was the tribal. At first there were twenty, afterward twenty-one, and finally thirty-five tribes. These formed the *Comitia Tributa* in which for a long time, at least, the plebeians were the sole voters. The office of Tribunes of the people was established; and the plebeians were allowed to elect their representatives in the *Tributa*. This was a long stride for the plebeians. The Tribunes had the right to interpose an absolute veto on any legislative or administrative measure they thought harmful to the people; and to secure them in this right their persons were held inviolable. Whoever did them violence was considered an outlaw. Their power at first was merely protective; but it came to be controlling and the Tribunes exerted a mighty influence in Rome. The *Comitia Tributa* became more and more important. The other assemblies lost their grasp on affairs and gradually sank into comparative insignificance. Its prerogatives were increased from time to time until in Cicero's day, it elected the lesser magistrates and enacted laws, *plebiscita*, which were binding upon the whole people. There was no more class legislation after the drawing up of the "twelve tables" by the Decemvirs. It was, *si quis* (if anyone) in all the laws enacted. "What the people shall have ordained fully, shall be law," so said the statute.

The presiding and chief administrative officers of the state were two consuls, elected annually. Two praetors had charge of the administration of justice in both civil and criminal cases. One was called *Praetor Urbanus*, judge between citizens, and the other *Praetor Pergrinus*, judge between citizens and foreigners, sojourners in the city. The praetors, on assuming office, were accustomed to post in the Forum the principles by which they would be governed in their decisions; and the edicts of the successive praetors played an important part in the development of Roman law. Two censors attended to taking the census, the registry of the citizens and their property, every four years. These officers also had charge of the regimen *morum* (the regulation of morals) and the administration of the finances of the state. The censorship was considered an office of great honor. The censors were responsible to no officer or assembly, and especially as regulators of public morals exerted a powerful influence. They could inflict disgrace, (*ignominia*) on anyone whose conduct did not square with their notions of rectitude or duty. If a man neglected the cultivation of his fields, or carried on a disreputable trade, or refused to marry, or treated his family either too kindly or too harshly, or was extravagant, or guilty of bribery, cowardice, etc., he might be degraded according to his rank, or otherwise punished. But how lax in the discharge of their duties must the censors have become before the extinguishing of the lamp of liberty in the death of the republic! Such sins as those just enumerated sapped the virility and manhood of Rome, and led to the downfall of Roman liberty. The administration of the finances of the state included the regulation of the *tributum*, the property tax, and the *vectigalia*, such as the titles paid for the public lands, salt works, mines, customs, etc., which were usually leased out for periods of five years, and also

included the making of the state "budget." In 338 B. C. a law was passed by which one of the censors might be a plebeian; and in 131 B. C. both were plebeians for the first time in the history of the state. We have already spoken of the Tribunes and the powers they exercised.

At first there were two *Ædiles* chosen by the plebeians; but in 336 B. C. two others were added, selected from the patricians, and were called *Cumle Ædiles*. The duties of the *Ædiles* were to care for the public buildings, especially the temples, attend to cleaning and repairing the streets, the preparations for funerals, public games and spectacles, the regulation of weights and measures, markets, etc. The *Quæstors*, originally two in number, but gradually increased till in the time of Sulla they numbered twenty, had charge of the public treasury. After 421 B. C. plebeians were eligible to this office also.

Thus legal jurisdiction in civil procedure of cases between citizens was vested in the *Praetor Urbanus*, of cases between citizens and foreigners in the *Praetor Pergrinus*, of cases touching the treasury in the Censors, of cases arising in the markets in the *Ædiles*; but in criminal procedure, all except certain cases against religion which went before the *Pontifex Maximus*, legal jurisdiction was vested in permanent juries or courts called *quæstiones perpetuales*. These were at least eight in number, of which six were presided over by *Praetors* and the rest by foremen called *judices quæstiones*.

Another class of officials who were of great importance in state and wielded a powerful influence upon the social and political life of the Romans was the state priesthood. These were divided into several groups or colleges, the most important of which was the college of *Pontifices* and the college of *Augurs*. The college of *pontiffs* was a distinctly Italian institution, and was established for the purpose of cultivating and preserving religious knowledge. They were thus strictly not a priesthood, because they were not devoted to the worship of any particular divinity; but their duties embraced the regulation of all religious rites and ceremonies, both public and private. They decided how the gods should be worshipped, how burials should be conducted, and how the souls of the dead, the *mones*, should be appeased. To them was entrusted the care of the calendar, the proclamation of festival days, etc. They also were careful that every judicial and every religious act took place on the right day. Dr. Monmsen says, "As they had thus an especial supervision of all religious observances, it was to them in case of need (as on occasions of marriage, testament, or arrogatio) that the preliminary question was addressed, whether the matter did not in any respect offend against divine law." Thus we can see, as long as the *pontiffs* were selected from the patricians, what a powerful weapon they were in the management of state affairs. If a day for an election had been selected and if the results were not likely to be all that the patricians desired, it was a very easy matter to proclaim a festival to the gods, or to declare that the time was not propitious and displeased the gods, necessitating a postponement until their candidates could gain greater strength, or the influence of the opposition be