

afternoon rode leisurely back, observing no sort of formation, but broken up into groups. Then from two separate gates Labienus suddenly launched the whole of his brigade. Accurately foreseeing the panic and wild confusion that this would cause among the enemy, and determined if possible to prevent their ringleader from escaping in the general melee, he had given strict orders to all his men to make Indutiomarus the one object of their attack, and that no one was to strike a single other blow until he had seen the Gallic leader dead before him: at the same time liberal rewards were offered to the party who killed him, and several infantry battalions were pushed up to support the cavalry. It was a case of Fortune smiling approval on human prescience: for the rebel chief, singled out in this manner for universal pursuit, was caught in the very act of fording a river, cut down, and his head brought back to camp. Returning from the pursuit, the victorious troopers gave chase to various other parties of fugitives, several of whom they succeeded in accounting for. The sudden downfall of their leader at once reacted on the other centers of rebellion; and the bands of Nervii and Eburones who had lately taken the field against the Romans now melted rapidly away, leaving Caesar to enjoy a period of comparative tranquility throughout Gaul.

BOOK VI

SECTION I. PUNITIVE EXPEDITIONS IN THE NORTHEAST

The situation, however, presented still many disquieting features, and indications of a yet wider movement of revolt were not wanting. With the object, therefore, of strengthening the military forces at his disposal, Caesar commissioned three officers, M. Silanus, C. Antistius Regillus, and T. Sextius, to raise further levies in the Italian portion of his government; and also made a special request to the proconsul, Cn. Pompeius (who for reasons of state still remained after his year of office in the neighborhood of the capital, with full civil and military authority) that he would order those recruits in North Italy who had been recently sworn for service under himself when consul, immediately to join the colors and to proceed as reinforcements to the army of Gaul.¹ In acting thus he had an eye also to the importance of impressing for the future upon the Gallic imagination a vivid idea of the inexhaustible resources of Italy, and of showing that the wastage suffered in war she could not only rapidly make good, but could even, if called upon, replace her first by still larger military establishments. On public and on personal grounds alike Pompeius acceded to this request; and being well served by his officers in their conduct of the levy, Caesar had, before the close of winter, ~~three~~ new legions all fully organized and conducted to their destination. Thus, by exactly doubling the number of battalions that had perished with Sabinus, he gave convincing proof, both by the extent and rapid concentration

of the new forces, how immense was the strength that underlay the discipline and the wealth of Rome.

To return to the narrative. On the death of Indutiomarus, the circumstances of which have already been related, the headship of the tribe was transferred by the Treveri to the kinsmen of the fallen chief. These, steadily persisting in his old policy of intrigue among the Germans of the Eastern Rhineland, found that their appeal, though supported by copious promises of pay, was but coldly received by all the nearer tribesmen, and had therefore to turn to those at a greater distance. A certain number of these were at length discovered ready to make the attempt, and the compact having been sealed by an interchange of oaths between the contracting parties, and hostages given as present security for future pay, last, but not least, Ambiorix was admitted as a partner to their joint schemes by a formal treaty of alliance. To Caesar, as the reports came to hand of these successive movements of revolt, it was plain that on all sides the clouds of war were fast gathering. The Nervii, Aduatici, and Menapii, with the whole of the German region lying westward of the Rhine, had already taken the field; the Senones (*Seni*) still ignored his express summons to appear, and with the Carnutes (*Orléans*) and other neighboring states, were busily concerting measures intended to defy him; the Treveri (*Treves*) were sending embassy after embassy into Germany to gain adherents to their cause. The times thus calling for exceptional activity, he resolved to forestall to some extent the date he had usually observed for the reopening of hostilities.

Winter was not yet passed, therefore, when orders for concentration were quietly issued to the four legions lying nearest to headquarters, and a sudden dash was made into the Nervian district. Prevented from either massing for defense or from scattering for refuge, the tribe was obliged to look helplessly on while the Romans overran the country, seizing large numbers of men and cattle, which the soldiers were permitted to retain as their lawful prize. Surrender soon became imperative, and hostages for future good behavior were then reluctantly handed over. At the close of this short but very successful expedition the troops once more returned to winter quarters. According to precedent, the general assembly of Gaul was due to

take place with the opening of spring, and to the summons of the Roman governor all gave ready obedience, except the representatives of the Senones, Carnutes, and Treveri. Rightly interpreting this as an open defiance of authority and a virtual declaration of war, in face of which all other business of the council must stand over, Caesar at once transferred the place of meeting to Lutetia (*Paris*), the capital city of the Parisii, not far from the frontiers of one of the three recalcitrant tribes. The Parisii indeed not only marched with the Senones, but within the last generation had entered into political union with them; though in the recent decision taken by their rulers the Parisii were believed to have had no share. A formal declaration to this effect having first been publicly made by the Roman governor from his presidential seat at the adjourned congress, on the same day the legions were put into motion for the country of the Senones, to which a series of forced marches quickly brought them.

Their approach becoming known, the ringleader of the anti-Roman movement, a chieftain of the name of Acco, at once gave orders for the population to abandon the open country and to fall back on their fortified towns; but before this measure could be adequately carried out, they were surprised in their attempt by the news that the Romans were already in their midst. Compelled to relinquish their contemplated plan of defense, they presently sent delegates to the Roman camp, with instructions to throw themselves absolutely on the mercy of Caesar. In this appeal they were supported by the Aedui, for many years their acknowledged suzerains, whose intervention gave Caesar an opportunity for which at the moment he was peculiarly grateful. With an important war immediately before him, he had no wish to spend the summer months in a troublesome investigation of political charges; and it was with much satisfaction, therefore, that he accepted their explanations and condoned their misconduct, after first stipulating for one hundred hostages, for whose custody the Aedui were made responsible. Without further advance on the part of the army, another deputation, sent with a similar object and also accompanied by hostages, arrived from the other refractory tribe, the Carnutes. These, as being politically dependent on the Remi, had secured for themselves the powerful intercession of

that people, and gained by means of it the same terms as the others. A requisition for cavalry laid on the component tribes then brought the assembly to a close.

The restoration of order in this part of Gaul had now set free the unimpeded activities of Caesar for the war with Ambiorix and the Treveri. First of all, however, the late fugitive chieftain, Cavarienus, was bidden to accompany the Senonian contingent of horse; for otherwise, either from the man's own natural rage at the authors of his overthrow, or from the bitterness that his restoration had since aroused against him, a grave risk would have been run of a renewed outbreak. This difficulty overcome, it was now possible to formulate a plan of action against the Eburonian rebel. That he would not venture to oppose the Romans in the field might safely be taken for granted: what other designs he might contemplate had therefore to be the more thoroughly scrutinized and anticipated. Lying on his northern frontiers were a people, the Menapii, whose endless alliteration had emboldened them, even after other tribes had all sent in their representatives, still to withhold their submission to Caesar. Between them and Ambiorix there were known to exist ties of most friendly intercourse; whilst with the Germans beyond the Rhine the Treveri had been the intermediaries, as was clearly revealed by the information to hand, in bringing about a close understanding between the people and the Eburonian monarch. Prudence therefore suggested that before striking at the rebel chief in person, his two principal sources of probable support should first be detached; since it went without saying that the escape of the insurgent chief in his despair to the trackless wilds of the Menapii was a contingency as much to be avoided as was his juncture with the German tribes lying east to the Rhine. The plan of operations being thus decided on, the whole of the army's baggage was first sent away under two legions to Labienus, who was still among the Treveri; after which the remaining five, now unencumbered by heavy transport, marched northwards for the district of the Menapii under the personal leadership of Caesar. No open resistance was attempted by the tribe, but relying on the natural fastnesses of their country, they at once fled to their

woods and marshes, taking with them into hiding all live stock and other valuables.

Three columns under separate commands were now organized by Caesar, the other generals being C. Fabius and his Quaestor, M. Crassus; and rapidly constructing bridges, the three forces advanced into the heart of the Menapian country, burning and plundering as they went. Large captures both in men and cattle were quickly made, and finding themselves helpless before such tactics, the tribesmen petitioned for peace. In taking hostages from them, the Roman commander made it quite plain that they would be considered to have put themselves in the position of enemies, should they harbor anywhere within their territories either Ambiorix or his emissaries. This settlement effected, a force of cavalry was left under the Atrebatian chief, Commius, with which to keep order in the country, and the Roman forces then proceeded southward to deal with the Treveri.

That people had themselves taken the initiative in renewing hostilities. Having raised strong bodies both of horse and foot, they had, concurrently with the operations just related, marched forth to attack the single legion under Labienus, which throughout the winter had been quartered in their country. Arrived within two days' march of their destination, they had heard of the junction of the legions sent by Caesar, and upon this information had decided to camp on a site fifteen miles removed from the Roman position, in order to await their German auxiliaries. These tactics Labienus resolved, if possible, to frustrate by so working on the impulsive nature of his opponents as to force them to a general engagement. Leaving five battalions to guard his stores and baggage, he set out with the remaining twenty-five and a strong force of cavalry towards the enemy's position, and having arrived within something approaching a mile sat down behind entrenchments. The two hostile camps confronted one another across a stream, the steep banks of which made its passage so hazardous, that the Roman general had neither the intention of crossing it himself nor any expectation that his enemy would do so. With every successive day bringing nearer the expected arrival of the foreign auxiliaries, he then openly announced before his assembled council that in view of the reiterated reports as to the German approach, he

had decided not to incur the grave risk of endangering both his own stores and those of the whole Roman army, and that, therefore, early on the following morning he would strike camp. This declaration was at once conveyed outside to the enemy, as indeed was only to be expected: among so large a number of Gallic horse, ties of blood were sure to lead some to espouse their nation's cause. During the night a meeting of his principal officers was summoned by Labienus to receive their final instructions for the execution of his plan; and in order to perfect the simulation of panic within the Roman lines, the order was given to increase the noise and clamor on moving camp above that usually associated with Roman methods. The departure of the troops was by this ruse made to resemble nothing so much as that of an army in rout, a circumstance that, thanks to the short distance separating the camps, had before daybreak been also fully reported to the enemy by their scouts.

The sight of their expected prey thus slipping from their grasp effectually dispelled all previous hesitation on the part of the Gauls. It was now admitted on all sides that to wait longer for the promised German support when the Romans were already stricken with panic, was but a needless waste of time; and that to shrink, with their large numbers, from attacking so insignificant a force, which was in the act of running away, besides being greatly hampered in its movements, was intolerable to their self-respect. Hardly, therefore, had the tail of the column drawn clear of the trenches, than they began to move across the stream, only too eager to give battle even on ground that was sorely to their disadvantage. Their action had been fully anticipated by Labienus, and still masking the true purpose of his retreat, in his anxiety to inveigle the entire body over to his side of the valley, he still kept steadily on, without any sign of hostile movement visible in the ranks. When all were at length across, the word was passed for the transport to draw clear on the front, and to take up its position on a neighboring height; after which, the general, turning to his troops, gave them the chance which they had so long and so eagerly expected. They now saw their foes trapped and caught upon ground where they must struggle for a foothold: let the men only show the same devotion under his leadership as had so often carried

them to victory under their commander-in-chief, in whose presence and before whose eyes they must now imagine themselves to be acting." At the word of command the Roman column made a turn which brought it facing the enemy, and then deployed in line: a few squadrons of horse were told off to guard the baggage, the rest were massed on either wing. A wild cheer ran through the ranks of the legionaries, as with eager haste they launched their heavy javelins, and then prepared to charge. For such a charge at such a time the enemy were but little prepared: the sight of the supposed fugitives suddenly wheeling and bearing down upon them in serried order of battle had filled them with dismay, and at the first shock they broke and fled, seeking the shelter of the nearest woods. The cavalry then took up the pursuit, and a few days later, having lost heavily in killed and prisoners, the whole tribe surrendered at discretion. The German auxiliaries who were on their way, on hearing that the Treveri had been routed in battle, at once turned homewards; and in company with them there also went those relatives of Indutiomarus, who, as the real authors of the rebellion, now thought it prudent to quit the country. In succession to them, the headship and rule of the tribe was conferred upon Cingetorix, of whose unswerving loyalty to the Roman cause throughout these troubles evidence has already been adduced.

In the meantime, Caesar with the main army had, after his expedition against the Menapii, joined his subordinate in the south. There he decided that for two important reasons a second crossing of the Rhine had become a military necessity. In the first place, the tribes needed to be chastised for their recent support of the Treveran rebellion; in the second, he had to secure himself against the possible escape of Ambiorix in this quarter. The decision once taken, no time was lost in bridging the river, a little above the site of his first passage; and as past experience had now made the design familiar, and all hands displayed the utmost willingness, a few days sufficed for the completion of the work. A strong guard was left on the Gallic side both to hold the bridge and to overawe any attempted rising by the Treveri in the rear; after which the rest of the forces, both mounted and foot, crossed the stream. Among the first to greet

the appearance of the Romans on the further shore was a deputation from the Ubi, a tribe which had previously given in its surrender and delivered hostages. They now came forward to disclaim responsibility for the dispatch of auxiliary bands to the Treveri, and to declare that in no sense had they violated their pledged word. In the indiscriminate hatred by the Romans of everyone called a German, they feared that they, though innocent, might be confounded with the guilty, and they therefore begged the governor for a merciful consideration of their case. Finally, they professed their readiness to increase, if so desired, the number of their hostages already in Roman hands. Careful investigation by Caesar proved that the real responsibility for supplying auxiliaries lay with the Suebi; and, satisfied with the explanations offered by the Ubi, he proceeded to collect information as to the roads and principal lines of advance leading to the country of that people.

Within a few days it was reported to him by the Ubi that a general concentration of the Suebic military forces was in progress, and that all their subject tribes had received strict injunctions to dispatch to the seat of war fixed contingents of horse and foot. Upon this information, the Roman commander completed his arrangements for supplies, and then carefully selected a site for a camp. At the same time the Ubian authorities were enjoined to clear their country of live stock, and to convey behind the walls of their country thing of any value to an enemy; it being common experience that in warfare with primitive tribes the strain imposed by the want of customary food will often bring on an engagement even where conditions are most adverse. The importance of keeping constant watch by means of spies upon the Suebic territories was duly emphasized, and any movement there in progress was at once to be reported to the Roman general. These instructions the friendly Germans loyally observed, and at the close of a few days they returned with the following report. The Suebi, after waiting for more accurate information as to the Roman advance, had, with all their forces, both ~~of~~ national and allied, retired to what was wellnigh the farthest boundary of their kingdom, an immense forest tract known as the Baccenis, which, running far up into their country, like a solid wall,

interposed by nature between them and their chief rivals, the Cherusci, effectually prevented both from raiding and from preying upon one another. Upon the fringe of this great barrier they had decided to await the oncoming of the Romans.

SECTION II. ETHNOGRAPHY OF GAUL AND GERMANY

At this point of our narrative it will not perhaps be thought inopportune if we pause to consider in some detail the national life of Gaul and Germany, and to show the more important aspects in which the two races differ from each other. To begin with the Gauls. The most remarkable feature about their political organization is the existence everywhere of two great antagonistic parties. Not merely do these parties divide each independent tribe, but the cleavage extends to every territorial division and subdivision, and may almost be said to permeate every individual household. In all cases the party leaders are appointed from those who are recognized by their constituents as the most prominent of their members, and to their judgment and decision every question of fact or policy is of necessity referred. In such a system would seem to lie the true explanation of a time-honored custom throughout Gaul, which ensures for every poorer member of the community protection against more powerful neighbors; since every party leader is quick to resent and revenge any wrong or oppression that may be perpetrated on his clients, and indeed only holds his position of authority amongst them on condition of fulfilling this primary obligation. These characteristics of the internal state of each tribe obtain also in the country taken as a whole, and the same spirit of political partisanship splits it into two permanently hostile camps.

The respective heads of these two factions were, at the time of Caesar's arrival in the country, the Aedui and the Sequani. The former held an assured position of power by virtue alike of ancient prerogative and by their formidable list of subject communities; so that the Sequani, too weak to maintain the ~~best~~ ^{strongest} single-handed with the forces at their disposal, turned in the hour of their extremity to foreign alliance. At ruinous cost to themselves, both present and prospective, they induced Arriovistus and his Germans to cross the

who desire to learn the more esoteric side of the doctrine cross to that island in order to complete their studies.

As a class the Druids take no active part in war, and pay none of the ordinary taxes for that purpose: not only from direct military service but from other state burdens also they are uniformly exempt. Through the attractions held out by such a career no less than from private choice, large numbers join the ranks of the priesthood, and are sent by their parents and relatives to undergo the necessary training. In their schools they are said to learn by heart an extraordinary number of lines, and in consequence sometimes to remain under instruction for as many as twenty years. Although for most other purposes, in both their public and private accounts, they have adopted the Greek alphabet, yet they still retain a superstitious objection to committing the secrets of their doctrine to writing. In acting so they would seem to be guided by two main considerations. The first is their natural repugnance to the unrestricted publication of their tenets; the second is a fear lest their pupils, by too close a reliance on the written text, should relax the cultivation of their memory; experience generally showing that the constant presence of a manuscript serves only to weaken the natural powers of application and retention possessed by the mind. With regard to their actual course of studies, the main object of all education is, in their opinion, to imbue their scholars with a firm belief in the indestructibility of the human soul, which, according to their belief, merely passes at death from one tenement to another; for by such a doctrine alone, they say, which robs death of all its terrors, can the highest form of human courage be developed. Subsidiary to the teaching of this main principle, they hold various lectures and discussions on astronomy, on the extent and geographical distribution of the globe, on the different branches of natural philosophy, and on the many problems connected with religion.

The second great division is that of the Knights. These form the warrior class, and live exclusively by the sword: war makes their opportunity; and as, previous to *Caesar's* arrival, wars of provocation or retaliation were the normal state of things, they were in those days constantly engaged. Their order of precedence depends exclusively

upon the number of followers and retainers they can lead into the field, and that in its turn depends upon the eminence of each either in descent or in worldly circumstances. Rank or title of any other kind is not recognized amongst them.

In the formal observances of religion, the Gauls are as a nation almost excessively devout. This instinct leads them on such occasions as grievous bodily illness, impending battle, or similar dangers, to offer or to vow a human sacrifice in place of animal victims, the Druids being called in to officiate at the rites. Of this practice the underlying belief is that only by the substitution of one human life for another can the inexorable demands of heaven be satisfied; a principle that obtains in much of their public ceremonial also. Others keep by them a grotesque and gigantic image of some favorite god, into whose huge limbs of wicker-work those destined for sacrifice are packed alive; fire is then placed beneath the pile, and the souls of the victims pass away amid a torrent of roaring flames. Though ready enough to admit that the gods are better pleased when such punishment is inflicted on those convicted of theft or brigandage or other similar crime, yet, on the failure of this particular source of supply, they do not hesitate to seek the instruments of atonement even from the innocent.

Of all the gods, the one whose worship is most in vogue is Mercury. Everywhere the most conspicuous by the number of his images, he is commonly regarded as the revealer of all useful sciences, as the trusty guide to wayfarers and travelers, and as the all-important partner in trade and commerce. Next to him come Apollo, Jupiter, and Minerva, and about them their ideas correspond fairly closely with those current among the rest of mankind; viz. that Apollo expels diseases, that Minerva teaches the principles of domestic arts and crafts, that Jupiter wields the sceptre over heavenly beings, that Mars holds in his hand the arbitrament of war. To the last-named god, on the eye of a big battle, they not infrequently devote the spoils of the campaign, and whatever of the captured live stock remains on the termination of the war is publicly slaughtered in his honor, while all other kinds of booty are collected and heaped together in a single place. Of such dedicated piles of loot standing in sacred enclosures

it is possible to see examples among many of the tribes; and rare are the cases where contempt for sacrilege has led either to the concealment at home of a piece of plunder, or to the theft of what has once been offered. For such an offense the punishment is the most terrible that torture can inflict.

Their supernatural descent from Father Dis¹ is the unanimous tradition of all Gauls, based, as they declare, on the teaching of the Druids. One curious result of this is that intervals of time are reckoned, not in days, but in nights; and similarly birthdays or the first day of any new month or year are observed in such a fashion as to make the preceding night always part of the festal day. Among other social customs, perhaps the most noticeable is their seclusion of children. Boys are never allowed to go and meet their sires, and for a boy of tender years to be seen in public by the side of his father before he is capable of bearing arms is regarded as a great disgrace.

What money a husband receives in dowry from a wife is always doubled by an equal portion taken from his own estate, strict valuation being made on either side. Of this combined sum a common account is kept, and all profits from it set aside; whichever partner then outlives the other takes both shares, together with the interest accumulated during their married life. Over their wives, no less than over their children, husbands exercise the power of life and death; and whenever any member of their more distinguished families dies, if there be reason to suspect foul play, at the meeting of the male relatives which then takes place the wife is rigorously examined according to the process usually adopted with slaves, and if proved guilty, is put to death by burning and other refinements of cruelty. The obsequies of the Gauls are, in proportion to their standard of living, both costly and magnificent, and at them all objects believed to have been dear to the heart of the departed, including even animals, are flung upon the pyre; indeed, only a little while before the present account was written, at every properly conducted funeral slaves and retainers known to have been loved by the dead man were commonly burnt with their master.

Those of the tribes whose government passes for something more enlightened have a special enactment that any rumor or report

on matter of vital interest, which may have been picked up across the frontier, shall be instantly carried to the authorities, and not divulged in other quarters; so frequently has it been found the case that this people of strong passions and weak judgment can be swept away by unreasoning panic, driven into the perpetration of crime, and hurried into a fatal course of public conduct, solely by their acceptance of some lying tale. When such information reaches them, the magistrates decide what they will guard as state secrets, and what they may with advantage issue to the public; and outside the council-chamber, it has to be remembered, no discussion of political questions is permitted.

Turning now to the Germans, we find among them a form of national life in sharp contrast to the one just described. Of anything like a religious caste, such as we see in the Druids, there is a complete absence, and a corresponding indifference to the multiplication of sacrifices. The only deities they recognize are those visible powers of nature whose kindly influence upon human labor is clearly manifest; viz. the Sun, Moon, and God of Fire; of the existence of any others they seem to be aware not even by hearsay. To them the business of life is summed up in hunting and the art of war, and their training in feats of hardship and endurance begins with earliest childhood. The postponement in a boy of the age of puberty is always a coveted distinction, and is believed to be a sign either of unusual height or of immense bodily strength. Sexual intercourse below the age of twenty is considered a disgrace to manhood; though, on the other hand, they are singularly free from all false modesty on this subject, and not only bathe together in their rivers, but even wear nothing more upon their bodies than a thin covering of deer or other skin, which necessarily leaves the greater portion bare.

The cultivation of the soil, in the strict meaning of the term, is little practiced by them, and their diet consists for the main part of milk, cheese, and flesh. Neither the exclusive enjoyment nor the private ownership of land is permitted; but instead an annual distribution of it is made by the government officials and local chiefs, who determine both the extent and situation of the portion of land to be allotted to each class and family-association living together:

everyone of these groups being required to remove elsewhere a year afterwards. Of this practice the explanations given are various. It is said sometimes to owe its origin to a fear lest the charms of a fixed tenure should beget in the people a preference for the peaceful life of the farm over the more violent pleasures of war; to the covetousness inseparable from private ownership, which tempts the strong to oust the weaker from their holdings; to the desire of discouraging any elaborate form of building for protection against the natural vicissitudes of heat and cold; to the dread of arousing the natural love of money—that pernicious root of all discord and class hatred; or finally, to the conviction that their system alone reconciles the lower orders to their lot, when every man sees his own share of the national riches equal to that of the very highest in the land.

Among the tribes there is no more coveted distinction than to live in the center of a vast wilderness, that has been carved out with their own swords along each and all of their frontiers. In their minds the true test of national greatness is the power of compelling all neighbors to retire before their face, and to keep at a respectful distance from their settlements; such devastation, moreover, acts as a form of security, since undoubtedly it relieves them from the constant fear of raids. Upon the outbreak of war, whether offensive or defensive, the conduct of hostilities is entrusted to a board of magistrates, specially elected, and wielding capital jurisdiction; in peace the place of a central government is taken by the local chiefs, who dispense justice and regulate disputes each in his own division or subdivision of the country. Open brigandage, provided its victims be not fellow tribesmen, carries with it no disgrace; rather is it held up to admiration as a natural outlet for the activities of youth, and a useful remedy against sloth. Whenever, therefore, any chief announces before the tribal council that he is ready to lead an expedition, and calls for volunteers to follow him, those who approve of both the man and his measure leap to their feet with offers of assistance, winning much popularity by their action: should any of these then fail to make good their promise, they will be branded as rēnegades and traitors, and confidence in their sincerity will be forever afterwards shaken. Their observance of the ties of hospitality is invariably most strict, and any foreign visitor, no

matter what the object of his journey, may always rely on their loyalty, protecting him against abuse, as though his person were inviolable, and as long as he chooses to stay, the houses of all and the tables of all are freely at his disposal.

There was a time when the German race was distinctly inferior in martial qualities to the Gauls, and when the latter, habitually the aggressors, on account of their dense population and deficiency of land at home, sent offshoots of their own to the other side of the Rhine. It was in this way that some of the richest land in all Germany, lying round the great Hercynian forest (or, to give it the name by which it is known to Eratosthenes and other Greeks, the "Orcynian"), passed into the hands of the Tecosagan Volcae; and even today, thanks mainly to the double reputation they enjoy for fair dealing and hard hitting, that tribe is still maintaining itself in its adopted home, though sunk to the level of the surrounding population, and reproducing the well-known features of German poverty, destitution, and general discomfort, with the same rough style of living and of dress. The Gauls, on the other hand, have steadily progressed, and owing to the nearness of the Roman provinces and their introduction to articles of sea-borne commerce, the national wealth has tended constantly to increase, and the standard of comfort constantly to rise. Thus the growing sense of their own inferiority arising from repeated overthrows in the field has resulted today even in their own admission that in warlike qualities they are no longer a match for their German foes.

This Hercynian forest, to which reference has been made, has a width, north and south, equal to a nine days' march for an ordinarily fast traveler; than this no more accurate computation can be given, and in it the length of a day's journey is left purely conjectural. From west to east it starts from the latitude of the Helvetii, Nemetes, and Raurici, and follows the line of the Danube as far as the frontiers of the Daci and Anartes. There it turns northwards and leaves the neighborhood of the river, skirting in the course of its immense length a large number of different tribes, until it finally loses itself at some remote point never yet penetrated, even after sixty days' journey, by any German of these parts, with whom, therefore, its eastern limit

remains still shrouded in mystery. The forest itself is well known to exhibit a fauna in many respects peculiar; and therefore to set down the most typical and interesting examples may not be thought altogether inappropriate.

The first species is that of an ox shaped like a deer: "From the center of the forehead, between the ears, springs a single horn, higher and straighter than those of the deer in our country, and at its summit widely palmated and branched. The females closely resemble the males, and both are to the same extent antlered.

Another is that called the Elk. In outward form and in the coloration of its skin, this has much in common with the Italian wild goat, though in build it is slightly heavier. Its horns are mutilated and its legs marked by an absence of any natural protuberance or joint; it never lies down to rest, and if accidentally cast, is powerless to recover its position or to raise itself from the ground. Its hairs are the trunks of trees, leaning against which, with its body slightly out of the perpendicular, it will go off to sleep. On discovering from their tracks any of these animals' favorite haunts, the hunters either undermine all the trees of the immediate neighborhood, or else cut them through just far enough to leave them apparently still firmly standing. The elks then return and lean against these as usual, and their weight proving too much for the weakened trunks, they and their supports come crashing to the ground.

The third species is that called the Urus (*aurochs*), in size a little below the elephant, in appearance, color, and shape resembling a bull. Their strength and speed are equally remarkable, and if once discovered, neither beast nor man is safe from their attack. The trapping in pits and the killing of these fierce animals forms a favorite pastime with the natives, who find in it not only an admirable training-school for the nation's youth, but also a highly popular form of sport; and those who succeed in killing the largest number are, upon the public exhibition of the horns as proof, acclaimed the heroes of the hour. Unfortunately the species is quite useless for domestication, and all attempts to tame them, even when they have been taken quite young, have hitherto proved unsuccessful. Their horns differ both in size, shape, and general appearance from those

of the Italian domestic cattle; they are always in great demand, and, decorated with a silver band at the mouth, are used as drinking cups at all their more imposing banquets.

SECTION III. THE HUNTING OF AMBIORIX

The information brought in by the Ubian scouting parties that the Suebi had all withdrawn to their forests determined Caesar to stay his advance: in the heart of Germany, where, as already noted, there exists a natural repugnance to tillage, little corn was likely to be found, and he had no wish to endanger his supplies. At the same time it was expedient not to relieve the natives altogether of apprehension as to his return, as well as to check the flow of auxiliaries to the western bank. As soon, therefore, as the army had recrossed the river, the order was given to cut away the farther end of the bridge, where it touched the Ubian shore, to a distance of 200 feet: after which at the extreme point of the part left standing a wooden artillery tower was erected of four stories high: twelve battalions were stationed at the bridge head in a strongly fortified redoubt, and the whole place with its garrison put under command of a young officer, C. Volcatius Tullus. These precautions taken, it became possible to proceed with the campaign against Ambiorix, especially as the corn was now beginning to ripen. In the immediate neighborhood there lay the great forest of the Ardennes, stretching from the Rhine and the Treveri (*Trevirs*) across to the country of the Nervii, and thus covering a distance of some five hundred miles. In the hope of gaining whatever advantage swift action and lucky circumstance might combine to offer, Caesar sent forward through this forest the full strength of his cavalry, under his commander, L. Minucius Basilius: strict injunctions being given to forbid all fires whenever they camped, for fear of betraying their approach to any distant watcher, along with an assurance that he himself with the main army would follow closely behind.

These orders Basilius faithfully carried out. Marching very rapidly, before any had time to realize the fact of his presence, he made a large number of prisoners out on the open lands; and then, acting on the information these supplied, quickened his course in the direction in which Ambiorix, the rebel chief, with a few horsemen,

was said to be in hiding. In war, however, even more than in other things, there is always the uncertain element of Fortune to be reckoned with. By an astonishing stroke of good luck, the Roman officer rode straight upon the Eburonian leader whilst the latter was lulled in a false sense of security, and before any word or rumor had had time to reach the party, his men were actually upon them. By a piece of misfortune no less inexplicable, the insurgent chief, after all the military equipment which he had by him had been seized by the troops and his horses and carriages secured, managed just to elude his impending fate. His escape was due to the fact that the house in which he lay was (according to the favorite Gallic custom of seeking the neighborhood of woods and streams as a protection against heat) surrounded by dense forest, and in the narrow clearing round off the attack of the cavalry; in that brief interval one of his followers lifted him into a saddle, and the woods then hid his retreating form. Thus, whether one considers the circumstances that brought about his peril or those that rescued him from it, the disposing hand of Fortune is equally apparent.

The reasons which determined Ambiorix not to concentrate the forces under him are veiled in some obscurity. It may have been due to settled policy, under conviction that any general engagement was to be avoided; or he may have concluded that his opportunity for so doing was already gone, and his freedom of action destroyed by the rapid advance of the Roman horse, which, as he was well aware, was the certain forerunner of the Roman army. Be that as it may, his next movement was to send a proclamation broadcast throughout the country, ordering a *saevie qui perit*. His people at once scattered in all directions. Some sought the deep shelter of the Ardennes, some hid themselves in the lonely wastes of the marshland, others nearer the great Ocean crossed to the low-lying flats scoured out by the natural action of the tides, numbers fled the country altogether, and among races in every respect strangers to their own, begged for protection of their lives and property. The ruler of the other half of their kingdom, a prince called Catuvelcus, who had allowed himself to become entangled in the treacherous designs of Ambiorix,

proved unequal to the severe strain now imposed by the double fatigue of war and flight; he was already far advanced in years, and after solemnly cursing his colleague with every imprecation that language could command for the ruinous folly into which he had been dragged, took poison of yew (a plant very common in both Gaul and Germany), and so ended his life.

At this point there waited on Caesar a deputation from the two tribes of the Segni and Condrusi, who, situated between the Eburones and the Treveri, are by virtue of their extraction generally reckoned as German. The object of their mission was to deprecate any hostile treatment by the Romans and to combat the mistaken notion that a single policy ruled all the Germans west of the Rhine: the truth being that in their case they had never contemplated the taking up of arms, or dispatched any auxiliaries to the help of Ambiorix. After carefully sifting the evidence of prisoners on the point, Caesar demanded that any Eburonian fugitives who had harbored in their country should be brought into camp, but, provided that was done, assured them that their lands would not be devastated. The Roman military forces were then formed into three divisions, the baggage of the entire army being sent away to a fortress called Aduatica. This place, situated somewhere about the center of the Eburonian country, had the previous winter been the headquarters of Titurius and Aurunculeius, and apart from other advantages had the additional recommendation that, its old fortifications being still intact, its occupation would considerably lighten the labors of the troops. To hold this dépôt one of the three legions lately raised in Italy, the Fourteenth, was left behind, and strengthened by a detachment of two hundred cavalry was, along with the camp itself, put under the command of Q. Tullius Cicero.

Of the separate divisions thus formed, the first, consisting of three legions under Labienus, was sent to scour all that part of the Eburonian country that borders on the Menapii, another also of three legions under C. Trebonius took the district extending to the Aduatici, having orders to pillage and burn; whilst the last under Caesar himself, again of three legions, was intended to penetrate to the river Scheldt, a tributary of the Meuse, and to the outer fringe

of the Ardennes, where rumor had it that Ambiorix with a few horsemen had betaken himself. Upon marching, Caesar gave a distinct understanding to his subordinate that the seventh day would see his return; that being the day on which, as he knew, fresh supplies would be due to the legion garrisoning the fort. Labienus and Trebonius were similarly urged, should circumstances render it possible, to return with their columns by that date, in order that the three commanders might again confer together, and concert such fresh measures between them as a study of the enemy's methods might show to be desirable.

As already indicated, the enemy were without a single organized band in the field, without one fortified post or town that was prepared to defend itself by force of arms; it was a war against a whole population scattered to the four winds. Wherever a hidden gorge, a wooded clump, or a treacherous marsh held out hopes either of concealment or defense, there they lay ensconced; and such places being the common knowledge of the countryside, the situation was one demanding nothing that a demoralized and disorganized rabble could effect could seriously endanger that), but for guarding the lives of individual soldiers, a matter, however, in which, as will be seen, the safety of the army was to a large extent bound up. For it would constantly happen that the desire of loot drew men away to an unwise distance from the ranks, whilst the tangle of the forest, with its elusive or hidden paths, made it impossible to advance in anything like close order. If the work was to be done thoroughly, and the treacherous race to be extirpated once and for all, then the number of parties working in the woods must be increased, and the line dangerously extended; if, on the other hand, as all Roman military method and practice demanded, the advance was to be made by order of companies, then any difficult ground became in itself a sufficient protection to the natives; isolated groups of whom were always ready to dart out from ambush, and fall upon the stragglers. Under conditions so harassing, and though the troops were burning for revenge, it was thought wiser to forgo some portion of the punishment intended for the enemy

than to inflict it at the cost of valuable lives. Accordingly, messengers were dispatched to all the surrounding tribes, with a general invitation from Caesar to flock to the plunder of the Eburones, and to the certain prospect of loot. This device would at all events substitute Gauls for Roman legionaries in the risky work among the woods, and at the same time, by covering the country with dense hordes of men, would make doubly sure that the treacherous tribe should pay for its abominable crime by the utter extirpation of its name and race. From all parts of the country a large force was rapidly assembled.

While these operations were in active progress from one end of the district to another, the seventh day, previously fixed by Caesar for his return to the legion guarding his base, drew steadily near. And now occurred a remarkable illustration of the extraordinary power wielded by Fortune in the game of war, and of the incalculable nature of her surprises. The enemy, as has been made abundantly clear, were broken and crushed beyond hope of recovery, and throughout the whole field of operations there was not a single armed band on foot sufficient to raise even a quail of apprehension. Suddenly to the ever-ready ears of the Germans across the Rhine came the startling report that the Eburonians were being plundered, and that anyone who liked might come and share the booty. Instantly two thousand horsemen were ready to march from the Sugambri, a tribe that lies nearest the Rhine, and that has already come before us as having harbored the Tencteri and Usipetes when these were chased out of Gaul. Crossing the river by means of boats and rafts, thirty miles below the bridge and garrison established by Caesar, they quickly reached the frontiers of the Eburones, where they picked up numerous small bodies of fugitives, and (what is always dearest of all to the native mind) large quantities of cattle. From that point the lust of spoil drew them still farther on; and, bred up as such men are from their cradles to war and rapine, they made small difficulty of either forest or morass. Questioning their prisoners as to the whereabouts of Caesar, they learnt that the Roman commander-in-chief was far away to the south, and that the Roman forces had all left the neighborhood. Then one of the prisoners made them a happy suggestion, and asked why they remained contented with such meager and beggarly loot when wealth, beyond

the camp, and was followed in so doing by the centurions of the battalion on picket duty at the time; and together these brave men for a few moments held their assailants at bay. Desperately wounded, Baculus then fainted, and with difficulty was rescued through being dragged out of the *mêlée*. But the short respite so gallantly gained had been long enough to steady the remaining troops, who at all events now dared to take their places on the wall and to offer some semblance of defense.

Meanwhile the foraging party had just completed its labors, when the roar of battle coming from the direction of the camp fell upon its ears; and the cavalry racing forward to observe the cause took in at a glance the full gravity of the position. Here was no shelter of fortified entrenchments with which to cover a frightened soldiery: lately raw recruits, and wholly unaccustomed to act for themselves, the men turned with mute appeal to their commanding officer and centurions, anxiously waiting for the word of command to issue from their lips. The sudden nature of the emergency had unstrung the stoutest heart. On their side the Germans, seeing the gleam of Roman standards showing in the distance, at once broke off the assault, convinced at first that the legions of whose departure their prisoner had spoken had unexpectedly returned. A few moments' observation, however, quickly undeceived them, and revealed the true proportions of their new foe, whereupon with feelings of profound contempt they charged down from every quarter.

The sutlers with the force immediately bolted to the nearest hill, and when quickly driven out of that, hurried themselves in wild confusion upon the troops, who were now drawn up around the standards, thereby changing their existing state of nervousness into one of downright terror. On the course to take the officers were not at all agreed. Some thought that with the camp so near they should form a wedge and cleave their way through the ring of hostile horsemen, arguing that even if a section got cut off, the main body could yet be saved; some, on the other hand, wished to take up a position on the hill range, and there meet their fate together. To this view the strongest opposition came from the small group of veterans who, it will be remembered, had accompanied the force. Calling on one another to

make a supreme effort, and headed by C. Trebonius, a Roman knight who was acting as commanding officer of the contingent, they boldly cut their way through the heart of the enemy, and safely reached camp to a man. Close in their rear, with the impetus of the same rush, the sutlers and cavalry, thanks to the intrepid conduct of these veterans, were carried into safety. In painful contrast to this boldness was the vacillating conduct of the division on the hill. Even now their soldierly instincts had not returned to them, and lacking the resolution either to adhere to their first resolve of clinging to the higher ground, or to follow the example of swift and courageous action which they had seen so splendidly vindicated in the case of others, they attempted to carry out a regular retreat to camp, and in so doing fell upon difficult ground. Their centurions behaved in a manner worthy of all admiration. The senior companies in this legion had in many cases been given to men specially promoted for valor from the lower commands in others, and the brilliant reputation they had already gained they were now determined not to lose. Fighting till they dropped, they succeeded in temporarily relieving the pressure of the attack, and by their noble self-sacrifice enabled a portion of their men, to their own utter surprise, to regain the shelter of camp: the rest were cut off and perished amid the throng of natives.

Seeing that the garrison had by this time manned the walls, the German raiders quickly abandoned whatever hopes they might have entertained of storming a Roman camp, and after recovering their spoil from the woods in which it had been hid, started off for the Rhine towards home. Though, however, they were gone, the panic inside the Roman lines continued unabated, so that when towards the close of the same day the Roman cavalry, under C. Volusenus, rode into camp, having been dispatched in advance by special orders, that officer found it impossible to establish a belief that Caesar, with the main army safe and well, was himself close at hand. So complete a mastery had fear gained over their minds, that like men distraught they would have it that the Roman forces had been utterly annihilated, the cavalry alone escaping in the rout, and insisted that, had the army still been in existence, the Germans would never have dared to assault the camp. Only the timely arrival of Caesar put an end to this state of panic.

Familiar as he was with the surprises of war, Caesar's single adverse criticism, on his return, fell upon the decision which had allowed the battalions to leave their appointed post inside the fort, at a time when every circumstance demanded that no opening should be left for running even the shadow of a risk. The most prominent agent throughout the whole incident appeared to him to have been Fortune. She it was who had contrived the startling appearance of the Germans before the camp, and her they had to thank for so strangely turning them back just at the moment when rampart and gates seemed to be in their hands. But of all the various aspects of the case none was certainly more remarkable than that the Germans, who had crossed the river for the express purpose of plundering the possessions of Ambiorix, should by their sudden deflection towards the Roman camp really play so completely into his hands.

Once more the systematic harrying of the enemy recommenced, and numbers of volunteers having flocked in from the neighboring states, these were now dispatched to every corner of the kingdom. Villages and farms wherever seen were ruthlessly burnt, and everywhere long trains of plunder filled the land; and though the standing crops were mostly consumed by the army of men and animals now engaged upon the work, wherever this was not the case the late season of the year and the heavy autumn rains had already beaten them to the ground. Even, therefore, should a certain number succeed in evading the bands now operating against them, it was practically certain that, with the withdrawal of the army, any survivors must perish from the total desolation that would ensue. Many were the occasions on which the efforts of the crowds of horsemen quartering the country seemed about to be crowned with success. Prisoners would declare that only a moment ago they had seen Ambiorix fleeing for his life, and straining their eyes to the horizon would insist that even yet he was not clearly out of sight. Then officers and men would be fired with fresh zeal at the prospect of overtaking the rebel chief, and buoyed up at the thought of earning the lasting gratitude of Caesar, would undergo such endless fatigue as apparently to triumph over even the limits imposed by nature. But the fulfillment of their desires, so ardently pursued, ever receded before their grasp; and

again and again the hunted king would from some secret nook in a forest glen watch his enemies go by, until under the friendly covering of night he could steal away to another part of his wide dominions, never accompanied by more than three or four horsemen, to whom alone he dared entrust his life.

The devastation of the country having by these methods been completed, the army, weakened by the loss of two battalions, returned to Durocororum, the capital of the Remi (*Rhems*). To this place the general assembly of the Gauls was summoned, and at it Caesar prepared to hold a judicial inquiry into the recent insubordination among the Senones and Carnutes. Upon Acco, the ringleader of the movement, the heavier sentence of the law was passed, and the penalty inflicted that usage has made habitual; while of his accomplices many fled the country from fear of judicial proceedings, and were then formally condemned to outlawry. After this the legions were free to go into winter quarters. Two were posted at the frontier station of the Treveri, two among the Lingones (*Langres*), and the remaining six at Agedincum, the capital of the Senones (*Sens*). Arrangements for their supplies having been satisfactorily settled, Caesar, in accordance with his annual custom, then left Gaul for Italy, to resume his civil duties in the courts.

BOOK VII

SECTION I. THE RISING OF VERGINCTORIX

The calm that now lay over Gaul had enabled Caesar to fulfill his original plan of visiting Northern Italy, and superintending in that part of his government the civil administration of the courts. There he heard of the murder of Clodius (January 20), and acting upon the consequent resolution of the Senate which called on all the adult population of Italy to take the oath of military service, he proceeded to order a levy throughout the province. These unusual movements were of course at once reported to the Gauls beyond the Alps, and their true significance being purposely exaggerated and perverted by interested mischief-makers, Caesar was represented as forcibly detained in Italy owing to the disturbances at Rome, and as unable to rejoin his army through fear of an armed outbreak. So good an opportunity was eagerly embraced by those who had long resented the yoke of foreign rule, and fresh thoughts of war, on a bolder and grander scale, now began to stir their minds. Secret councils were convened in remote districts of the forest-lands, at which the national leaders, taking the death of Acco for their text, cunningly incited others to rebellion by the insinuation that his fate might very probably be theirs, and by generally lamenting the woes of their unhappy country. The great point was to discover some tribe to lead the way, and, induced by the sure prospect of generous reward from its fellows, though at the imminent risk of its own existence, to work out the

common salvation of Gaul. The importance of severing Caesar from his army before their secret negotiations got abroad was fully recognized; but this feat was declared easy of accomplishment because, just as in the absence of their commander-in-chief, the legions would not think of stirring from their cantonments, so neither could he without an escort make his way to them. And come what might it was universally agreed that to fall fighting on the field of battle was infinitely better than to endure the loss of their ancient military renown, and of their sacred heritage of freedom as a people.

As a result of these discussions the Carnutes stepped forth with the bold announcement that they were prepared to risk everything for the welfare of their country, and to take upon themselves the responsibility of beginning hostilities. It seemed inadvisable, however, at the present juncture to interchange hostages, as such a step might well lead to disclosure; they therefore requested all present solemnly to bind themselves by the most sacred rite known to their people, viz. the interlocking of their military ensigns, and to swear that, when once they had set their hand as leaders to the task of national redemption, other tribes should not leave them in the lurch. Loud was the applause at this patriotic conduct of the Carnutes; and every member present having given the required oath, a date was fixed for carrying out their schemes, and the council then dispersed to their respective homes.

As dawn broke upon the fateful day, the Carnutan authorities gave the signal, and under the leadership of two desperadoes named Conatus and Conconnetodumnus, an armed mob burst upon the town of Cenabum (*Orléans*), where they first massacred the Roman mercantile residents, and then proceeded to distribute their property. Among the victims was a Roman knight of distinguished family, C. Fulvius Cita, who at the time was holding a commission from Caesar in the commissariat department of the army. The story of this deed of blood was quickly carried into every corner of Celtic Gaul. In these regions the report of any event of uncommon interest or distinction is usually conveyed by being shouted across the countryside, each man in turn catching it up and passing it on to the next. Thus on the present occasion an incident which happened at Cenabum

at sunrise was made known before the close of the first watch of the night by this method to the Arverni (*Auvergne*), over a distance of a hundred and fifty miles.¹

Among the Arverni it took instant hold on one of the most prominent of their younger chiefs, a man named Vercingetorix. This man's father, a certain Cellillus, had once been the titular head of all Gaul, and because he aspired to monarchical power, had been put to death by his own people. The son now summoned his personal retainers round him, who were easily caught by his own infectious zeal, and as his designs became more widely known the whole tribe flew to arms. On the other hand, he encountered stout opposition from most of the ruling chiefs, headed by his own uncle Gobannitio; and as these all strongly disapproved of his policy at such a time, he soon found himself expelled from the capital, Gergovia. In nowise daunted by this rebuff, he next proceeded to rouse the countryside, and to enlist to his standard every needy adventurer that offered himself: with this band to support him, he then paid various visits to such of his fellow countrymen as he hoped to secure for allies, pleading with them to take up arms for their country's cause; until, having accumulated quite a formidable force, he returned to oust from their position those political opponents by whom he had himself been rudely dismissed. Proclaimed king by his followers, he next dispatched agents to all four quarters of the Gallic world, begging the various states to stand loyally to their pledge; and soon the Senones (*Sens*), Parisii (*Paris*), Pictones (*Poitou*), Cadurci (*Cahors* on the *Lot*), Turoni (*Tours*), Aulerci (*Perche-Maine*), Lemovices (*Limoges*), Andi (*Angou*), and all the maritime tribes of the northwest had announced their adhesion to his cause. Having been by universal consent appointed commander-in-chief, he proceeded in virtue of his new powers to exact hostages from all the tribes above, to apportion military contributions for each member of the confederacy, and to fix the quantity of arms that each tribe was to manufacture at home, together with their date of delivery. Especially did he take measures to raise a really powerful cavalry. Tireless and unsparing of himself, he demanded from others a discipline almost savage in its rigor; and insubordination was stilled at the thought of the punishment awaiting it. All the more serious offenses

were visited with death by fire and other racking tortures; in the case of minor delinquencies, the culprit first had his ears cropped, or one of his eyes put out, and was then sent back to show himself to his friends, as a lasting warning through the severity of his punishment to all other would-be evildoers.

In spite of, or maybe because of this sternness, an army was rapidly collected; whereupon half of his forces he dispatched under a certain Cadurcan named Lucernus, a bold and resolute leader, to the country of the Ruteni (*Rodre*) in the south, whilst with the remainder he himself advanced northwards against the Bituriges (*Bourges*). That people at once sent a message to their political suzerains, the Aedui, requesting their assistance in the task of repelling the enemy. The Aedui, upon the advice of those Roman officers who had been left by Caesar in charge of the army, replied to their appeal by sending off to their relief a mixed body of horse and foot. On reaching the river Liger (*Loire*), which forms the boundary between the Aeduan and Biturigan territories, this force halted for several days, being afraid to cross. Returning home, the men then reported to the officers that they had discovered a treacherous plot on the part of the Bituriges, who meant first to inveigle them across the river, and then to crush them between the two converging armies of themselves and the Arverni. Whether the alleged cause was the true one, or whether their action was prompted by disloyalty, in the absence of clear proof one way or the other, need not be here decided. Their retirement was at once followed by the secession of the Bituriges to the Arvernian cause.

These movements reached the ears of Caesar whilst he was still in Italy; and coming at a moment when, thanks to the vigorous measures adopted by Cn. Pompeius, affairs at the capital had been reduced to something approaching order, they made it possible for him to recross the Alps into the further Province. Arrived there, he was at once confronted by the exceedingly difficult problem of how best to reach his army. To summon the legions southwards into the Province would be to send them into action upon the road in his own absence; to make a dash northwards in order to join them was to entrust his person to the safe conduct of still nominally friendly tribes, and this at so critical a juncture would scarcely be advisable.

Meanwhile, however, circumstances had combined to solve the problem for him. The Cadurcan leader Lucerius had so far succeeded in his mission to the Ruteni as to win over that tribe to the national cause, passing thence to the Nitiobriges and Gabali;² from each of whom he exacted hostages; and now, after strengthening himself by several fresh contingents, he was ready to descend upon the Roman Province with the object of striking at the town of Narbo (*Narbonne*). The news of this movement determined Caesar to relegate all other issues to secondary consideration, and to proceed at once to the threatened town. There he soon put fresh heart into the waverers, and then proceeded to erect a chain of forts along those sections of the Ruteni that lie on the Roman side of the frontier, the Arecomican Volcae, the district of Tolosa (*Toulouse*) and the environs of Narbo, all of which lay directly in the enemy's line of attack. At the same time a portion of the Provincial levies, as well as the new drafts lately come from Italy, were ordered to concentrate upon the Helvii, who are situated on the southeastern flank of the Arverni (*Auvergne*).

These measures sufficiently checked the further advance of Lucerius, who, finding the ring of fortified posts too strong to pierce, presently beat a retreat, thus leaving Caesar free to go on to the Helvii. On the Cevennes, the mountain range that blocks the Helvii from the Arverni, midwinter had spread a pall of deep snow over the face of all the country, that sorely hindered progress: but, working with tireless energy at the task of clearing the drifts, that were often six feet high, the troops gradually laid bare the roads, that soon the army was upon the frontiers of Auvergne.

Its inhabitants were overwhelmed by the extraordinary suddenness of the attack. The Cevennes had always been regarded as an impregnable barrier of defense, and never within the memory of man had the passes been open at this season even to a single wayfarer. Pressing his advantage, Caesar ordered his cavalry to scour the country to the utmost limits of their powers, and to overawe the enemy wherever found. The report that the Romans had taken the field was quickly communicated to Vercingetorix, and, as a first consequence, he was quickly surrounded by a crowd of terror-stricken Arverni, begging him to go to the rescue of their property before it was looted by

the enemy, and reminding him that to him had been entrusted the sole conduct of the war. To these arguments he yielded a grudging recognition, and breaking up his camp among the Bituriges, began to move southwards towards the Arvernian district.

Meanwhile Caesar, who had expected some such result in regard to Vercingetorix, after remaining two days in the neighborhood, gave out that the need of obtaining fresh drafts of infantry and cavalry now summoned him away, and then quietly took his departure from camp. The command of the forces was left with one of the younger generals, D. Brutus, who had orders to continue the sweeping movements of the cavalry about the country during the commander-in-chief's absence, which would not, as he hoped, be extended beyond three days. These dispositions effected, without any suspicion even by his own attendants of the object of their journey, he traveled through with all haste to Vienna (*Vienna*), where, picking up a division of cavalry which had been sent on thither some days in advance, and was therefore now rested, and barely drawing rein either by day or night, he raced across the country of the Aedui towards the Lingones (*Langres*), where were two legions in winter quarters. In this way he trusted to his speed to frustrate any designs upon his own person that the Aeduan authorities might likewise be harboring. Arrived at his destination, he at once sent word to the remaining legions, and before any inkling of his presence in these quarters had reached the Arverni, the concentration of the Roman army was complete. At this unexpected news Vercingetorix once more fell back upon the Bituriges, from whence he moved to attack the town of Gorgobina, at this time inhabited by that section of the Boii which after the Helvetian war had been settled there by Caesar in political dependence upon the Aedui.³

The enemy's new movement raised a serious difficulty for Caesar as to what course he should pursue. To keep the legions together for the rest of the winter while a city belonging to Aeduan subjects was openly carried by assault, was to confess before the Gallic world that the Romans were unable to defend their friends, and to risk, therefore, the universal defection of Gaul: on the other hand, to move from winter quarters earlier than usual, with transport a matter of

much trouble, would probably lead to a breakdown in his supplies. Yet it seemed preferable to endure any degree of hardship than, by a tame acquiescence in such a humiliating ignominy, to alienate the sympathies of every Roman supporter: and therefore, after urging on the Aedui the importance of maintaining a regular succession of convoys, he sent word to the Boii that he himself was marching to their relief, bidding them at the same time stand firmly to their allegiance and present a bold front to the enemy. Then leaving two legions at Agedincum (*Senis*) along with the stores and baggage of the whole army, with the remaining forces he set out for the Boii.

The second day's march brought him to a town of the Bituriges named Vellaunodunum,⁴ and in order to leave no enemy in his rear who might afterwards threaten his communications, he prepared for its assault, and in two days had completed the necessary lines. On the third the enemy opening negotiations, they were allowed to surrender on condition they gave up all arms, brought out all draft animals, and handed over hostages to the number of six hundred. The carrying out of these terms was entrusted to C. Trebonius, a staff officer, and the army with the commander-in-chief then resumed its forward movement. Its next objective was Cenabum (*Orléans*), the capital of the Carnutes, for whose defense that tribe was only now preparing to introduce a garrison; since they had expected the siege of Vellaunodunum, of which they had just heard, to be an affair of some time. Two days' march brought the legions before the town; but, it being too late to deliver the assault that night, it was decided to defer it till the morning, and meanwhile the army camped outside the walls. The necessary preparations for attack having been carefully completed by the troops, as there was reason to fear that the enemy might, under cover of darkness, attempt to escape by the bridge connecting Cenabum with the further bank of the Liger (*Loire*), two legions were ordered to remain under arms throughout the night. This expectation was abundantly realized, and shortly before midnight the inhabitants ~~quickly~~ began the evacuation of the town by crossing the stream; but the movement being reported by his scouts to Caesar, the two legions, who by his orders were ready for any emergency, were at once directed to fire the gates and to enter the

town. The victory was all but complete: along the bridge and narrow roads debouching upon it the crush had been so dense, that very few indeed of the enemy's masses had succeeded in making their escape. The town was first plundered and then burnt; and the troops having been rewarded with the spoil, the army now crossed the Liger and found itself in the country of the Bituriges.

The news of its approach caused a modification of plans on the part of Vercingetorix, and breaking off the siege then occupying him, he boldly advanced to throw down the gage of battle to Caesar himself. The latter meanwhile had interrupted his advance in order to attack the Biturigan town of Noviodunum,⁵ lying upon his line of march. A desire to negotiate had already been expressed by the garrison, and Caesar, anxious to complete his work with the same expedition which had hitherto proved so effective, had, in answer to their appeal for pardon and preservation, at once commanded the delivery of arms, animals, and hostages. Some of these had already been surrendered, and centurions with a file of soldiers had even entered the town for the purpose of completing the arrangements and of collecting the arms and animals, when suddenly on the horizon the cavalry corps preceding the army of Vercingetorix was seen to be approaching. No sooner was the discovery made by the townspeople, than realizing that possible help was at hand, they raised a loud shout of defiance, and rushing to arms, shut all the gates and surged forward to man the walls. The centurions in the town, observing from the signals passing between the Gauls that some untoward circumstance had arisen, at once drew their swords, and having secured possession of the gates, ultimately withdrew everyone of their men without loss.

Upon Caesar's orders the cavalry advanced from camp and at once engaged the enemy; but finding that they were being worsted he called up as reinforcements a body of some four hundred German troops, which throughout these campaigns had been a permanent feature of his army. Before their charge the enemy broke and fled, and with heavy loss fell back upon their main column. Their overthrow revived to the full the alarms of the townsfolk, and, having arrested the suspected leaders in the recent renewal of resistance,

they sent these out to Caesar under escort and again tendered their submission. This affair satisfactorily disposed of, the advance was continued towards Avaricum (*Bourges*), and as this town is the largest and strongest of all those belonging to the Bituriges, and forms the center of an exceedingly rich and fertile district, there was good ground for believing that its recovery by the Romans would be followed by the surrender of the entire Biturigan people.

So far the war, from the point of view of Vercingetorix, had been one long series of disasters: and when to the fall of Vellaunodunum were added those of Cenabum and Noviodunum, it was time in his opinion to summon his principal supporters and to discuss with them the military situation. The campaign, he now announced, must in future be conducted on very different lines from those hitherto adopted. The supreme object of the Gauls should be to deprive the Romans of fodder and provisions; and owing to their superior cavalry, as well as to the time of year, neither of these tasks should present much difficulty. It was, he truly observed, impossible to cut fodder, and the Romans, to get it at all, must scatter over the country, pillage the private stores; and one by one their separate parties could then be snappd up daily by the watchful Gallic troopers. Bluntly declaring that it was no time to cling to the sweets of private property, he insisted that at the assembly of the allies the question of its destruction or retention was warmly debated. Going upon their knees before all their compatriots, the Bituriges passionately pleaded the cause of this queen of Gallic cities—their pride alike and their protection—and begged they might not be forced with their own hands to apply the torch for its destruction. It was, they maintained, easily defensible; and secure amid its maze of river and marsh, and approached if at all at but one point of extreme narrowness, it might safely bid defiance to all attack. Their request was granted; and though Vercingetorix at first stoutly opposed the concession, and afterwards, before the earnest appeal of the Bituriges and the strong sympathy excited by their case, he signified his assent. A garrison was then selected for its future defense.

Meanwhile the Gallic commander by shorter stages continued following in the rear of Caesar until, arrived within some sixteen miles

of Avaricum, he chose a site strongly fortified by forest and swamp, and there made his camp. Organizing a regular service of secret messengers, he kept himself informed of all that passed within the town, sending back his own instructions to the garrison. All movements of Roman troops in search of fodder or provisions were carefully watched; and if at anytime these got drawn too far from their base or became scattered, as was necessarily often the case, they were certain to be attacked. The annoyance thus caused was very considerable, and though various ruses were tried, such as changing the hour and road taken by the foragers, they were mostly unavailing.

Caesar meanwhile had commenced the siege. Fixing his camp at that corner of the town where, as already described, an assault alone is possible through the break in the line of river and marsh, he proceeded to construct a siege embankment, and under cover of mantlets to erect two wooden artillery towers. Circumvallation, which under other circumstances would have been preferable, was in this instance precluded from the peculiar nature of the ground. On the extremely important question of supplies, though frequent appeals were made to the Boii and the Aedui, they effected little. The last-named tribe was but lukewarm in its support, and their help was therefore insignificant: the other, being a small and weakly community, possessed but slender stocks of grain, and so quickly ran to the end of its resources. When to Aeduan indifference and Boian indigence there is added a third great obstacle in the destruction by fire of all surrounding homesteads, it will readily be seen that the Roman army was reduced to the direst straits for food: indeed, for several days the men never tasted bread, and had to stay the pangs of hunger solely by meat obtained from the herds that were driven in from distant villages. Yet through all this period no word was uttered unworthy of the great traditions of the Roman people, or of their glorious record in the past. Indeed, when the question was put by Caesar in turn to each of the legions, as he went the round of the works and promised to break off the siege if the strain imposed upon the men proved too severe, the unanimous answer was that to do so would be an insult, no less humiliating than undeserved, both to them and their many years of faithful service under himself, and that

to break off a task when once begun, such as this siege of Avaricum, was a disgrace they had done nothing to incur. Nay, sooner than fail in the sacred duty owed to the departed spirits of those Romans who had been foully massacred at Cenabum (*Orléans*), they would gladly endure whatever suffering might be necessary. Similar sentiments were expressed by the men to their officers and centurions, with a request that these would convey their wishes to Caesar.

The twin towers of the Romans had all but reached the wall, when through some prisoners the discovery was made that Vergingetorix, having exhausted his present supply of fodder, had moved his camp nearer to Avaricum, and with his cavalry and the light-armed skirmishers who usually fought on foot between the squadrons, had gone off to arrange an ambushade at a spot where he had reason to believe the Roman foragers were to come next day. Acting on this intelligence, Caesar, about midnight, noiselessly left camp, and early the next morning reached the main position of the enemy. His approach, however, had been promptly reported by their scouts, and after hiding their wagons and heavy baggage in the denser parts of the bush, they were now all drawn up in battle array on a piece of ground that was both raised and open. On hearing this, Caesar ordered his men to pile their knapsacks and to prepare for action.

The hill on which the Gauls were posted, whilst rising gently from its base, was virtually surrounded by a belt of marsh, which, though not more than fifty feet across, was yet dangerous and treacherous under foot. All connecting bridges had been broken down by the enemy; and with full confidence in their position and ranged in the order of tribes, they now quietly awaited the attack, jealously guarding every ford and causeway that led across the swamp, and ready at a moment's notice, should the Romans attempt to rush the intervening space, to fall upon them from their place of vantage as they floundered in the mud. To a spectator, watching merely the narrow interval that separated the two forces, it doubtless would have seemed that the Gauls were asking only a fair field and no favor in order to engage their adversaries; and it was not until he noticed the tremendous inequality of conditions, that he would realize how hollow was their pretence of valor and how empty was their boast. But the sight

of their foe thus openly flaunting them to their face at so ridiculous an interval, roused the legionaries to fury, and a clamorous demand was made to have the signal for action. Caesar found it necessary to explain how heavy must be the price of victory, and how terribly long the death-roll of brave men; and though, as he told them, he rejoiced to see the spirit of devotion animating them towards himself, and leading them to dare anything for his honor, he yet felt that to sacrifice their lives to his own ambition would justly convict him of most heartless selfishness. Having thus consoled them for their disappointment, on the same day he led his troops back to camp, where the task of completing the various requisites for an assault was once more resumed.

But the incident was not allowed to pass unchallenged so far as Vergingetorix was concerned, and on his return to headquarters he was formally arraigned for treason. The substance of the charge was that he had moved his camp within striking distance of the Romans; that he had gone off with the whole of the Gaulish cavalry; that he had left his large forces wholly destitute of a commander; and above all that, under such favorable circumstances for the enemy, his departure had been promptly followed by the appearance of the Romans on the scene. These facts, it was argued, could not all of them be the result of chance or altogether innocent of design, but plainly indicated that he preferred to accept the kingdom of Gaul as a fief from Caesar, rather than as a gift bestowed by his own people. To such allegations his answer was as follows. Their change of camp had been necessitated by their shortness of fodder, and was indeed openly supported by themselves; while the fact that it brought them nearer to the Romans was, in view of the natural strength of their new position, quite apart from fortifications, immaterial: and as to the cavalry, their services could hardly have been required on the swampy ground, whilst on the other hand they had proved most valuable on the particular work to which he had transferred them. His neglect to appoint a deputy commander on leaving camp had been intentional; for, knowing their natural repugnance to strenuous toil and their impatience to have done with it, he had been afraid that any subordinate might be driven by their impulsiveness to offer

battle. The sudden appearance of the Romans had at least had some good results: it had enabled themselves, as it were from a bird's-eye point of view, to discern the weak numbers of their opponents, and also to show their supreme contempt for men who lacked the spirit to enter on a stand-up fight, but who, like curs, returned to the protection of a fortified camp. Whether, therefore, their arrival had been due to chance or to the invitation of some renegade, the allies might at least be grateful for the good it had effected—to Fortune in the one case, to the particular informer in the other. Again, their taunt about accepting sovereign power from Caesar as the price of treachery he repudiated with all his might; for with victory already well in sight—victory not only for himself, but for everyone of his compatriots—it would necessarily follow of itself; and he even offered to resign, if they had any suspicion that the title with which they honored him was more than a fair equivalent for the advantages they themselves derived. Then turning on his accusers, “To understand,” said he, “that my words are those of an honest man, I will ask you to hear the evidence of Roman soldiers.”

With this he led forward a batch of slaves, captured a few days previously on a foraging expedition, and since tortured by starvation and imprisonment. These, having been carefully drilled beforehand in the story they were to tell their questioners, declared that they were Roman legionaries who had stolen from camp, in the fond hope of finding a little corn or cattle about the country, as they could no longer endure their present hunger and distress. The same awful destitution was being suffered by the entire Roman army, reducing it to such a state of emaciation that the men could no longer perform the manual work demanded by the siege; and if no progress were made with the investment, the Roman commander had decided after three more days to withdraw altogether from the place. “Such,” concluded Vercingetorix, “are the services of a man whom you now accuse of treachery. Without shedding a single drop of your blood, by my own exertions, as at last you see, I have brought the vaunted army of Rome to the actual brink of starvation, and have also, by my foresight, ensured that, when it turns and runs for its life, it shall not find a single district in all Gaul able to give it succor.”

From all sides of the vast assembly loud applause was heard, accompanied by the clash of arms, the invariable method of the Gauls for signifying their approval of a speaker. Vercingetorix was declared to be a heaven-born general, whose loyalty it was treason to doubt and whose strategy it was impossible to improve. A picked force of ten thousand men, drawn from all the confederates alike, was straightway ordered for Avacicum. The salvation of their common country, it was felt, should not be allowed to depend solely upon the Bituriges; and, as was plainly evident, the retention of their capital by that people was the true key to their ultimate victory over Rome.

Meanwhile the siege steadily advanced, the Roman soldiers displaying a heroism that was only equaled by the inventive genius of the Gauls. A more versatile race, in fact, nowhere exists, and in adopting and reproducing all the best methods of other nations they stand unrivalled. The powerful hooks used by the Romans for loosening the wall would be turned aside by means of nooses made fast to windlasses with which to draw them in; the great siege mound was frequently undermined, with all the precision and skill that familiarity with all branches of mining had given them, owing to the large iron workings in their country; while the whole periphery of wall had been crowned with a line of storied towers, wrapped round with skins. Nor did they fail to make constant sallies, by day no less than by night, during which they would scatter fire upon the logs that helped to form the embankment, or furiously attack the troops while busy upon the works. Again, they would cleverly frustrate the object of the two great movable towers, whose purpose it was to command the town, by carefully noting the distance these rose with the daily rise of the mound, and then raising their own to an equal height, by taking a line through the tall uprights that formed their framework. Finally, they would endeavor to block the open ends of the Roman galleries protecting the sappers, and so prevent their reaching the wall, by driving in timbers sharpened and fire-hardened at the point, or by pouring down burning pitch and placing in position massive boulders of stone.

The walls of a Gallic town, it should be noted, are invariably formed as follows. A line of heavy baulks at regular intervals of two

feet is first let perpendicularly into the ground and braced together on the inner side. These are then dressed from behind with a solid backing of earth, the intervening spaces being crammed with wide-faced stones. As soon as the first row is firmly fixed and welded together, a second is superimposed upon it, preserving throughout the same intervals, but so arranged that its timbers are not continuous with those below, but by means of the exact uniformity of the spacing are cleverly made to fit into the corresponding stonework beneath. The rest of the building then follows the same pattern, until the whole has attained to the height of an ordinary city wall. Such a type of construction, besides being in no sense unpleasing to the eye, owing to the variation produced by the alternate courses of wood and stone, so accurately divided by rectilinear lines, possesses also very great advantages in the facilities it offers for the defense of towns. The stonework is of course proof against fire, while the timber courses, being clamped together on the inner side by single beams, often forty feet in length, bid easy defiance to the ram, since it is impossible either to break them up or to wrench them out.

Though checked at every point by the endless devices of the Gauls, and hampered throughout the operations by both rain and cold, yet the indomitable efforts of the troops at last overcame every obstacle, and at the end of five-and-twenty days they had succeeded in raising a mound 330 feet in width and 80 in height.⁶ This had nearly reached the wall, when one night, as Caesar as usual was sharing the watch with the men upon the works, urging them to waste no single moment from the task before them, suddenly a little before midnight smoke was seen rising from the embankment, showing that the garrison had fired it from a mine. At the same time a mighty cheer ran from one end of the enemy's wall to the other, and from two of the gates, one on either side of the Roman towers, a sallying party poured forth. To support this attack, others of their number from their post upon the wall began to throw lighted torches and dried timber upon the mound, and to pour on pitch and any other inflammable material. In the first shock of surprise it was difficult to decide where to combat the evil, or what point stood in most pressing need of aid. Fortunately, it was Caesar's practice always to keep two legions on duty at night before

the camp, strong drafts from which were constantly on guard in turn upon the works; and owing to this precaution, the attacking parties were quickly met, while with another division of the troops the towers were rapidly hauled out of danger, and the burning pile sundered in twain. At the same time a hurried movement of all arms took place from camp, to assist in extinguishing the flames.

Then for some hours the tide of battle raged on every side, till night had been succeeded by morning. The enemy's hopes of victory rose with every passing minute, reaching to certainty as they saw that on the Roman towers the breastworks had been burnt off by the fire, leaving it difficult for the troops, owing to the exposure, to go to their assistance. Constant relays of fresh men pressed eagerly forward to relieve those who had become exhausted, and the hour of Gallic freedom seemed at last about to strike, when an incident occurred under our own observation, which, as being well worthy of record, just as it was witnessed by us, we cannot allow to pass unnoticed. Standing before the town gate was a Gaul, throwing on to the fire, in a line with one of the towers, lumps of grease and pitch that were passed out to him by hand. A bolt from one of the mounted pieces of artillery struck him on his right, or unguarded side, and he fell dead. Across his prostrate body one of those nearest at once stepped forward to continue the same duty, until he too by the same method was hit by the artilleryman, and dropped lifeless to the ground. His place was taken by a third, and his by a fourth; nor was it till the fire had been extinguished along the mound, and the enemy had been driven back at every point, and all fighting was over, that the Gallic sharpshooters allowed this particular post to go unoccupied.

The Gauls had now exhausted every expedient; and as each had uniformly failed, on the next day, by the advice and command of Vergingetorix, they resolved to evacuate the town. This step they hoped to accomplish with little loss to themselves, provided they made the attempt at dead of night; for not only was Vergingetorix's camp at no great distance from the city, but the marshes which covered all the intervening space would necessarily impede any pursuit on the side of the Romans. Darkness having fallen, all was in busy preparation for the task, when suddenly the streets were filled with wives

and mothers pouring from their homes, who, throwing themselves with tears before their husbands, begged and implored them by every term of endearment not to betray them and their children, their common offspring, to the tender mercies of the foe, simply because age or natural weakness in their case made flight impossible. Then, seeing that nothing would turn them from their purpose, all pity as usual being quenched where danger is supreme, they rent the air with piercing cries intended to inform the Romans of what was going forward; on which the garrison, fearful of discovery and of finding the roads already in possession of the Roman cavalry, abandoned their design.

On the morrow Caesar moved up one of his two towers, and the various works, on the construction of which the troops had been long engaged, were now placed in position. A fierce storm had ushered in the day, and through the driving rain it was possible to observe that the guard upon the enemy's wall was being a little less carefully maintained. Thinking, therefore, that the wildness of the elements might be well made to further his purpose, Caesar ordered the troops to present a listless appearance on the works, whilst at the same time he issued his real instructions. The legions were brought down from camp accoutred for action, and having been carefully screened from observation behind the rows of mantlets, were then addressed by their commander. Pointing out that at last they had the chance of reaping the fruit of their long and painful labors by a glorious victory, he promised a handsome reward to those who should be the first upon the ramparts, and then gave the signal. From one end of the Roman lines to the other, the legionaries swept across the intervening space, and in a few brief seconds were upon the wall.

Overwhelmed by the unexpectedness of the assault, and driven from both battlements and towers, the enemy fell back upon the market-square and the more open spaces of the town; where, forming in squares, they prepared to meet attack from whatever quarter it might come, by a swift movement into line. Seeing, however, that no attempt was made to come down to engage them on level ground, but that the storming party was rapidly spreading round the whole circumference of wall, they became seized with panic lest all exit

should be stopped, and flinging away their arms, rushed in wild disorder for the furthest corner of the town. Here part fell an easy prey to the troops awaiting them at the gates, as they crushed one another in the narrow entrance, while any who had succeeded in making their escape from the town were cut to pieces by the cavalry. No one thought of plunder, but maddened, by the recollection of the massacre at Cenabum (*Orleans*), as well as by the hardship and privations of the siege, the troops were altogether without mercy. Old and infirm, women and children, were indiscriminately butchered. When all was over, it was found that out of a total fighting population of forty thousand men, scarcely eight hundred had succeeded in making their way to Vercingetorix, these being the few who on the first cry of alarm had made a wild dash for freedom. The arrival of these fugitives in his camp was thought by Vercingetorix likely to lead to a riot, through the sympathy excited by their pitiable plight. He had therefore taken the precaution to post along the roads, some distance in advance, prominent friends of his own from among the various allies; and these late in the night quietly received them as they came in from their flight, and having sorted them into tribes, took each back to the particular quarter of the camp which had been originally allotted to it.

The next day he called a meeting of his officers, and in a sympathetic but stirring speech protested against all thoughts of gloom or despondency on account of their late reverse. The success of the Romans, he argued, so far from marking them as the better men in a stand-up fight, was attributable solely to their knowledge of siege warfare, a branch of military science that was unfamiliar to themselves. But apart altogether from the mistake of expecting every operation in war to turn out well, he himself, as he reminded his audience, and as they themselves could testify, had never favored the retention of Avaricum; and their present disaster must therefore be set down to the faulty judgement of the Bituriges, and to the too easy acquiescence of the rest. That disaster, however, he assured them, he would quickly retrieve by successes still more striking; for he was already negotiating for the adherence of those who were yet outside the national movement, and endeavoring to effect the unification

of Gaul—and Gaul united might face a world in arms. This great object, he continued, was now all but accomplished; and meanwhile, he considered it not too much to demand of their patriotism that they should henceforth make it a practice properly to entrench their camps, so as at least to prevent the repetition of such sudden attacks from the Romans.

The speech on the whole was well received, and the Gauls, who were especially struck by the fact that, in spite of such crushing disaster, their leader had not lost hope, or deemed it advisable to go into hiding in order to avoid publicity, only praised his judgement and foresight the more warmly, as they reflected that he had originally favored the destruction, and subsequently the abandonment of Avaricum. The curious result thus followed that, whereas other generals are invariably discredited by failure, he on the other hand found his reputation positively enhanced as the result of a military reverse. The hopes of his followers likewise rose, as a consequence of the emphatic statement of their leader, that the other tribes might still be brought in; and for the first time in history there now was seen the sight of Gauls regularly throwing up entrenchments wherever they camped; and so cowed and crestfallen had this constitutionally idle people now become, that every kind of irksome command was willingly submitted to without complaint.

Nor can it be said that Vercingetorix felt short of his spoken word in his efforts to win over the rest of Gaul, and bribes and promises were freely used as baits. Appropriate agents were chosen to do the work; such men as either by the possession of a glib tongue, or through some existing tie of friendship with those they visited, were likely to make efficient pleaders. The fugitives from Avaricum were thoughtfully provided with new arms and uniforms, whilst to recruit his sorely depleted ranks, fresh requisitions for troops were laid upon each of the confederate tribes, number and date of delivery being in all cases accurately determined. Lastly, orders were now issued that every available archer in the country (archery being at that time much affected throughout Gaul) should be impressed for service and dispatched to the seat of war. By these and other similar methods the losses experienced at Avaricum were quickly made good,

and meanwhile, from an unexpected quarter, further assistance had arrived. Teutomatus, son of Ollovico, king of the Nitiobriges, in spite of the fact that his father had been honored by the Roman Senate with the coveted title of "Friend," took this opportunity to declare his adhesion to the nationalist movement; and bringing with him a powerful force of his own cavalry, with mercenaries hired out of Aquitania, marched northwards to join the insurrectionary army.

SECTION II. THE SIEGE OF GERGOVIA

Meanwhile Caesar was still at Avaricum (*Bourges*). Ample supplies of all kinds had been found in the town, and a stay of several days in the place afforded his troops, after their arduous labors and prolonged shortness of rations, a much needed rest. With winter fast drawing to its close, and the youthful season of the year once more beginning to invite military operations, he had already determined to take the field against the enemy, in the hope of either drawing him from his woods and marshes, or of pressing him by siege. Suddenly from his Aedui there arrived a deputation of leading chiefs, begging for his assistance in what they described as a political crisis of the utmost gravity. And, indeed, the situation, as represented by themselves, was one of profound danger. Their ancient practice, extending now over a number of years, had been, as it seemed, to elect a single magistrate with an annual tenure of something like regal power: but at the present moment there actually existed two heads of the government, each claiming to be legally appointed. One of these, a chief named Convicoltavis, was a man in the prime of life, deservedly holding a very high position; the other, by name Cotus, belonged to one of their very oldest houses, and through his powerful family connections exercised a very wide influence, a brother called Valentiacus having held the same office the year before. As a result of the *impasse*, the whole country was up in arms, not only the governing council, but every prominent individual of the tribe being ranged with his followers into one of two hostile camps. A prolongation of the dispute must end in a fratricidal struggle between the two parties, and so desperate was the situation that, as the envoys declared, nothing but the resourcefulness and authority of Caesar could now save it.

Only too well aware from bitter experience of the evils commonly engendered by civil warfare, Caesar was determined, if possible, to save so important a people as the Aedui, so closely associated with the arms of Rome, so sedulously upheld and protected on all occasions by himself, from drifting into all the horrors of an armed strife: and though much disappointed at having to suspend military operations and his plans against the enemy, yet sooner than throw the weaker party in this dispute into the arms of Vercingetorix, he was ready to sacrifice all other considerations to this end. But as by the law of the Aeduan constitution no magistrate is allowed during his term of office to set foot outside the frontiers, he resolved, in order to show his scrupulous regard for their rights and customs, to pay a personal visit to their country, and at Decetia (*Decize* on the *Loire*), a town near the border, summoned the whole of their council, together with the two principals to the quarrel, to meet him in a conference. To that city accordingly repaired practically the entire community, and he was then made acquainted with the facts of the case. The appointment of Cotus, it seemed, had been of a highly questionable character. The meeting summoned to elect him had been both clandestine and packed; its time and place had been irregular; the returning officer had been his own brother; and the election was further invalidated by the breach of the rule which forbade two members of the same family, within the lifetime of both, not merely to hold the same magistracy, but even to sit in the council of the chiefs. Under these circumstances Caesar compelled him to resign his office, and at the same time confirmed the appointment of Convictolitavis, whose election had, according to precedent, where no magistrates are available, been conducted under the presidency of the priests.

His decision put an end to the dispute, and further to heal the local dissensions, he begged them all to sink their private differences under the supreme object of furthering the conduct of the war, reminding them that on the final subjugation of Gaul they might expect their well-deserved reward. Before leaving, he ordered them to send him with all dispatch the whole of the mounted troops then in the country, and a picked force of ten thousand infantry to be used

along the lines of communication. Returning then to the prosecution of the campaign, he decided to make a twofold division of his forces. Four legions were sent northwards under Labienus to operate against the Senones (*Sens*) and Parisii (*Paris*); whilst with the remaining six he himself moved southward against the Arverni (*Auvergne*), and with the object of attacking their capital Cergovia¹ marched up the right bank of the river Elaver (*Allier*). Of the cavalry, part accompanied Labienus, part he retained with his own force. Vercingetorix² answered to these movements was immediately to break down all bridges leading across the river, and then to begin a corresponding ascent on the opposite or western bank.

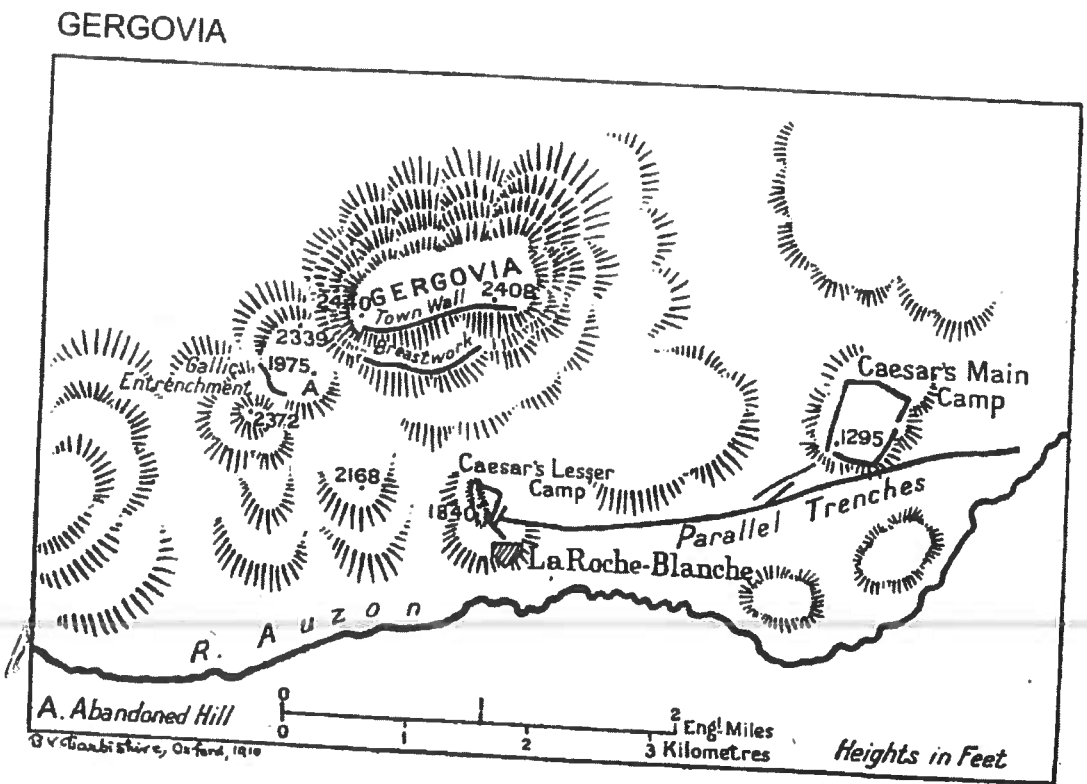
The two hostile armies were thus advancing on parallel courses, separated merely by the river, consequently not only did each often look on the camp of the other, but they even faced one another across the stream, along the whole of whose banks scouts were now picked, so as to prevent the Romans anywhere from building a bridge and thereby passing to the farther side. To Caesar the prospect thus presented was one of no little anxiety, because, the Elaver (*Allier*) not being as a rule fordable till autumn, he seemed threatened with detention on the eastern bank for the greater part of the summer. To extricate himself from this difficulty, he chose for one of his camps a certain wooded district in a right line with one of the bridges broken down by Vercingetorix; and on the following day, keeping back two of his six legions, sent on the remainder with all the baggage in the usual formation, but with certain of their battalions so cunningly extended that they would pass muster as containing the original number. This force was bidden to push on that day to the utmost, after which, about the hour when, as he calculated, it ought to be reaching camp, he proceeded to restore the ruined bridge on its old piles, the lower ends of which were still standing. The work was rapidly carried through, and the two legions being by its means conveyed across, and a strong position chosen for a new camp, the other regiments were then recalled. The success of this ruse made Vercingetorix anxious lest he should be brought to battle against his wishes, and quickening his rate of marching, he now hurried on in advance towards his capital.

Caesar, on the other hand, allowed five more marches in which to reach Cergovia. His arrival was followed on the same day by a cavalry skirmish outside the town, during which a careful reconnaissance was made of the place; but finding it to consist of a precipitous hill, virtually inaccessible on all sides, he at once abandoned all hopes of proceeding by direct assault, and before attempting a blockade, decided thoroughly to safeguard his supplies. Vercingetorix meanwhile had pitched his camp not far from the line of the city; and bristling all round him, in tribe after tribe, on every height that guarded the approach, and filling up every avenue visible from the plain below, the allied contingents could be seen posted at slight intervals and presenting an appearance threatening in the extreme. At his tent at sunrise every morning there was held, in obedience to his orders, a joint meeting of all the local leaders, who formed an advisory staff to the commander-in-chief, and here any important information would be communicated and fresh instructions issued: and seldom did a day elapse without his testing the courage and endurance of his followers, by sending the cavalry into action, interspersed as they always were with bodies of light-armed bowmen. Facing the town, and springing immediately from the base of the central rock, stood an isolated hill,² strongly fortified and sharply scarped on every side, the possession of which by Caesar's investing forces bade fair to deprive the enemy of a large part of their water supply, and their free access to fodder. Though garrisoned, it was not held by any force that could be called overwhelming. Leaving camp therefore in the dead of night, before any succor could arrive from the town close by, Caesar succeeded in driving out the garrison and securing the position, which, after placing it in the permanent occupation of two legions, he linked up with the main encampment by two ditches, each twelve feet wide, so perfectly defended from sudden incursions of the enemy, that even single soldiers could pass along in safety.

Meanwhile, during these operations at Cergovia, serious trouble had again arisen with the Aedui. The disturbing element this time was the political leader Convictolivas, who, as will be remembered, had but just recently been awarded the chief magistracy by Caesar.

Templed by the bribes of the Arverni, he had been heard to use treasonable language with certain firebrands among the nobility, notably with a certain Litavicus and his brothers, young men belonging to one of the principal Aeduan families. Prefacing his remarks by dividing with them the money received, he urged them to remember the grandeur of their birthright, which was that of a free and sovereign people. "At this moment," he continued, "there stands between Gaul and certain victory the single obstacle of the Aedui, for it is our example that holds all others to their loyalty. Remove this obstacle, and the Romans will be left without a footing anywhere throughout the country." Then touching on his personal relations with Caesar, he admitted some degree of obligation, but even if this amounted to more than the recognition of his own incontestable rights, it was not in any case, he asserted, to be weighed against the higher claims of patriotism. For what reason was there in the nature of things, that the Aedui should be expected to go for a settlement of their constitutional difficulties to Caesar, rather than that the Romans should come to them? Before this inflammatory speech from their chief magistrate, commended all the more by its accompanying bribe, the young men, who in reality required no prompting from outside, easily succumbed; but as the conspirators had some qualms about their people's readiness to rush into an unprovoked war, some method had to be found for the execution of the plot. The plan finally agreed upon was that Litavicus should be placed in command of the ten thousand men under orders to proceed to the seat of war, and be made responsible for their safe conduct to Caesar; his brothers meanwhile preceding him, so as to be there on his arrival. Other measures incidental to the undertaking were at the same time carefully determined.

At the head, therefore, of this Aeduan army Litavicus had arrived within some thirty miles of Cergovia. When suddenly calling the troops together, he asked them, with tears rolling down his face, whether they realized to what fate they were proceeding. Everyone of their knights and nobles, he declared, then serving with the Romans had been foully massacred, whilst their two distinguished leaders, Eporodix and Viridomarus, had been accused of high treason and



put to death without a trial. Explaining that grief for the murder of brothers and kinsmen prevented his telling them the story in person, he then referred his hearers to those whom he described as eyewitnesses that had escaped from the very midst of the carnage. Thereupon certain carefully prepared agents were led forward, and recounting to the assembly the gruesome details of the picture merely outlined by Litavicus, told how the Aeduan cavalry had been done to death on the charge of intriguing with the Arverni, and how they themselves had only escaped from the scene of slaughter by sheltering behind the crowd of soldiers. A storm of indignation greeted these words, and a fierce demand was raised that Litavicus should at once take measures to secure their safety. "Measures," cried he,

... what need for them, when our plain duty is to hasten forward to Gergovia, and to throw the weight of all our swords on the side of the Arverni! Can anyone doubt that the Romans, having stained themselves by the perpetrations of this hideous crime, are now burning to complete their work of villany by adding us to the number of their victims? Indeed, if we have a spark of manhood in us, we shall, even here and now, avenge the death of our martyred countrymen, and once for all make an end of these butchers.

With these words, he pointed to a group of Romans who happened to be traveling under the trusted escort of his party, and who were now seized and put to death by the most fiendish cruelty, at the same time that large quantities of stores and provisions under their charge were looted by his men. After this, emissaries were dispatched broadcast through the Aeduan land, rousing the people to horror by the same lying tale of their slaughtered knights and chiefs, and urging them to adopt the same methods for the satisfaction of their wrongs.

The two Aeduan leaders referred to above, viz. Eporodrix and Viridomarus, had recently been called out for service by a special summons from Caesar, and had joined the Roman headquarters with the body of native cavalry. Of the two, Eporodrix was a young man of highly distinguished family and of immense influence in his

own land. Viridomarus, on the other hand, his equal in years and authority, differed widely as to origin. Originally brought under Caesar's notice by Divitiacus, he had since been raised by him from a position of comparative obscurity to one of highest eminence. Constant political rivals, they had naturally taken different sides in the recent dispute about the magistracy, and had thrown all the weight of their support, the one on the side of Convictolivas, the other on that of Cotus. When, therefore, the plot of Litavicus reached his ears, though it was about midnight, Eporodrix at once reported the matter to Caesar, and implored him not to allow the unscrupulous agitation of irresponsible hotheads to sever the friendship between his country and Rome. That result, he went on to declare, must inevitably come about, if once the juncture of so many thousands of his countrymen with the enemy became an accomplished fact; for in that case, not only would the probable fate of these men be a strong inducement with their relatives to cast in their lot with them, but by the government also it could not be disregarded.

The news aroused in Caesar feelings of anxiety that bordered on dismay; for from first to last he had purposely treated the Aedui with special consideration. Without a moment's hesitation as to his course, he gave the word for four legions to hold themselves in readiness, and for the cavalry to prepare for a forced march; and since, at such a time, when everything depended on speed, it was impossible to wait till the dimensions of the camp had been reduced, he had no alternative but to leave the entire position to the defense of two legions, under command of his general, C. Fabius, and himself then started on his march. A vigorous search was made for the brothers of Litavicus, but they were found just a short time before to have deserted to the enemy. The troops rose to the greatness of the occasion; and to his urgent appeal that at such a crisis they would make light of the fatigue of the march, they replied with so good a will, that after covering a distance of five-and-twenty miles, they were rewarded by the sight of the Aeduan column advancing into view. Thereupon the Roman cavalry was sent forward to harass and retard their progress, with strict orders, however, that on no account were any of the Gauls to be killed. At the same time Eporodrix and

Viridomarus, the two supposed victims of the ghastly story, were ordered to display themselves among the troopers and to call aloud on their followers by name. Their recognition revealed to the Aedui the full extent to which they had been duped by Litavicus, and throwing up their hands in token of surrender, they at once began to drop their weapons and to cry for quarter. In the interval Litavicus, surrounded by his personal retainers, whom custom compels never to desert their lords however desperate be their plight, got clean away and fled into Gergovia.

The first act of Caesar was to send word to the Aeduan government that, though by all the laws of war their contingent had forfeited their lives, yet by an act of clemency he had allowed them to live. He then gave his men three hours' rest during the night, and having struck camp commenced the return march to Gergovia. Half-way on the road he was met by mounted couriers from Fabius, informing him that during his absence the garrison had passed through a period of much peril. The enemy, it seemed, had taken the opportunity to assail the Roman position in great force, and the defenders, under stress of meeting a constant succession of fresh men along a front whose extended length demanded their continual presence on the ramparts, had become much exhausted. Numbers had been wounded by the showers of arrows and other missiles launched by the assailants—though here, indeed, the Roman artillery had done excellent service in keeping down the fire; and when the messengers left, Fabius was engaged in blocking up all gates of the camp save two, in raising breastworks, and in generally strengthening himself for a repetition of the affair next day. The news acted like magic upon the wearied troops, and before sunrise Caesar was back in camp.

In the midst of these events outside Gergovia, the Aedui had eagerly embraced the earlier reports sent off by Litavicus, and had left themselves little opportunity for a careful investigation of the facts. Among men whose habitual motives were greed or hatred, or (what is the most characteristic of such races) mere blind impulse, an unfounded rumor easily passed for truth; and Roman residents now began to have their property plundered, their lives sacrificed, or their persons hurried into slavery. Convictolivas himself added

fuel to the fire; and by goading on the populace to fresh outbreaks of violence, hoped to appal them so much by the thought of what had passed, that shame alone would prevent them from returning to their duty. Typical of their madness was the case of M. Aristius, which occurred at Cabillonum (*Chalons-sur-Saône*). This officer was on his way to rejoin his regiment; and having been escorted out of the town under a solemn pledge of safety, accompanied by the Roman mercantile residents of the place who were compelled to go with him, he and his little party were suddenly attacked upon the road. Though losing all their baggage, they nevertheless made a stout resistance, and after enduring a day and night's uninterrupted siege, in which both sides lost heavily, they obliged their assailants to call up larger reinforcements.

In the meanwhile news arrived that all their troops were safely in Roman hands; whereupon, hastily betaking themselves to Aristius, they earnestly disclaimed all public responsibility for what had happened, and, instituting inquiries into the various acts of plunder, confiscated the property of Litaviccus and his brothers, and dispatched commissioners to Caesar to establish their own innocence. In all this their chief concern was the recovery of their armed contingent: their true sentiments were something very different from those expressed. The recent outbreak had involved large numbers in its guilt; and conscious that their hands were deeply stained with crime, but that their pockets had been considerably enriched by the spoil of their victims, these men, when punishment stared them in the face, at once fell back on the desperate expedient of then and there preparing for war, and of fomenting disaffection among other tribes. Though all these facts were perfectly well known to him, Caesar yet received the deputation with all possible courtesy; and assuring them that he was not likely to confuse the impulsive acts of a heedless mob with the deliberate policy of its rulers, promised that nothing should ever prejudice the high regard he entertained for the Aeduan race. That the insurrectionary movement was bound to spread there could, however, be little or no doubt; and if he were not to be caught in the center of a ring of hostile tribes, some scheme for extricating himself from Gergovia, and for reuniting his scattered army, must at once be

found. At the same time he had to ensure that a movement, which was necessitated solely by fear of disaffection, should not be mistaken by the enemy for a tacit admission of defeat.

These reflections were suddenly interrupted by an event which seemed to offer some prospect of a military success. Going one day to the lesser camp in order to inspect the works, the Roman commander observed that a certain hill in the occupation of the enemy, hitherto almost hidden beneath the masses of men that crowded it, was now all but empty. Struck by the occurrence, he turned for an explanation to the deserters, who in large numbers daily made their way into his lines. Their answers agreed with one another in all particulars. Describing the summit of the plateau upon which Gergovia stands, they explained, what indeed had been already discovered by the scouts, that though tolerably uniform throughout, it yet narrowed down and became extremely wooded at the point connecting it with the further quarter of the town. This weak corner, they affirmed, was the cause of no little anxiety to the garrison; for having already seen one hill pass into the hands of the Romans, they were convinced, should they lose another, that the siege would be turned into a blockade, and that all means of obtaining fodder would be gone, through the virtual closing of every outlet. To strengthen the defenses at this narrow neck, all hands had been summoned away by Vercingetorix.

Upon this information Caesar resolved to act. Shortly after midnight several squadrons of horse were dispatched in the direction of the point indicated, with orders to range freely about the country as though bent on a foray. At dawn multitudes of baggage animals and mules were led out from camp, and the muleteers were commanded, after stripping the animals of their trappings, to don helmets, and counterfeiting the manner of regular cavalry, thus to make the circuit of the hills. To complete the illusion, a few genuine troopers were added to the force, so as to give it greater mobility, and all ranks were then bidden to work round by a wide detour to the south, towards the same point as those sent overnight. Since Gergovia commanded an excellent view of the Roman camp, nothing of all this escaped the notice of those in the town, though at the great distance it was impossible to make out clearly the nature of the movements. Next

to be dispatched was a regiment of infantry, which, after following for a little the same line along the hills, was then halted on the lower ground and carefully concealed among the woods. This did but increase the suspicion of the Gauls, who now detached the whole of their available forces to the work of fortification. At last, when the enemy's camps appeared plainly denuded of men, Caesar proceeded to develop his real plan. With their military decorations all carefully screened, and regimental colors kept well out of sight, the main body of Roman infantry was stealthily transferred in small dribbles, as being still under the eyes of the town, from their principal base to the lesser of the two camps. That done, the scheme of operations was carefully explained to the generals who were to command the several corps; and these were exhorted especially to keep their men well in hand, and to check any tendency to extend the advance, either through the excitement of battle or the hope of plunder. Reminding them that they were about to be placed at a grave disadvantage in position, always a serious consideration in war, he showed how only rapid action could overcome this inferiority, and insisted that their present business was not to fight a battle but to effect a surprise. His instructions issued, he made the signal to the troops, and simultaneously by another route towards the right the Aeduan auxiliaries were sent up the hill.

The distance between the town wall and the point where the ascent from the plain began was, if one took a bee line, and no fold occurred to break the ground, little more than 2,000 yards; any deviation from this, made to ease the stiffness of the climb, proportionately increased its length. About half-way up, the Gauls had built a breastwork of massive stones, six feet high, with which to break the force of any attack, and, according to the natural inclinations of the ground, had extended it from right to left, along the entire mountain slope; everything below this had been left unoccupied, while the space above was crowded with camps reaching right up to the city walls. Mounting the hill upon the word of command, the troops quickly gained this outwork, and rapidly passing it, were soon masters of three out of these camps. As some indication of their amazing quickness of action, we may mention what occurred in the camp of the Nitobriges. There king Teutomatus was surprised in his

tent whilst taking his siesta, and had barely time to escape from the hands of his pursuers, who were now busily hunting for loot, with his horse wounded and his shirt torn from his back.

Having secured his main object, Caesar ordered the recall, and at once halted the Tenth legion, in whose company he had been when addressing the troops; the others unfortunately did not hear the bugle, owing to a considerable dip in the ground, though, in obedience to his original orders, their officers were now doing all they could to restrain their men. But the near prospect of victory and the actual flight of the enemy had too greatly excited them; and infatuated by their unbroken successes in the past, they now believed themselves to be invincible, and pressing hard upon the pursuit, never paused till they found themselves approaching the gates and walls of the town. Their arrival here was greeted by a universal shout of alarm, and so terrifying was the wild disorder that soon prevailed, that the portion of the garrison which was a little farther off, thinking that the enemy had already forced the gates, fled precipitately from the town. With similar panic their women began stripping off their raiment and jewelry, and tossing them down from the wall; and leaning over with bared breast and outstretched arms, implored they might be spared a repetition of Avaricum (*Bourges*), where the Roman soldiers in their fury had spared neither sex nor age. Many even began to lower themselves down to the ground, helped by those above, and to deliver themselves as prisoners to the Romans. Typical of the reckless courage now animating the troops was the action of L. Fabius, one of the centurions belonging to the Eighth legion. Several had heard him declare on that day that he meant to profit by the lesson of Avaricum, and that if it came to rewards and honors, he would take good care that nobody reached the top of the wall before himself. With the assistance of three of his own company, whom he secured for the purpose, he now hoisted himself to the summit, and then turning round drew up each of the others to a place at his side.

Meanwhile the true position of affairs had been reported to the enemy's main body, which, it will be remembered, had been withdrawn to the western end of the town to strengthen the defenses. Apprised at first by the noise of distant shouting, when message after message

followed in quick succession that the Romans were inside the works, they had flung their cavalry to the front, and then like a surging tide came racing back to the point of danger. Forming beneath the wall as fast as each reached the scene of action, they quickly swelled the numbers of the defense, which had soon grown to a formidable army. Thereupon the women, who till now had not ceased to make signals of entreaty to the Romans, seeing the change wrought in the position of affairs, called on their natural protectors to defend them, and in true Gallic fashion displayed their wildly disheveled hair, and held up their children to their fathers' eyes. Alike in numbers and position, the Romans were soon placed at a sore disadvantage: exhausted by their running and wearied by the protraction of the fight, they found it difficult to cope with a fresh and vigorous body of men, such as that now opposed to them.

Observing the unequal conditions of the combat, and the alarming extent to which the enemy was being reinforced, Caesar dispatched an order to T. Sextius, the officer left over the lesser of the two camps, to move with some of his battalions, and to take post at the foot of the hill upon the enemy's right. So placed, he was to hamper the Gauls' freedom of action, should they attempt to pursue in the event of the legionaries being driven down the slopes. At the same time he himself advanced with the Tenth legion a little beyond his previous halting-ground, and from this new position watched anxiously the fortunes of the fight.

In the midst of a fierce hand-to-hand encounter, in which to the enemy's reliance on superiority of numbers and position the Roman legionary had nothing to oppose but his own unflinching courage, suddenly on the unguarded flank of the latter appeared the body of Aeduan infantry, which, with the object of weakening the defense, had by Caesar's orders ascended the hill more towards the right. The sudden emergence of this unknown force, armed in all respects precisely like the Gauls, created no small panic among the troops; and though their right shoulders were seen to be bare—the symbol ~~adopted~~ for friendly tribes—yet this in itself was believed to be a ruse, purposely invented to deceive. About the same time I. Fabius, the centurion who had scaled the battlements, was, together with his

companions, surrounded and cut down, and their bodies flung over the wall. A second centurion from the same legion, M. Petronius, at the head of a storming-party of his own men, had been for sometime vainly trying to hew his way through one of the town gates, but was now overborne by numbers. Desperately wounded, he dismissed all hope of saving himself, and turning to his followers, begged they would seize their opportunity while still they had it. "Tis impossible," he exclaimed in soldierly language, "that all of us should survive this day; and as it was my ambition that brought you into this mess, I at least will get you out." So saying, he hurled himself upon the thickest of the enemy, and having killed two with his own hand, succeeded in clearing for a little a space outside the gateway. Every effort was made by the others to support him, but again he insisted on their departure, and declaring that his strength was now all but spent, and that he was bleeding to death, bade them, whilst they had the time, to regain their regiment. A few moments later he fell, still proudly fighting; and his gallant death proved the salvation of the rest.

Sorely beset at every point, with no fewer than forty-six centurions slain, the Romans were at length driven in confusion down the heights. On their rear the triumphant foe pressed with haughty insolence; and but for the timely assistance of the Tenth, which had taken post on favorable ground for this purpose, worse disaster must have followed. In this task it was admirably seconded by the battalions of T. Sextius, which having by now moved out from camp, had established themselves somewhat higher up. No sooner, however, did the battered legions feel their feet on the plain below, than at once re-forming, with face presented to the foe, they stood firmly to their ground. But Vercingetorix was already satisfied, and having followed his enemy to the foot of the descent, he regained his stronghold on the hills. The day's fighting had thinned the ranks of the Roman army by close on seven hundred men.

On the morrow the troops were assembled, and Caesar delivered himself of some criticism on their conduct. Their rashness and impetuosity had, he said, cost them dear. In presuming to judge for themselves how far the advance was to be continued, and what movements it might be made to embrace, they had unwarrantably

exceeded their duty; and in refusing to halt at the signal of recall, and in getting beyond their officers' control, they had been yet even more to blame. Impressing upon them afresh how serious are the consequences of a disadvantage in position, he reminded them of his own experience at Avaricum (*Bourges*). There the enemy had been surprised without either general or cavalry; and yet rather than inflict upon his men even a minimum of loss, in fighting their way over treacherous ground, he had deliberately sacrificed a victory which was as good as gained. Much, therefore, he continued, as he admired the intrepidity of troops whom fortified, entrenchments, beetling rock, and frowning wall had alike failed to stop, he had no less a detestation for that spirit of overweening self-confidence which imagined that it knew better than the commander-in-chief where success might be safely pushed, and where operations ought properly to cease. Never should it be forgotten that strict obedience and a power of self-control were not less binding on a soldier than steadfast courage and a daring spirit.

Having administered this rebuke, and closed his speech by some strong encouragement to the troops, he proceeded to give effect to his words. It was important to check at the outset any tendency towards demoralization caused by recent events, and to see that a result which was due entirely to the conditions of the field of battle was not falsely attributed to the superiority of the Gauls. As, therefore, he still contemplated the abandonment of the siege, he resolved boldly to issue from his lines, and upon carefully selected ground formed for battle. This challenge Vercingetorix at once accepted, and began to move down the hill to the open ground; upon which the Roman cavalry was sent into action, and after a slight skirmish, which ended in their favor, retired upon camp with the other forces. This operation was repeated next day, and satisfied that by these measures the insolent tone of the Gauls had been sufficiently repressed, and the confidence of his own men restored, he broke up from before the city and directed his march towards the ~~Aedui~~. Even this failed to draw the enemy; and unmolested by pursuit, on the third day he reached the Elaver (*Allier*), where, having repaired the bridges, he transported the army to the eastern bank.

Once on that side, he was approached by the two Aeduan leaders, Viridomarus and Eporodrix, with news that the treacherous Litavicus, with all the cavalry in the place, had at once left Gergovia to raise a rebellion among the Aedui, and that if that people was to be saved from his baneful influence, they must themselves anticipate his arrival. Such language did not deceive the Roman governor. Many incidents had of late convinced him of Aeduan duplicity, nor could he now fail to see that the open secession of the tribe must inevitably be hastened by the departure of these two chiefs. Nevertheless, he was not disposed to detain them; for to have done so must either have placed him in a false position with regard to their government, or else have created an impression of fear. On their finally taking leave, he briefly recapitulated his own past services to their state. He had found it, he reminded them, at the lowest depth of national humiliation. Driven into the shelter of their towns, compelled to forfeit a large slice of their land, and totally bankrupt in resources, they had had to bow to the yoke of a haughty conqueror by the twofold degradation of hostages and tribute. From this abject condition they had been raised by himself to a height of prosperity and splendor, such as not merely reinstated them in their former greatness, but conferred upon them a position and an influence that was unsurpassed in the history of their tribe. With this valedictory address, he dismissed them from camp.

Situated on the banks of the Loire in a position of conspicuous strength was the Aeduan town of Noviodunum (*Nevers*). By Caesar it had been converted into a vast dépôt for the general purposes of these wars. In it were, detained his numerous Gallic hostages, collected from all parts of the country; here was his principal magazine, his war-chest, and the greater bulk of his own and the army's baggage; here were the headquarters of his remount department for the many hundreds of animals bought up in Italy and Spain. It was at this important center that Eporodrix and Viridomarus first learnt on which side ~~the~~ real sympathies of the country lay. Here they heard of the welcome given to Litavicus at Bibracte,³ the town best representative of Aeduan public opinion, and how he had been afterwards joined there by the first minister of the country,

Convictoravis, together with a considerable following from the tribal council; and, most significant of all, that a public deputation was now on its way to Vercingetorix to arrange definite terms of treaty. Taking all these circumstances into account, the two chiefs came to the momentous conclusion that present opportunity more than outweighed prospective risk. Their first step was to massacre the Roman guards and mercantile residents of the place; next they divided amongst themselves the horses and treasure, and sent off Caesar's Gallic hostages to Bibracte, for disposal by their chief magistrate; then, feeling the defense of the town to be a military task beyond their powers, and yet determined to render it useless to the Romans, they burnt it to the ground, whilst what corn they could not carry away at once by means of barges, they destroyed either in the river or the flames. Upon their own initiative they then rapidly collected forces from the surrounding neighborhood, closely picketed the banks of the Loire, and in the hope of starving out their enemy on the farther side of the river, covered all the face of the country with strong patrols whose presence threatened every conveyance. They were the more sanguine of success from the actual appearance of the river Loire; for, greatly swollen by the melting of the snows, it appeared absolutely impassable by ford.

News of so grave an import revealed to Caesar the urgent necessity of speed; for if, as in all probability would be the case, the dangerous task awaited him of constructing bridges in the face of the enemy, it was of vital importance to force an action before larger numbers could have congregated at the passage. The only alternative to this course was to abandon altogether his present plan of campaign, and to order a general retreat upon the Roman Province of the South; a step, indeed, which under existing circumstances was universally considered unavoidable. Putting aside, however, the ignominy that such a change involved, the physical difficulties in the way were insuperable. Between him and the proposed goal lay the massive barrier of the Cevennes, and the roads were likely to be impassable; ~~the~~ what more than all else condemned such a proposal was its certain effect upon Labienus and his legions; for the further isolation of this force was a contingency too dreadful to be contemplated. Marching,

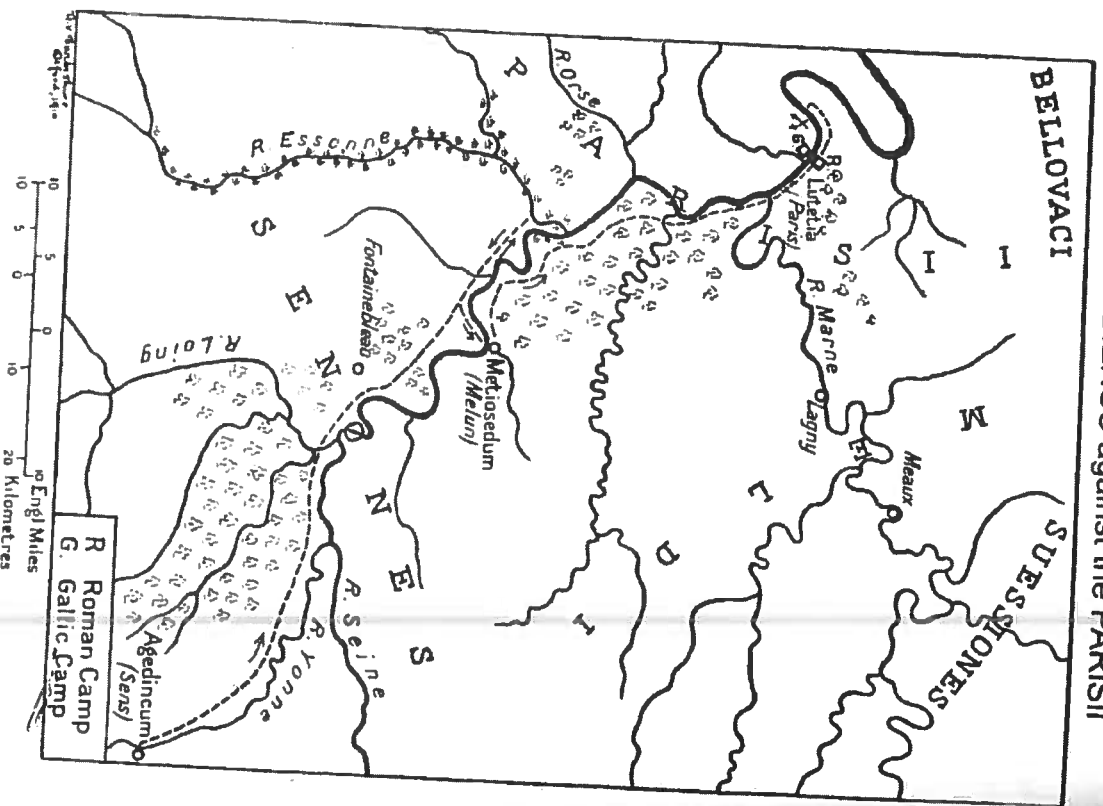
therefore, by rapid and prolonged stages, day and night alike, he suddenly appeared on the Loire to the amazement and consternation of the enemy; and finding a ford through search by the cavalry, which under existing circumstances might be considered more than adequate, where it was just possible for the men to keep their arms and shoulders clear of the water with their accoutrements resting on them, he proceeded to transport the army. To break the force of the current, the horsemen made a living dam across the stream; and as the enemy had taken fright upon the first signs of the advance, the passage proceeded in perfect safety. The country on the far side yielded abundance of corn and cattle, and thus reprovvisioned, the army continued its march northwards towards the Senones (*Senis*).

SECTION III. LABIENUS AND THE PARISII

It is now necessary to revert to the fortunes of Labienus and his campaign against the Parisii, which were contemporaneous with these actions of Caesar. Leaving the draft of recruits newly come from Italy to guard his heavy baggage at Agedincum (*Senis*), he set out with his four legions on his march for Lutetia (*Paris*), the capital city of the Parisii, which stands on an island in the Seine. His approach was the signal for a general muster of the local tribes, the command of which was delegated to an aged chieftain of the Auleri, named Camulogenus, who, though heavily weighted with years, was from his profound knowledge of the art of war publicly invited to accept this rôle. His trained eye quickly discerned a strong position for a camp, and on the western side of the Seine, where the approach to the Parisian capital is guarded by an extensive area of marsh, which drains into the river and renders all the surrounding country unfit for military operations, he awaited the arrival of the Romans prepared to dispute the passage.

The obstacles in his way Labienus at first endeavored to overcome by building a roadway across the marsh, and under cover of movable mantlets large numbers of walled hurdles were laid down and rubble superimposed. But the difficulties of such a course proving insurmountable, a change of plan became necessary. Shortly after midnight, therefore, he noiselessly evacuated camp, and retraced his

CAMPAIGN of LABIENUS against the PARISII



steps as far as Metiosedum (*Melun*), a town of the Senones, situated like Lutetia on an island in the Seine. Seizing there some fifty vessels, and with these rapidly constructing pontoons, he quickly transferred to the other side a portion of his army; and as the townsfolk (or as many of them as had not been impressed for the war) were overwhelmed by the suddenness of his attack, the place was mastered without a blow. He then repaired the permanent bridge across the river, recently cut by the enemy, and having safely conveyed the whole of his forces to the right bank, continued his march northwards to the Parisian capital. Fugitives from Metiosedum carried the news of his passage to the enemy; whereupon, sending forward injunctions to break down the bridges at Lutetia and to burn the town, they abandoned their first position at the swamp, and planted themselves on the banks of the Seine right over against the capital, and immediately confronting Labienus' new camp.

By this time report was busy with Caesar's withdrawal from before Gergovia, and rumor whispered ominously that the Aedui had at last thrown off their allegiance and that the national cause was sweeping everything before it; whilst on the lips of many a Gaul hung the story that the great Roman commander had been successfully checked at the Loire, and was now in full career towards the Province, as the only hope of saving his army from starvation. The moment they were assured of Aeduan disaffection, the Bellovaci (*Brauvais*), whose attitude for some months had been more than equivocal, boldly threw aside the mask, and raising bands, openly prepared for war. The military situation had therefore, almost in a day, suffered a complete reversal, and the original plans formed by Labienus for the campaign had accordingly to be no less fundamentally revised. He now saw that it was no longer a question of extending his area of control, or of taking the initiative in war, but solely one of extricating himself from his predicament by a safe retreat to Agedincum (*Sens*). Seldom, indeed, has a great general been confronted with a more formidable array of obstacles. To the north the powerful race of the Bellovaci, universally acclaimed the bravest of Gallie peoples, hung like a thundercloud immediately to the south lay a well-appointed army under the veteran Camulogenus; whilst between the Roman expeditionary force and its

base and stores rolled the mighty tide of the Seine. If ever there was need for military genius to assert itself, it was now; and in Labienus the necessary qualities were happily combined.

As the day closed he summoned his principal officers round him, and having impressed upon them the vital necessity of prompt and strict obedience to orders, proceeded to lay his plans. The vessels brought from *Metiosedum* (*Melum*) were placed under the separate command of Roman knights, who about 9 or 10 PM were ordered to drop down stream in perfect silence, and at a point some four miles distant to await his arrival. Five battalions, of whose steadiness in action he had some doubt, were left behind in garrison; whilst the remaining five belonging to the same legion were shortly after midnight dispatched up stream with all the baggage trains, with orders to make a considerable noise as they advanced. In company with this force went a number of small rowboats that had been impressed for service, and they also were enjoined to set up a violent splashing with their oars. Lastly, with three full legions, the commander himself a little later noiselessly left camp, making towards the point where his larger vessels had been ordered to put in.

The first thing here was to deal with the enemy's pickets, who everywhere lined the bank. Fortunately a violent storm had suddenly sprung up, under cover of which these were surprised and quickly mastered; after this, under the able management of the Roman knights appointed to the duty, the transportation of the army and its cavalry proceeded with all haste. Close upon dawn the enemy received the threefold intelligence that an unusual stir and excitement was noticeable in the Roman camp; that a large column was advancing up stream, where the sound of oars could also plainly be distinguished; and that a little lower down troops were being ferried across in boats. From these reports the natural inference was that the Romans were crossing at three separate places; and that the news of the Aeduan revolt had so disconcerted their plans, that they were now engaged in a general abandonment of their positions. Making, therefore, a similar division of their own forces, the Parisii now proceeded, after leaving a sufficient garrison behind to watch the movements of the camp opposite, to send a weak force in the

direction of *Metiosedum* (*Melum*), merely to keep in touch with the small rowboats in the river, and then with their principal strength advanced northwards to encounter Labienus.

That officer had meanwhile completed his transportation, and as the day broke could plainly discern the enemy bearing down upon him. Addressing his men, he urged them to be true to their great traditions, and to keep before their minds the brilliant work so far effected by the army of Gaul. Caesar himself, they should imagine, under whose banner they had so often marched to victory in the past, was that day present with them in spirit. The signal being given, the right wing of the Roman line, held by the Seventh legion, at once crashed through the opposing ranks and scattered the Gauls before it: on the left, which was occupied by the Twelfth, though the leading files of the enemy went down like mown grass before the deep-cutting Roman spears, the rest offered a very stubborn resistance, and nowhere was there any sign of flinching. The aged *Carnulgenus* could here be seen calling upon his men, and by precept and example doing all he could to rouse his followers to devotion. The fortunes of the day still swayed in the balance, when news of the critical state of the Roman left reached the officers commanding the Seventh: these at once brought their regiment round into view of the enemy's rear, and then advanced directly upon it. Still the Gauls refused to yield, and fighting to the last the whole division was slowly surrounded and annihilated—their venerable leader sharing the general fate. Not less complete was the destruction that overtook the garrison left to watch the camp of Labienus. Upon news of the action reaching them, they at once marched out to the support of the main body; and taking up a position on a certain height, which they failed to hold against the spirited assault of the now triumphant legionaries, they became mingled with the stream of fugitives, and with no friendly cover near at hand either of woods or hills, were all cut to pieces by the pursuing cavalry.

This great achievement ~~was~~ once opened the road to *Agedincum* (*Senis*), and picking up there his army's heavy baggage, Labienus after three more days rejoined Caesar, with his forces intact and his stores unharmed.

SECTION IV. ALESIA AND THE END

The Aeduan revolt had given a new and a more formidable turn to the war. Envoys from that people were already scouring the country, and by means of intrigues, threats, and gold, were busily engaged in spreading sedition. With waverers they had a short and ready method; for here the hostages left with them by Cæsar were now at their disposal, and a hint of vengeance upon these was generally found sufficient for their purpose. One of their first measures was formally to invite Vercingetorix to a conference, in order to arrange for a joint prosecution of the war. To this proposal he acceded, but when at the interview the Aedui claimed the exclusive right of control, the Gallic leader naturally disputed its justice, and the matter was then referred to a General Council of the nation, summoned to meet at Bibracte. To the Aeduan capital there accordingly flocked in, not merely the chiefs, but crowds of other Gauls from every district of the country, and the question being left to popular decision, Vercingetorix was returned as commander-in-chief by an absolutely unanimous vote.

The only absentees from this council were the Remi (*Rhêmes*), Lingones (*Langres*), and Treveri (*Tèves*). Of these the first two were still loyal friends of Rome; and in the case of the last, viz. the Treveri, apart from their greater geographical remoteness, the continued pressure of German raids made it impossible to attend, or indeed to take any active part at all throughout this war, by sending allies to either side. Their summary ejection from the post of leadership was a crushing blow to the ambitions of the Aedui; and deeply bewailing their change of fortunes, they sadly missed the friendly hand so often extended to them by Cæsar. Having put their hand to the plough, they could not, however, now turn back; and the pitiable sight was witnessed of two brilliant and promising young men, such as were Eporedorix and Viridomarus, being forced to yield obedience to the haughty dictates of Vercingetorix.

That ~~the~~ chieftain, meanwhile, had entered on the new phase of the war with undiminished ardor. Each confederate tribe was required to give hostages for its future loyalty, which in every case were to be delivered by a fixed date; whilst the whole of the allied cavalry,

estimated at some fifteen thousand men, was ordered to assemble at the new headquarters.¹ The existing numbers of infantry he declared to be sufficient: for, having no intention of provoking fortune by pitched battles, he trusted for final victory to an overwhelming force of cavalry, by which to isolate the Romans from every source of food or provender. All he asked was that his followers should patiently destroy their crops and burn their farms; seeing in such present personal sacrifices the sure prelude to permanent power and rule, which as soon as they were freed from the heel of the invader, would undoubtedly be theirs. As the first step towards the realization of these ambitious plans, he determined on the invasion of the Roman Province by a series of simultaneous and concerted attacks. The Aedui and their clients the Segusiavi,² situated immediately beyond the Roman frontier, were ordered to raise ten thousand infantry, and strengthened by eight hundred mounted men, to commence hostilities against the Allobroges,³ under the command of a brother of Eporedorix. Further west the Arverni (*Auvergne*),⁴ and the more southern districts of their overlords the Carni (*Carnate*),⁵ were launched upon the lands of the Helvii (*Viviers*);⁶ and in the same way the powerful Ruteni (*Rodez*) and Cadurci were ordered to raid the Arecomican section of the Volcae (*Nîmes*). Though, however, threatening war, the Gallic leader was not unmindful of any opportunity to treat; and in the case especially of the Allobroges, whom he conceived to be not quite yet settled down again after their recent rising, he made every effort to secure an alliance, plying their leaders with lavish promises of gold, and their government with the tempting prospect of future supremacy in the Province.

To meet the manifold exigencies thus created, a force amounting in all to two-and-twenty battalions⁶ had been hastily assembled in the Province by L. Cæsar, a staff officer of the governor's, and was now being cautiously distributed along the lines of danger. The Helvii, without waiting for reinforcements, determined to take measures for themselves; and advancing to meet their armed neighbors, suffered crushing disaster, losing in the battle one of their most prominent leaders, C. Valerius Donnotaurus, a son of the well-known chieftain Gaburus, besides a host of others. After this, being

no longer able to keep the field, they were driven into the shelter of their walled towns. On the other hand, the Atlobroges lined the banks of the Rhone with strong military posts, and by every means in their power prepared to defend their lands. Caesar's chief anxiety lay in the enemy's marked superiority in cavalry. To redress this inequality it was now useless to look to either the Province or Italy, since all communication with both was cut: and under the circumstances he resolved to enlist as mercenaries some of the German tribes beyond the Rhine, whose pacification he had effected in previous campaigns. In reply to his summons these quickly dispatched to the seat of war one of their composite forces of cavalry and light infantry, the combination of which is so peculiarly characteristic of that race.⁷ These were found on arrival to be but poorly mounted,⁸ and in order to remedy the defect, the officers of the legions, the many Roman knights engaged on service, and the time-expired men of the army were ordered to change horses.

Meanwhile the enemy had left the district of the Arverni, and strengthened by the arrival of the new cavalry levy which had been called up from all the country, had effected a reconcentration of their troops. Caesar at the time was moving along the southern frontier of the Lingones (*Langres*), making for the country of the Segunani (*Besangon*), so as to be in a position more readily to aid the threatened Province (*Provence*). It was an opportunity not to be lost. Anxious to employ that branch of his army in which he so conspicuously excelled, Vercingetorix placed himself in three separate camps some ten miles distant from the Romans, and then summoned his cavalry officers around him. Explaining the whole military situation as he conceived it, he declared that at last the hour for a crowning victory had struck. The liberation of their country from the hated invader, so far at any rate as the present moment was concerned, was already accomplished: of that the flight of the Romans to the Province and their hasty evacuation of Gaul were convincing proofs. But if they wished to enjoy a future of undisturbed peace and security, much yet remained to be done; for unless prevented, the Romans would return with stronger forces, and then war would once more devastate the land. "What, therefore, we have to do," he continued,

... is boldly to attack their column while hampered with its march. If the infantry of the legions attempt to go to its defense, the time so wasted will only hinder their own advance: if, on the other hand, as I confidently expect, they resolve to abandon stores and baggage and seek merely to extricate themselves, then it becomes an open question whether the loss of all the accessories of an army will be more damaging in its results than that of its prestige. I purposely omit all reference to their horse, because you will, I'm sure, agree with me that that force has not the courage to show itself a yard outside the column; but to give you greater confidence in your attack, I propose to take post with the infantry of the line immediately in front of camp, where our presence will remain a constant menace to the enemy.

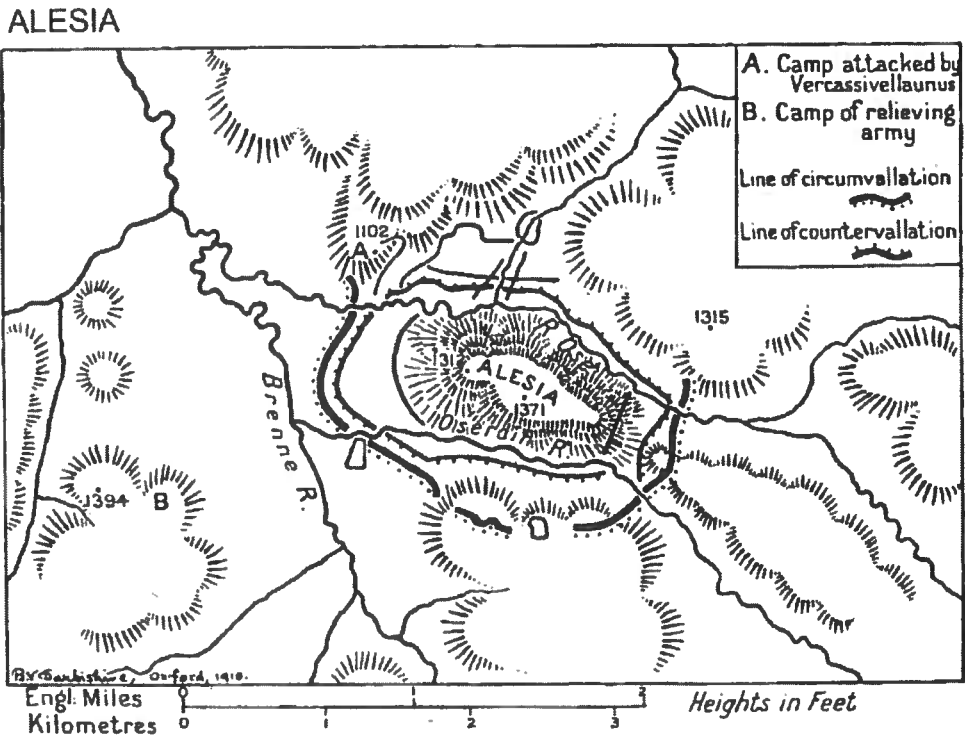
His words were greeted with hearty acclamation by the troopers, who at once demanded that a solemn oath should be administered, that anyone who failed to ride twice through the enemy's column should henceforth be counted a homeless man, without a roof to his head, without welcome from either children, parents, or wife.

The proposal was accepted, and all present bound themselves by its terms. The next day, accordingly, Vercingetorix formed his cavalry into three separate divisions, and whilst two of these showed themselves in hostile line against the two flanks of the advancing Romans, the third opened an attack upon their front. The enemy's new tactics were at once reported to Caesar, who forthwith ordered a similar distribution of his mounted force, and then gave the word for a general advance against the enemy. Brisk fighting followed at each of the three points, during which the Roman column was halted and the baggage trains withdrawn within the legions. Where the progress of the action demanded it, and where the enemy's weight of numbers pressed too heavily against their weaker opponents, the infantry of the line stood ready to relieve the strain, and was at once pushed up in support. This checked the Gallic pursuit, and also by the confidence which their presence inspired stiffened the fighting spirit of the cavalry. At length the squadrons of German auxiliaries

succeeded in gaining the ridge of some hills flanking the Roman right; whereupon they cleared the enemy off the heights, and then pursued them with heavy slaughter down to the neighborhood of the river, where Vercingetorix with his infantry had taken post. Seeing this, the other two divisions felt their position to become untenable, and fearful of being surrounded, broke into an abandoned flight. An indiscriminate massacre followed, during which several important prisoners were taken, among the most distinguished being three Aeduan who were brought before Caesar. These were their cavalry commander, Cotus, the recent rival of Convictolitavis in his contest for the chief magistracy; Cavarillus, who had succeeded Litavicus, after that chieftain's treacherous revolt, as head of the Aeduan brigade of infantry; and lastly Eporodorus, a famous captain, who had led the Aeduan armies in their ancient wars with the Arverni before Caesar's arrival in the country.

His cavalry routed on all sides, Vercingetorix with his main force had withdrawn from his position before his camp, and leaving word for his convoys to get under way and to follow with all speed, set his army in motion for a city called Alesia (*M. Auxois*), the principal stronghold of the Mandubii (*Côte-d'Or*). Caesar merely waited to park his baggage on the nearest high ground under two out of his ten legions, and then, as long as daylight served, followed the retreating host, whose rear he further thinned by something like three thousand men. The next day he camped outside Alesia, and having reconnoitred the position, addressed his troops on the present position of the campaign. The enemy, he pointed out, were broken and dispirited by the overthrow of their mounted troops, that branch of their army on which they had chiefly relied; and bidding his men therefore accept cheerfully the task that now confronted them, he began his preparations for the siege.

The town of Alesia, at which the two rival armies had now met for the final conflict, was perched on the summit of a high plateau, so steep that its capture otherwise than by investment was practically impossible; while on two sides it was washed at its base by streams. Beneath the town, at one end,⁹ stretched an open plain some three miles in diameter: on every other side the place was girt by a circle of



lofty hills, which, withdrawn a little distance from the main rock, rose to an equal elevation. Immediately below the ramparts at their eastern bend, the enemy had entirely occupied the hill with their numerous camps, the approach to which was guarded by a ditch and walled enclosure, 6 feet high. To capture so formidable a stronghold, the siege lines as traced by the Roman commander measured eleven miles in circumference. His main camps had been entrenched on carefully selected sites, and twenty-three smaller redoubts linked up the chain of works. In these, detachments, to meet any sudden sally from the enemy, were on duty throughout the day; whilst at night a line of sentinels with strong supports covered all approaches.

These works had advanced some little way towards completion, when a cavalry engagement of more than ordinary consequence occurred in the plain which, as already indicated, broke the circle of hills for a space of three miles from one terminal to the other. Fiercely contested on either side, the battle inclined against the Romans, when Caesar ordered up the German auxiliaries as reinforcements; at the same time, in view of a possible sortie by their infantry, he formed his legions in battle array on ground in front of camp. This action having restored the shaken courage of the horsemen, by enabling them to feel reserves were close at hand, the enemy was routed from the field, and in their flight being hampered by their own unwieldy numbers, were crushed together at the gates, which had been left too narrow. With eager impetuosity the Germans continued galloping on to the line of fortifications, sabring all whom they encountered: in many cases they even sprang down from off their horses, and strove to force their way across the ditch and to scale the wall. To support his daring troopers Caesar found it necessary to order the legions, in position just beyond the ramparts, to move a little further forward. Meanwhile the panic had spread to the main body of the Gauls inside their lines, who, believing that the advancing wave of Germans would soon reach themselves, now rushed to arms: some in their terror even broke away into the town, so that Vercingetorix, to prevent a general denudation of his camps, ordered every gate to be closed. In the end, with the ground strewn with dead, and numbers of horses prizes by their side, the triumphant Germans rode back to camp.

The Gallic leader now determined to appeal to his countrymen outside, and for this purpose to send out of the beleaguered city under cover of darkness, before the lines of circumvallation were drawn quite tight, the whole of his mounted troops. Issuing his final instructions at the moment of departure, he bade them hasten home to their respective governments, and there raise every man capable of bearing arms in his country's cause. His own great services to that cause were then proudly enumerated; and the horsemen were charged to deliver his final message to his people, which was not to desert their adopted leader, nor abandon to the will of a merciless foe one who had earned some right to be called the Liberator of Gaul. The urgent need of promptitude was also strongly emphasized, and his hearers were reminded that any failure here would cost the lives, not only of himself, but of eighty thousand chosen men besides. A close calculation of the food stocks then in garrison might, he concluded, give thirty days' respite; or perhaps, by practicing the strictest economy, a little longer than this. Thus enjoined, the knighthood of Gaul started on their adventurous journey, and through a gap in the lines where the Roman works were still incomplete, stole out into the night. Left to himself, their leader's first business was to direct every private store of grain to be surrendered at headquarters: disobedience to this command was to be punished by death. The live stock in the town accumulated by the Mandubii in big droves he divided up as it stood; and henceforth the distribution of corn was placed on a regular footing, and rations issued both in meager quantities and at long intervals. At the same time the fighting forces were all withdrawn from their previous position on the eastern declivity of the hill to the interior of the town; and having effected these measures he set himself to wait in patience for the expected succors from Gaul, and meanwhile made every preparation for the end.

These important movements on the part of the enemy were all reported to Caesar by prisoners and deserters; and in view of the new and critical situation which they created, the following system of defenses was now devised. A large 20-foot ditch, the sides of which were dug perpendicular, making mouth and base of equal width, was first constructed round the city; behind this the remaining

fortifications, for a reason connected with the peculiar conditions of the blockade, were then withdrawn for a distance of 700 yards. For inasmuch as a very wide circuit of country had of necessity to be embraced, it was not always possible upon such extended lines to maintain an unbroken cordon of troops; and some means had therefore to be found, both of guarding against surprise by night from superior numbers of the enemy, and of protecting the troops by day when engaged upon the works from the harassment to which they would otherwise have been exposed. With this interval, to which two parallel trenches, each 15 feet wide and the same in depth, then, next dug round the position; of which the interior, where it traversed the low-lying and open sections of the ground, was filled with water drawn from the neighboring streams. In rear of these came the ramparts formed of mound and palisade, 12 feet high in all, surmounted by a crenellated parapet, with large antler-like branches springing from the juncture of the mound and breastworks to break any rush by the enemy; while at regular intervals of 80 feet, the entire *enceinte* was punctuated with a series of stout wooden towers.

All this entailed a vast amount of labor, and imposed a multiplicity of duties upon the troops. Day by day timber, had to be cut and carried, provisions to be collected and transported, immense siege works to be erected; and as these undertakings frequently involved long journeys from camp, it was inevitable that the Roman forces available for the purpose should become greatly reduced. In addition, as was only natural, the Gauls made periodic attempts to test the strength of the fortifications, and, debouching from several gates at once, would deliver a spirited attack upon the lines. It was soon plain to Caesar that, in order to husband his troops, and the better to economize the defense, artificial obstructions of a still more extensive and complex description were required. These he proceeded, therefore, to construct as follows. Trunks of trees, or boughs of exceptional strength, were cut down and their heads lopped and sharpened to a point. Ditches, 5 feet deep, were then everywhere dug about the ground, into which the timbers so formed were dropped, and after being firmly fastened at the base, to prevent their being wrenched aside, were left to stand with their lateral branches just

resting above the soil. These being arranged in rows of five, and tied and lashed together into a single set, anyone who was then unfortunate enough to trespass upon what the troops facetiously termed their "boundary-stones," found himself impaled upon spikes of the most deadly nature. In front of these, set zigzag fashion in the form of a quincunx, a number of pits were next dug out, each 3 feet deep, with sides slightly converging inwards. Into these, after their upper ends had been sharply pointed and hardened off in the fire, smooth stout logs, of about the diameter of a man's thigh, were lowered, with 4 inches or less left standing above the ground; and a foot or so of each hole having been filled in and stamped down to secure firmness at the base, the rest was overlaid with brushwood and brambles, so as the more perfectly to disguise the trap. The rows of this form of entanglement were placed eight deep, 3 feet separating each; and the nickname given them by the troops, from a fancied resemblance to the flower, was that of "lilies." As a last obstacle, the ground in front of these was planned thick with small wooden pegs, dug down to their full depth of 1 foot, but bearing on their heads a highly formidable iron barb, which once more, in the rough language of the soldiery, were to serve as "spurs" to their opponents.

Such then was the system of defenses that formed the Roman lines of contravallation against the Gauls under Vercingetorix in the town; and as soon as it was completed a similar system in all respects was at once constructed as lines of circumvallation against the anticipated succors from without. These last were drawn in accordance with the natural features of the ground, and embraced a circuit of nearly fourteen miles. In this manner Caesar confidently believed that his rear was sufficiently fortified against any attack that might be made upon it; yet in spite of this, in view of the possibility of having to abandon the blockade under circumstances fraught with danger to himself, a standing order was maintained that all sections of the army should keep constantly by them thirty days' rations both of food and fodder.

Whilst the Romans were thus toiling at Alesia, the Gallic nation was preparing for its great counterstroke. A national assembly of all the more distinguished chiefs was summoned, at which it was decided

to modify the original proposals of Vercingetorix; and in lieu of a mobilization of the adult population of the country, to make each of the allies responsible for a definite number of combatants. The reason for this was that in a mixed multitude of the sort proposed it would be impossible either to enforce discipline, maintain a tribal organization, or find sufficient food. Upon the Aedui, therefore, and their allies, thirty-five thousand men were jointly levied: they included the Segusiavi, Ambivareti, Brannovican Aulerci, and Blannovii. The same number was demanded of the powerful Arvernian confederacy, viz. the Eleutei, Cadurci, Gabali, and Vellavi: twelve thousand each formed the quota of the Sequani, Senones, Bituriges, Santoni, Ruteni, and Carnutes; ten thousand that of the Bellovaci; eight thousand that of the Pictones, Turoni, Parisii, and Helvetii; and five thousand from each of the Ambiani, Mediomatrici, Petrocorii, Nervii, Morini, and Nitobriges. The Aulerci Cenomani contributed a similar number, the Atrebates four thousand, the Veliocasses, Lexovii, and Eburovican Aulerci three thousand apiece, the Raurici and Boii two thousand each; and lastly, the maritime states of the West usually known as Armorican, a title embracing the Curiosolites, Redones, Ambibarii, Caletes, Osismi, Veneti, Lemovices, and Venelli, sent a combined contingent thirty thousand strong. Out of this list, the Bellovaci (*Beauvais*) failed to make good their engagement, on the ground that they preferred to make war independently on the Romans, and were not disposed to recognize authority; afterwards, however, in deference to an earnest appeal from Commius the Atrebatian, a trusted friend of the tribe, they consented to furnish two thousand warriors.

The name of this last chieftain will doubtless have come as familiar to the reader, who will have recalled that in previous summers he had been loyally and usefully employed in Caesar's service across in Britain. In recognition of this conduct the Roman governor had exempted his state from the ordinary charges of subject countries, restored to it a local independence both of public and private rights, and incorporated under its sway the neighboring people of the Morini. But the chance of winning back their freedom, and recovering their ancient military renown, had so powerfully united all ranks,

that, indifferent alike to the claims of gratitude and the recollection of past friendship, men now flung themselves into this war with a passion and abandonment that nothing could surpass. The result was shortly seen when eight thousand cavalry and some 240,000 infantry stood ready to march, for the seat of operations. In a grand review held in the country of the Aedui the official numbers were checked and the officers appointed. The supreme command was divided between four great chieftains, Commius the Atrebatian, the two Aeduan leaders Viridomarus and Eporodrix, and an Arvernian named Vercassivellaunus, a cousin of Vercingetorix. These in turn were supported by elected representatives of each tribe, who formed a central and consultative body for the general supervision of the war. In buoyant spirits and light-hearted gaiety the vast assemblage now started for Alesia: nor was there in its ranks a single man who questioned the result. Arguing that the Romans would now be caught between two fires, they were satisfied that these could never face a desperate sally from the town on the interior lines of circumvallation, and at the same time endure the sight of squadron after squadron and regiment after regiment deploying from outside.

Meanwhile at Alesia itself the covenanted day for the appearance of the relieving force had come and gone: supplies were exhausted, and no ray of light as to what was passing among the Aedui had as yet penetrated to the city: a council of war was summoned, and a discussion opened on the final chapter of the siege. Amid a multitude of counselors, some urging surrender, others a bold and vigorous sortie while strength remained, there stood forth one whose speech, owing to the very brutality of its sentiments, deserves recording. This was a certain Arvernian named Critognatus, a man of noble extraction and wide influence, who now rose to address his fellow chiefs as follows:

I am not concerned, gentlemen, to discuss the opinion of those amongst us, who, by a gross abuse of language, gloss over, under the specious title, of capitulation, what is nothing less than slavery of the most degraded kind. Such men, in my poor judgement, are little better than renegades, and should

find no seat in the council-chamber of their nation. Rather let me deal with those who favor an immediate sally; for in their advice, so eagerly welcomed by yourselves, I gladly recognize the note of ancient greatness.

To be unable to endure a little hunger shows surely a pusillanimous, not a heroic spirit; and men to lead a forlorn hope can always more readily be found than those who will suffer and not complain. Were it merely a question of sacrificing our own lives, the proposal under consideration would have my approval—so much self-esteem you may safely grant me—but, as it is, any measures that we form at the present juncture must inevitably involve the rest of Gaul, which, in obedience to our appeal, has risen to our aid. Suppose we now decide to make of our eighty thousand men a single hecatomb; what stomach for a fight, think you, will our friends and relatives possess, when they see the battlefield already become a shambles? I appeal to you not to rob deliberately of your assistance those who, for your sakes, have boldly hazarded their all; nor, by an act of thoughtless impulse, or from inability to face hardship, sacrifice the future interests of your country, and thereby rivet chains of bondage upon her people such as time will never break. What is the motive that prompts to such a counsel? Is it that you question either the sincerity or the courage of our supporters, simply because they are overdue? Then, pray, turn your eyes in the direction of those Romans yonder, toiling so desperately upon those outer works, and ask yourselves whether they can be doing that for fun. Granted that where communication is cut, and no message can reach us from outside, absolute proof of the truth of what I say is not attainable; yet, that the relieving force is on its way is surely evident from the feverish haste of those who, night or day, never lay aside their tools. What, then, you say, is my advice? Why, simply to do what our great ancestors did, in a war that for importance cannot for a moment be compared with this—I mean that with the Cimbri and the Teutones. There, when they were no longer able to keep the field, but cooped within their walls

were haunted by the same grim spectre of starvation, they kept themselves alive by devouring the bodies of all whose age unfitted them for war, and by so doing staved off surrender. Such a policy, even did it lack a precedent, it would in my opinion be an honor to initiate, and to hand down for imitation to posterity. For what parallel can be drawn between that old invasion and today's? The German hordes, after devastating the land of Gaul and working incalculable mischief, at length passed on in search of other victims; our laws, our constitution, our lands, our liberties, they left intact. The Roman invader, on the other hand, has no such object. That which brought him here was petty jealousy of another nation's greatness, a nation of whose strength and chivalry in war he had heard the praises; and he will never rest till he has firmly entrenched himself upon its towns and villages, and fixed his accursed yoke, that nothing can shake off, upon its freeborn sons and daughters. Such indeed is the policy that has inspired every war that they have waged; and if its fruits today in distant lands are unfamiliar to you, you have merely to cast a glance upon the present state of Southern Gaul, where, in the Roman Province that has been established, ancestral laws and systems have been rudely overturned, and under the iron heel of a Roman governor all liberty has been trampled in the dust for ages.

A vote being taken after this speech, it was resolved that all whose age or bodily infirmities incapacitated them from active service should immediately quit the city, and that Critognatus' proposal should be kept only as a last resort. Should circumstances, however, compel it, and should the Gallic reinforcements still delay, then, rather than submit to terms of peace and capitulation, his plan was to be adopted. Feeling, moreover, that the Mandubii were responsible for the presence of the non-combatants in the fortress, they forced that people to share the fate of their wives and children; and these, on arriving outside the Roman lines, addressed the most piteous appeals to the troops to take them as their slaves, provided only they gave them food.

Strongly picketing all the ramparts, however, Caesar gave the order that none were to be admitted. —

Meanwhile the Gallic army under Commius and his compatriots, destined for the relief of Alesia, had reached the environs of that city, and seizing an outlying hill, not more than a mile from the Roman works, had entrenched itself upon it. On the morrow after their arrival, their cavalry descended to the open plain, which, as will be remembered, intervenes for a space of three miles between the two converging lines of heights, and filled it from end to end: their infantry also at the same time moved out in force, taking cover among the adjacent hills. As all the low-lying ground was in full view of Alesia, the garrison no sooner beheld their friends swarming in the valley below, than rushing to get a sight of the auspicious event, they abandoned themselves to an ecstasy of joy. The gates were flung open, and once more the fighting forces moved out to a position before the town; where filling the first of the Roman trenches with fascines and rubbish, they made every preparation for a sally or other similar effort.

On the Roman side Caesar had long perfected his arrangements, and every section of the army having had its proper quarters assigned it along both the outer and the inner lines, each man was able, at a moment's notice, to go straight to his individual station on the walls. The hour for action, therefore, having come, the Roman commander ordered his cavalry to advance from camp, and at once to engage the enemy. From their respective points in the huge amphitheater of hills the various Roman camps looked down upon the field of battle, and thousands of legionaries now took up their stand to watch with straining eyes the fortunes of the fight. Interspersed at intervals among the Gallic horse were archers and other light-armed skirmishers, valuable alike for the assistance they could give their own men at a critical moment, as also for breaking a charge from the opposing cavalry. The Roman troopers suffered heavily from these sharpshooters, and large numbers had to ~~leave~~ the field. In a little while the Gauls became assured that in sheer fighting qualities they were the superior of their opponents, whilst numerically of course, as they could see, they far outdistanced them. From both sides, therefore,

of the combatants, both from those who were so closely immured within the iron ring of the Roman siege-lines, and from those whose work it was to pierce this ring, fierce war-cries now rent the air, each answering each, as all parties strove to nerve their champions to the fray. On an arena which was commanded by every eye, and on which, therefore, no act of special gallantry or its reverse could escape detection, the eagerness to win applause, and the dread of being branded as a coward, were powerful incentives to either army. All through the afternoon the battle raged blindly, victory inclining now this way and now that, when, towards sunset, the Germans in a certain quarter of the field closed up their squadrons, and charging home with fury upon the enemy, drove them back at the sword's point. Their overthrow at once exposed the archers who had been acting in support, and who were now quickly surrounded and cut down. The whole line thereupon gave way, and following up their advantage, without once permitting any chance of rally, the Roman horsemen pushed their pursuit almost as far as the enemy's entrenchments. Thus the first round of the great contest was over, and its result was a cruel blow to the new hopes of the besieged; they had moved out to witness a victory, and it was with heavy hearts and premonitions of ultimate defeat that they now regained the town.

After a day's interval had elapsed for the adequate preparation of fascines and scaling-ladders, the Gauls once more issued from camp, and about midnight noiselessly made their way towards that portion of the Roman works that spanned the low-lying flats. There, startling the night with a shout that echoed up to the besieged and was meant to apprise them of their advance, they suddenly opened upon the Roman guards a tremendous fire of slingbolts, arrows, and stones, intended to sweep them from the ramparts; and then, covered by this, proceeded to throw down their fascines and to make ready for escalade. At the same instant Vercingetorix' bugle-call was heard answering from the town and the besieged commenced to move down the hill. ~~The~~ alarm found the Romans in nowise unprepared; for, since every man from previous practice knew instinctively his position on the walls, they at once advanced to the lines, where, by means of the various kinds of ammunition that been accumulated for

the purpose, they endeavored to keep down the assailants' fire. The darkness being all but impenetrable, the number of wounded men on either side rapidly increased, the greatest damage being caused by the artillery. The part of the lines chosen for the assault by the enemy was under command of M. Antonius and C. Trebonius; and these officers, to relieve the great pressure upon the defenders now from time to time withdrew battalions from the nearest forts and dispatched them to the point of danger.

Generally speaking, it was only while at a distance from the works that the fire of the Gauls, owing to their weight of numbers, proved so destructive: at closer range it rapidly died down before the manifold obstructions that barred their way. As they advanced, many, to their dismay, tripped upon the "spurs" that everywhere studded the ground; others tumbled into the pits, and were forthwith spitted upon the "jily" heads; others, again, who survived these perils, were thrust through with the great siege-pikes wielded from the rampart and towers, and fell back into the ditch. So it continued till dawn, the enemy's wounded steadily mounting up, and the defenses still unbreached. With daylight, however, they became anxious lest their unshielded flank should be turned by a descent in force from the camps above, and hastily retreated to their lines. As to the concerted attack from within, the assailants here wasted so much time in filling up the outer trenches, and in getting into position the various instruments of breach which they had so carefully prepared beforehand, that before they could come within effective range of the Romans the report arrived that the others had departed. Their cooperation thus proved abortive, and they returned to the town without result.

Thus the Gauls had twice essayed the task before them, and twice they had conspicuously failed. Before entering on a third attempt, they resolved to summon to their assistance the advice of those acquainted with the neighborhood, and to make a careful study of the position and fortification of those Roman camps that lay ~~upon~~ ^{at} the heights. On the north side there rose a hill, the formidable dimensions of which had prevented the Roman engineers from completely embracing it within their lines; and the camp here formed had perforce to be left

in a somewhat critical position, on a gently falling slope. This camp was occupied by two legions, under command of C. Antistius Reginus and C. Canninius Rebilus, two of Caesar's generals of division. Having therefore acquainted themselves through their scouts with the character of the surrounding country, the enemy's leaders proceeded to form a picked body of sixty thousand Gallic infantry, drawn from such tribes as were generally considered the hardest fighters; and a plan of action and the method of carrying it out having been secretly agreed upon, it was arranged to make their approach as nearly as possible at the hour of noon. The leadership of this force was entrusted to the Arvernian chieftain Vercassivellaunus, one of their four supreme generals and a near kinsman of Vercingetorix. Leaving camp shortly after sundown, and marching uninterrupted throughout the night, this division reached its destination with the earliest streak of dawn, and ensconcing itself behind the shoulder of the hill that has been already mentioned, lay down to rest after its long fatigue. As soon as their commander judged it close to midday, he once more set his men in motion for the particular camp that has been described; whilst simultaneously the Gallic cavalry advanced from its main position towards that section of the works that crossed the plain, and their other forces showed themselves outside the lines.

Each of these movements was plainly discernible by Vercingetorix from his watchtower in Alesia, and accordingly he at once moved out to support the main attack: fascines, poles, battery-sheds, hooks for breaching the rampart, and the various other requisites for a successful sortie, previously prepared for the purpose, were now brought up. Thus at a single moment from end to end of the Roman lines the roar of battle broke upon the ear. The enemy, made desperate by past failure, were resolved to leave no stone unturned, and with sure judgement swooped upon every weak spot in the defenses. With such extended lines to guard, the Roman strength was necessarily much divided, nor was it easy to meet adequately the manifold demands that were made upon it. Not the least of the many disconcerting circumstances to which the legionaries were now exposed, was the hoarse shout of battle in their rear: they were continually conscious that their own position was dependent upon the steadfast perseverance of

others; and of all tests by which human nature can be tried, the most severe is that of some peril that obstinately remains unseen.

Selecting some central point from which to survey the field of battle, Caesar stood ready to reinforce all threatened points. A common instinct told all combatants, friend and foe alike, that the hour for a superhuman effort had arrived. The Gauls knew well that, unless they could pierce and break that fortified ring, their cause was lost: the Romans saw before their eyes, with every stroke they dealt, the longed-for consummation of all their hopes. The most critical fighting occurred along the upper line of works, against which Vercassivellanus, it will be remembered, had been dispatched. The additional strain here imposed upon the defense by the inclined position of the camp was tremendous. The enemy dividing their forces, while some threatened the battlements with their fire, others advanced to the breach under the usual formation on such occasions—the "tortoise" roof of shields; and for both operations a steady stream of reserves stood always ready. Every available man brought up his load of earth and rubbish to make a causeway, and soon not only had the Gauls a clear ascent before them to the ramparts, but by the same methods the Roman obstructions hidden in the ground were also neutralized. Strength and ammunition were both fast failing the hard-pressed troops.

On receiving information of the critical state of things in this quarter of the field, Caesar detached Labienus with six battalions to relieve the pressure. Should that fail to check the advance, then that officer had instructions to withdraw contingents from the surrounding forts, and issuing from the lines to fight an action in the open. This last measure, however, was only to be adopted in case all others failed. The Roman commander elsewhere strove to animate the defense by a personal visit to the trenches; where, appealing to his sorely harassed men not to succumb beneath the trial, he showed how on that day and on that hour hung the fruit of all their victories. On the town side, the attacking party had decided to abstain from any attempt against the lower works where they crossed the plain, as being too formidable for assault; and directing their energies against the rugged ground above, they proceeded to bring up

into position the various engines of offense that they had prepared beforehand. With a murderous fire of spears and other missiles, they drove back the outposts from their place upon the turrets, and then hastening to fill the trenches with earth and fascines, strove to wrench aside the rampart and parapet with the powerful hooks they had made for the purpose.

A relieving force was at once dispatched by Caesar under the younger Brutus, quickly followed by a second under C. Fabius; and, the battle still continuing to increase in fury, he himself led up to their support a third body of reserves. This turned the scale in favor of the Romans, and the enemy being here definitely repulsed, he was able to proceed with all haste to that part of the field to which Labienus had previously been sent. For this purpose he detached four battalions from the neighboring redoubt, adding also a force of cavalry, part of which was to go with the infantry, and part to make a detour of the outer lines and to take the Gauls in rear. Meanwhile Labienus himself had found it more and more difficult to cope with the severity of the attack, and ditch and earthwork each failing to stop the advance, he rapidly concentrated some forty¹ separate battalions, taking as occasion offered from all the nearest forts, and then informed Caesar of what he conceived the situation now demanded. Caesar thereupon strained every nerve to reach the scene of action.

From their position on the heights above the enemy had a wide prospect of all the rolling country at their feet, and recognizing the approach of the Roman commander-in-chief from the conspicuous color of his uniform, usually worn by him in action, and the infantry battalions and cavalry squadrons following at his back, they lost no time in opening the engagement. As the two hostile lines advanced upon each other, both raised the shout of battle, a shout that was immediately taken up and echoed all down the line of ramparts even to the most distant point of the works. Discarding the use of the heavy javelin, the Romans trusted solely to their swords. The enemy maintained a stubborn fight till suddenly in their rear appeared the Roman cavalry; and fresh battalions coming up at that moment to swell the attack, the Gauls then turned and fled. The wave of fugitives broke itself upon the serried lines of horsemen waiting

to receive them, and a fearful carnage ensued. Among the killed was Sedulius, the warrior chieftain of the Lemovices, while among those taken in the rout was the famous Arvernian leader Vercassivellaunus. Eighty-four regimental colors were brought as trophies to Caesar; and of the once majestic host that had marched to the relief of Alesia, only a tiny fraction struggled back to camp. The sight of this unresisting slaughter of their comrades crushed the last spark of hope from the spirits of the garrison, and a general retreat from the inner face of the lines now took place. This in turn reacted on those without, since immediately upon its news the entire Gallic encampment broke up in confusion and fled; and, but for the exhaustion of the troops caused by the repeated calls made upon their strength throughout an exceptionally trying day, the annihilation of the enemy must have followed. As it was, the annihilation after midnight was sent in pursuit, and catching up the rearguard, took heavy toll in killed and prisoners; the rest of the fugitives then scattered, and melted away to their homes.

On the morrow of this disastrous day Vercingetorix convened a meeting of his captains, and addressing them for the last time as their commander, told them that, as he had not entered on this war from motives of self-aggrandizement or pride, but solely as the champion of a downtrodden people, now that Fortune had proved ungracious, to her decision he meant to bow. But since such was to be the end, he was ready on his side, he continued, to submit himself absolutely to their decree; and they could either kill him, and so satisfy the just demands of the Romans, or they could deliver him alive into their hands. A message to this effect was sent out by the garrison to Caesar, who returned the answer that all arms must be surrendered, and every chief appear personally before him. Taking his seat at a point well within the fortified lines, a little distance from his own camp, the Roman governor then formally received their submission; the Gallic chiefs were brought out under escort, Vercingetorix was handed over as a prisoner, and all arms were thrown to the ground. The remaining Gauls, with the exception of the Aedui and Arverni, who were retained in the hope of bringing pressure to bear upon their governments, were then distributed as booty, one to every Roman soldier.

These measures satisfactorily disposed of, the Roman forces entered Aeduan territory, and at once brought that people to its submission. A little afterwards envoys arrived from the Arvernian authorities to announce on their behalf an unconditional surrender; and from them a large number of hostages was demanded. The legions then went into winter quarters. The Arvernian and Aeduan prisoners, some twenty thousand in all, were restored to their own people. The actual distribution of troops for the winter months was as follows. Two legions and a force of cavalry were sent under T. Labienus to the Sequani (*Besançon* and district), having M. Sempronius Rutilius attached; two under C. Fabius and L. Minucius Basilius were stationed among the Remi (*Rheims*) to watch the powerful Bellovaci (*Beauvais*); one marched with C. Antistius Reginus to the Ambibareti (*Ugèr Loire*), another with T. Sextius to the Bituriges (*Bourges*), and a third with C. Caninius Rebilus to the Ruteni (*Rodez*). Two more were quartered on the Aedui along the Arar (*Saône*), with the special duty of safeguarding and accelerating the supply of grain, the first at Cabillonum (*Chalons-sur-Saône*) under Quintus Tullius Cicero, the second under Publius Sulpicius at Matisco (*Mâcon*); whilst lastly, the governor himself decided to make his headquarters at the Aeduan capital of Bibracte.¹² In recognition of the year's campaign, a general thanksgiving of twenty days was, on receipt of dispatches reporting the events, accorded by the government in Rome.